Kubler · Soria

ART AND
ARCHITECTURE IN
[illegible]IN & PORTUGAL
AND
THEIR AMERICAN
DOMINIONS
1500-1800

Pelican History of Art

709.4
K95A

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या 709.4
पुस्तक संख्या K 95 A
आगत पञ्जिका संख्या 57,700

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

Rs. 67.20

57,700

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

[illegible] १९८४-१९८५

Stock Verification-2024

THE PELICAN HISTORY OF ART

EDITED BY NIKOLAUS PEVSNER

Z 17

ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL AND THEIR AMERICAN DOMINIONS 1500 TO 1800

GEORGE KUBLER · MARTIN SORIA

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

GEORGE KUBLER · MARTIN SORIA

ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

AND THEIR AMERICAN DOMINIONS

1500 TO 1800

CHECKED 1973
Initial

THE · PELICAN · HISTORY · OF · ART

Stock Verification-2024

PUBLISHED BY PENGUIN BOOKS

[illegible]
पुस्तक सं० 709.4...
आगत सं० K95A...
दिनांक 57,7.00...
गुरुकुल पुस्तकालय कांगड़ी

709.4
K95A

Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondsworth, Middlesex
Penguin Books Inc., Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.
Penguin Books Pty Ltd, Mitcham, Victoria, Australia

★

Text printed by Richard Clay & Company Ltd, Bungay, Suffolk
Plates printed by Lund, Humphries & Co Ltd, Bradford
Made and printed in Great Britain

★

Copyright © George Kubler and Martin Soria, 1959
First published 1959

TO

CHANDLER R. POST · WALTER W. S. COOK

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES xiii
LIST OF PLATES xv
FOREWORD xxv
MAP OF MIDDLE AMERICA xxvi
MAP OF SOUTH AMERICA xxvii
MAP OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL xxviii

Part One

Architecture

BY GEORGE KUBLER

1. PLATERESQUE AND PURIST STYLES 1480–1650 1
From Guas to Vandelvira 1
The Isabelline Preliminaries – The First Plateresque Style to 1540 – The Second Plateresque Style
Herrera and his Sequel 10
The Italianate Prologue – Juan de Herrera – The Sequel 1600–50
2. THE HERESIARCHS 1640–1750 22
The Early Architecture of Active Surface 22
Bautista, Crescenzi, and Carbonell – New Forms of the Mid Century – Decorators, Scenographers, and Renovators – 'Borroministi' and Italians
The First 'Heretic' Generation 31
Leonardo de Figueroa – Francisco Hurtado – The Churrigueras
The Second Generation: Spanish Rococo 34
Diego Antonio Díaz – Cordova and Granada – The Disruption of the Plane: Rudolf and Acero
The 'Delirious Fools' 38
Pedro de Ribera – Narciso Tomé – Alberto de Churriguera – Andrés García de Quiñones
3. BOURBON SPAIN 43
The Royal Palaces 43
La Granja – The Royal Palace at Madrid – Aranjuez – Riofrío and El Pardo

Ventura Rodríguez 47
Early Style, to 1755 – 'Functional' Works – Work in an Academic Taste – The Fame of Ventura Rodríguez
Juan de Villanueva 51
Early Works – Later Career
Regional Styles 54
Andalusia – The Mediterranean Coast – Northern Spain – Galicia

4. MIDDLE AMERICA 62
The Caribbean 62
The Island Colonies – The Fortress Age (1600–1760) – The Caribbean Style after 1760
Mexico 69
The Colonization (1521–70) – The Cathedral Age (1570–1650) – Northern and Southern Styles (1650–1730) – Ultrabaroque and Neo-Classical (1730–1800)
Central America 82

5. SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA 86
The Northern Andes: Quito and New Granada 87
The Central Andes 89
The Early Colony (1550–1650) – Cuzco and Lima (1650–1740) – Highland Planiform Decoration (1650–1800)
Southern South America 98
The Tropical Forest Missions

6. PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL 101
Manueline and Purist Styles (1500–80) 101
Italian and Netherlandish Contributions (1580–1640) 105
Unified Naves and Cellular Envelopes (1640–1720) 107
Eighteenth-Century Portugal 110
Eighteenth-Century Brazil 116

Part Two

Sculpture

BY MARTIN SORIA

7. SPAIN: THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY 123
Introduction 123
The Renaissance 124
Italian Contributions (1500–28) – A National School: Bartolomé Ordóñez, Diego de Siloe, and Damián Forment

Mannerism 131

Early Mannerism (1520–60) 132

Alonso Berruguete – Felipe Vigarny and Juan de Balmaseda – Juan de Juni and Jerónimo Corral

Late Mannerism (The Romanists, 1560–95) 138

Pompeo Leoni – Romanist Altar-Makers: Pedro López de Gámiz and Gaspar Becerra – The Epigones: Juan de Ancheta, Esteban Jordán, and Juan Bautista Vázquez – El Greco

8. SPAIN: THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES 144

Introduction 144

Castile 144

Gregorio Fernández – Manuel Pereyra

Seville 147

Juan Martínez Montañés – José de Arce – Juan de Mesa – Alonso Cano 1627–38

Granada 152

Alonso Cano 1652–67 – Pedro de Mena – José de Mora

The Retable (1600–1700) 156

Seville – Castile

The Eighteenth Century 158

Altars and Choir Stalls – Figure Sculpture

9. SPANISH AMERICA 164

Introduction 164

Middle America 165

The Caribbean 165

Mexico 165

The Sixteenth Century – The Seventeenth Century – The Eighteenth Century

Guatemala 169

The Northern Andes: New Granada and Quito 171

The Sixteenth Century – The Seventeenth Century – The Eighteenth Century

The Central Andes 175

The Sixteenth Century – The Seventeenth Century – The Eighteenth Century

Southern South America 182

10. PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL 183

The Sixteenth Century 183

Nicolas Chanterene – Jacques Loguin – Filipe Hodart – João de Ruão and Tomé Velho

From Baroque to Neo-Classicism 188

The Baroque (1590–1710) – The Joanine Style (c. 1715–35) – The High and Late Rococo (c. 1735–95) – Neo-Classicism

Part Three

Painting

BY MARTIN SORIA

11. SPAIN: THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY 199

The High Renaissance in Valencia, Andalusia, and Castile 199
Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina – Alejo Fernández – Juan de Borgoña

The Second Generation: Valencia, Castile, and Andalusia 201
Vicente Juan Macip and Juan de Juanes – Juan Correa de Vivar and Alonso Berruguete – Pedro Machuca

Mid-Century Mannerism in Andalusia and Extremadura 203
Pedro de Campaña – Hernando Sturmio – Luis de Morales – Luis de Vargas

Portraitists at Court 205
Alonso Sánchez Coello – Juan Pantoja de la Cruz

Late Mannerists at the Escorial and Elsewhere 207
Becerra; Navarrete; the Italian Masters – Céspedes; Vasco Pereira; Blas del Prado; Mois

El Greco 210

12. EARLY AND HIGH BAROQUE 220

The Primers: Bartolomé Carducho and Orazio Borgianni 220

Early Baroque in Castile 221
Juan Sánchez Cotán – Pedro Orrente – Luis Tristán – Juan Bautista Mayno – Bartolomé González and Other Court Portraitists – Angelo Nardi – Francisco and Juan Ribalta at Valencia

Seville 228
Alonso Vázquez – Francisco Pacheco – Juan de Roelas – Francisco Herrera the Elder

High Baroque Beginnings in Castile 233
Patricio and Eugenio Caxés – Vincencio Carducho – Still-Life Painters: Espinosa, Loarte, van der Hamen

13. RIBERA AND ZURBARÁN 237

Ribera 237

Zurbarán 242

14. VELÁZQUEZ 250

Style and Meaning 250

The Seville Period 252

Madrid 1623–9 255

The First Italian Journey 1629–31 257

Madrid 1631–49 259

The Second Italian Journey 1649–51 264

The Last Years 1651–60 267

15. CANO AND MURILLO 271

Cano 271

Murillo 273

Murillo's Followers

16. SPANISH PAINTING 1640–1800 280

The School of Madrid 280

Jusepe Leonardo; Antonio Pereda; Antonio Arias Fernández – Juan Ricci – Landscape Painters: Collantes and Iriarte (Seville) – Velázquez's Pupils: Puga, Pareja, Mazo – Masters of Late Baroque Painting I: Juan Carreño, Francisco Rizi, Francisco Herrera the Younger – Masters of Late Baroque Painting II: Mateo Cerezo, Juan Cabezalero, Juan Escalante, José Antolínez, Claudio Coello

Andalusia: Antonio del Castillo and Juan Valdés Leal 290

Valencia and Murcia 295

The Eighteenth Century at Madrid 297

17. PAINTING IN SPANISH AMERICA 303

Introduction 303

Mexico 305

The Sixteenth Century – The Seventeenth Century – The Eighteenth Century (The Portrait)

The Northern Andes: New Granada and Quito 317

The Sixteenth Century – The Seventeenth Century – The Eighteenth Century

The Central Andes 321

The Sixteenth Century – The Seventeenth Century – The Eighteenth Century

18. PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL 328

The High Renaissance 328

The Lisbon School: Jorge Afonso, Francisco Henriques, the Lourinhã Master – Viseu and Coimbra: The Sardoal Master; Vasco Fernandes and Gaspar Vaz – Évora: Frei Carlos

Early Mannerism: Gregório Lopes, Cristóvão de Figueiredo, Garcia Fernandes 335

Late Mannerism 341

The Baroque: Domingos Vieira, Josefa d'Aiala, Bento Coelho 342

The Eighteenth Century: The Vieiras and Sequeira 344

Brazil 348

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS 349

NOTES 351

BIBLIOGRAPHY 403

The Plates

INDEX 419

LIST OF FIGURES

1 Juan Guas: Toledo, San Juan de los Reyes, designed 1479/80. Plan of church and cloister (After Weise) 3
2 Enrique Egas: Toledo, Hospital de Santa Cruz, 1504–14. Plan (After Chueca) 3
3 Michele Carlone and family: Calahorra Castle, *c.* 1509. Plan (After Chueca) 3
4 Diego de Siloe: Granada Cathedral, begun 1528. Plan (After Chueca) 6
5 Andrés Vandelvira: Jaén Cathedral, begun 1546. Plan (After Ponz) 6
6 Pedro Machuca: Granada, Palace of Charles V, 1527–68. Plan (After Chueca) 11
7 Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera: Escorial, 1563–82. Plan 12
8 Juan de Herrera: Valladolid Cathedral, *c.* 1585. Plan (not completed) (After Chueca) 15
9 Juan de Tolosa, S.J.: Medina del Campo, Hospital, 1591–1619. Elevation and plan (After Ponz) 16
10 Sebastián de la Plaza: Alcalá de Henares, Bernardas Church, 1617–26. Section and plan (After Schubert) 18
11 Hernán Ruiz II: Seville, Hospital de la Sangre, church, 1560–7. Section and plan (After Chueca) 19
12 Juan Gómez de Mora: Madrid, Court Prison (now Foreign Office), 1629–34. Elevation (After Ponz) 21
13 Diego Martínez Ponce de Urrana: Valencia, Desamparados Church, 1652–67. Plan (After Schubert) 24
14 Juan Luis Ortega(?): Granada, Magdalena Church, 1677–94. Section and plan (After Schubert) 26
15 Francisco de Herrera the younger: Saragossa, Pilar Church, 1680. Plans, projected and actual (After Rios) 29
16 Carlo Fontana: Loyola (near Azpeitia), basilica of Collegium Regium, 1681. Section and plan (Plan after Schubert) 30
17 Diego Antonio Díaz: Umbrete, parish church, 1725–33. Façade, section, and plan (After Sancho Corbacho) 35
18 Vicente Acero: Cadiz Cathedral, project of 1722. Section and plan (After Acero, ed. P. Gutiérrez Moreno) 37
19 Pedro de Ribera: Madrid, Virgen del Puerto, 1718. Section and plan (After Tamayo) 39
20 San Ildefonso, La Granja, 1719–39. Plan (After Breñosa) 43
21 G. B. Sacchetti: Madrid, Royal Palace, 1738. First plan (After F. de los Rios) 44
22 Aranjuez, Royal Palace, begun 1567, completed 1727–68. Plan (After Aguirre) 46
23 Santiago Bonavia: Aranjuez, San Antonio, 1748. Plan (After Schubert) 47
24 Ventura Rodríguez: Madrid, San Marcos, 1749–53. Plan (After Schubert) 47
25 Juan de Villanueva: Madrid, Prado Museum, 1785–7. First and second plans (After Chueca and Miguel) 53
26 Ecija, Valverde Palace, *c.* 1756. Section and plan (After Sancho Corbacho) 56
27 Santo Domingo, Palace of Diego Columbus. Plan (1770) of building begun after 1510 (After Angulo) 63
28 Santo Domingo Cathedral, 1512–41. Plan (After Palm) 64
29 Mérida (Yucatan) Cathedral, 1563–99. Section and plan (After García Preciat) 67
30 Tepeaca, Franciscan church, 1543–80. Section and plans 72
31 Guadalajara Cathedral, 1571–1618; Mexico City Cathedral, begun 1563; Puebla Cathedral, begun 1555–8. Plans (After Angulo) 74
32 Francisco Becerra: Cuzco Cathedral, 1582–1654. Section and plan 90
33 Diogo Boytac and João Castilho: Belem, Jeronymite church, 1502–19. Plan (After Haupt) 102
34 Manuel Pires: Évora, Espírito Santo, 1567–74. Façade and plan (After Chicó) 104
35 Filippo Terzi: Lisbon, São Vicente de Fora, 1582–1605. Plan (After Haupt) 105
36 São Salvador (Brazil) Cathedral (former Jesuit church), 1657–72 (destroyed in 1934). Cross-section and plan (After Bazin) 108
37 João Nunes Tinoco and João Antunes: Lisbon, Santa Engrácia, 1682–1730. Plan 109
38 J. F. Ludovice: Mafra, Palace-Monastery, 1717–70. Plan 111

39 Niccolò Nasoni: Oporto, São Pedro dos Clérigos, 1732–50. Plan (After Bazin) 113

40 Manuel Ferreira Jácome: Recife (Brazil), São Pedro dos Clérigos, 1728–82. Plan (After Santos) 113

41 Rio de Janeiro, Nossa Senhora da Glória do Outeiro, 1733–8(?) (destroyed 1942). Plan (After *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*) 113

42 A. F. Lisboa (Aleijadinho): Ouro Preto, São Francisco, Third Order, 1766–94. Elevation and plan (After Santos) 118

43 António de Sousa Calheiros(?) and Manuel Francisco de Araujo: Ouro Preto, Rosário Chapel, 1784. Elevation and plan (After Santos) 119

44 A. F. Lisboa (Aleijadinho): Congonhas do Campo (Brazil), Bom Jesus de Matozinhos, staircase and statues of twelve prophets, 1800–5. Plan (After *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*) 195

The drawings were made by Miss Sheila Gibson

LIST OF PLATES

1 (A) Lorenzo Vázquez: Cogolludo, Medinaceli Palace, 1492–5. Façade (Mas)
  (B) Pedro de Gumiel: Alcalá de Henares, University, 1518–19. *Paraninfo* (Mas)
2 Juan de Alava: Salamanca, San Esteban, begun 1524. Exterior from the north-west (Mas)
3 (A) Diego de Riaño: Seville, Town Hall, begun 1527. Façade (Mas)
  (B) Diego de Siloe: Granada Cathedral, begun 1528. Interior of rotunda (Mas)
4 (A) Alonso de Covarrubias: Toledo, Alcázar, designed 1537. Main façade (Mas)
  (B) Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón: Alcalá de Henares, University, 1537–53. Façade (Mas)
5 (A) Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera: Escorial, 1563–82. View of church from Court of the Evangelists (Mas)
  (B) Juan de Herrera: Seville, Exchange, 1582–99. West façade (Mas)
6 (A) Juan de Nates: Valladolid, Angustias Church, 1597–1604. Façade (Mas)
  (B) Miguel de Zumárraga: Seville, Sagrario Church, 1615. Exterior (Mas)
7 (A) Granada, Chancillería. Main façade, finished 1587 (Mas)
  (B) Cordova Cathedral. Choir vault, 1600 (Mas)
8 (A) Francisco Bautista: Madrid, San Isidro (now cathedral), 1629. Nave (Mas)
  (B) Pedro de la Torre: Madrid, San Andrés, Chapel of San Isidro, 1642–69. Exterior (Mas)
9 (A) Martín de Olinda: Valencia, San Miguel de los Reyes, 1632–44. Façade (Mas)
  (B) Alonso Cano: Granada Cathedral. Façade, 1664 (Mas)
10 (A) José Peña de Toro: Santiago de Compostela Cathedral. Quintana Portal, 1658–66 (Mas)
  (B) Domingo de Andrade: Santiago de Compostela Cathedral. Reloj Tower, 1676–80 (Foto Marburg)
11 (A) Bernardo Simón de Pineda: Seville Cathedral, monument to San Fernando, 1671. Engraving by Juan de Valdés Leal, from F. de la Torre Farfán
  (B) Leonardo de Figueroa: Seville, San Telmo, 1724–34. West entrance (Mas)
12 (A) Francisco Hurtado: El Paular, Cartuja. Anteroom to Transparente Chapel, designed in 1718 (Mas)
  (B) José Benito de Churriguera: Nuevo Baztán, Palace Church, 1709–13. Façade (Mas)
13 (A) Granada, Cartuja, Sacristy, 1713–47. View towards altar (Mas)
  (B) Conrad Rudolf: Valencia Cathedral. Façade, design of 1703 (Mas)
14 (A) Pedro de Ribera: Madrid, Hospicio de San Fernando. Portal, 1722 (Mas)
  (B) Narciso Tomé: Toledo Cathedral, Transparente Chapel, 1721–32. View from the east (Mas)
  (C) Alberto de Churriguera: Salamanca, Plaza Mayor, begun 1729. View from south-west, with Town Hall (left) and Royal Pavilion (Mas)
15 Alberto de Churriguera: Rueda, Church of the Assumption, 1738–47. Façade (Mas)
16 Andrés García de Quiñones: Salamanca, Clerecía, 1750–5. Cloister, view towards church (Mas)
17 (A) Filippo Juvara: La Granja. Garden façade, 1735–9 (Mas)
  (B) G. B. Sacchetti: Madrid, Royal Palace, begun 1736. North façade (Mas)
18 Ventura Rodríguez: Pamplona Cathedral. Façade, 1783 (Mas)
19 (A) Ventura Rodríguez: Barcelona, Royal College of Surgery, 1761. Façade (Mas)
  (B) Juan de Villanueva: Madrid, Prado Museum, designed 1787. West façade from the north-west (Mas)
20 Ignacio de Sala: Seville, Tobacco Factory, 1726–57. North façade (From Davillier, *L'Espagne*, 1874; engraving by G. Doré)
21 (A) Antonio Matías de Figueroa: La Palma del Condado, parish church. Tower, 1780 (Seville University, Laboratorio de Arte)
  (B) Granada, Santa Cruz la Real (now Santa Escolástica). Rosario *camarín*, interior, 1726–73 (Mas)
22 (A) F. X. A. Pedraxas: Priego, parish church. Sacramental Chapel, interior, 1784 (Mas)

- (B) Hipólito Rovira Brocandel: Valencia, Palace of the Marqués de Dos Aguas, remodelled 1740–4 (Mas)
- 23 Jaime Bort Miliá: Murcia Cathedral. Façade, 1741–54 (Mas)
- 24 (A) Manuel Amat: Barcelona, Virreina Palace, begun 1772. Façade (Mas)
  - (B) Logroño, Santa María la Redonda. Façade, 1742–60 (Mas)
- 25 F. de Casas: Santiago de Compostela Cathedral. Obradoiro (main façade, centre panel), finished 1749 (Mas)
- 26 (A) Alexandre de Rez: Barcelona, Citadel Garrison Chapel, 1716–27. North façade (Mas)
  - (B) Simón Rodríguez (attr.): Santiago de Compostela, Santa Clara. Gatehouse façade, c. 1750 (Mas)
- 27 (A) Santo Domingo Cathedral, 1512–41. Interior (Palm)
  - (B) Mérida (Yucatan), Montejo House. Façade, c. 1550 (Monumentos Coloniales)
- 28 (A) Havana Cathedral, begun 1748. Façade
  - (B) Havana, Town Hall. Façade, 1776–92 (Ministry of Public Works, Republic of Cuba)
- 29 (A) Acolman, Augustinian Cloister, 1550–60 (Monumentos Coloniales)
  - (B) Mexico City, Merced, 1634–54. Cloister (Monumentos Coloniales)
- 30 (A) Claudio de Arciniega: Puebla Cathedral. Nave, c. 1585–1649 (Monumentos Coloniales)
  - (B) Guadalajara Cathedral. Nave, 1571–1618 (Monumentos Coloniales)
- 31 (A) Zacatecas Cathedral, dedicated 1752. Façade (Monumentos Coloniales)
  - (B) Pedro de Arrieta: Guadalupe, basilica, 1695–1709. Façade (Monumentos Coloniales)
- 32 (A) Puebla, Santo Domingo. Rosario Chapel, 1650–90, dome (Library of Congress)
  - (B) Oaxaca, Santo Domingo. Nave, interior, 1657 (Monumentos Coloniales)
- 33 (A) Acoma (New Mexico), San Esteban. Exterior, c. 1630 (Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fé, New Mexico)
  - (B) Pedro Bueno: Mexico City, Las Vizcaínas, 1734–53. Façade (Monumentos Coloniales)
- 34 (A) Taxco, St Sebastian and St Prisca, 1748. Exterior (Monumentos Coloniales)
  - (B) Guanajuato, Valenciana. Façade, 1765–88 (Monumentos Coloniales)
- 35 F. A. Guerrero y Torres: Guadalupe, Pocito Chapel, 1779. Façade (Monumentos Coloniales)
- 36 Lorenzo Rodríguez: Mexico City, Sagrario Metropolitano, 1749. Façade (Monumentos Coloniales)
- 37 (A) F. A. Guerrero y Torres: Mexico City, Banco de México (formerly Valparaíso House), 1769. Courtyard (Monumentos Coloniales)
  - (B) J. M. Ramírez: Antigua, University Patio, rebuilt 1763 (Alvarez)
- 38 Antigua (Guatemala), Merced. Façade, c. 1670–1700 (Alvarez)
- 39 Esquipulas (Guatemala), Sanctuary, 1735–85. General view (Alvarez)
- 40 (A) Quito, San Francisco, c. 1564–75. Façade (Library of Congress)
  - (B) Leonhard Deubler: Quito, Compañia. Façade, 1722–60/5 (Wuth)
- 41 (A) J. B. Coluccini: Bogotá, San Ignacio, 1625–39. Façade (Library of Congress)
  - (B) Tunja, Rosario Chapel. Interior, c. 1680–90 (Library of Congress)
- 42 (A) Cuzco, San Jerónimo. Façade, c. 1580–1600 (Guillén)
  - (B) Francisco Becerra: Cuzco Cathedral, 1582–1654. Nave (Guillén)
- 43 (4) Cuzco Cathedral. Façade, central portal, 1651–4 (Guillén)
  - (B) J. B. Egidiano(?): Cuzco, Compañía, 1651–68. Façade (Guillén)
- 44 (A) J. B. Egidiano(?): Cuzco, Compañía, 1651–68. Nave (Guillén)
  - (B) Constantino de Vasconcelos: Lima, San Francisco. Façade, 1669–74 (Guillén)
- 45 Cuzco, Merced. Cloister, 1651–69 (Guillén)
- 46 (A) Constantino de Vasconcelos(?): Lima, San Francisco. Cloister, 1669–74 (Guillén)
  - (B) Manuel Amat: Lima, Nazarenas Church, 1766–71. Interior (Guillén)
- 47 Juan Tomás Tuyru Tupac(?): Cuzco, Belén Church. Façade, before 1696 (Guillén)
- 48 (A) Lampa, parish church, 1678–85. Façade (Guillén)
  - (B) Potosí, San Lorenzo, 1728–44. Portal
- 49 (A) Arequipa, Compañía. Façade, 1698 (Guillén)
  - (B) Lima, Torre Tagle Palace. Façade, 1735 (Guillén)
- 50 (A) Pomata, Santiago, in construction 1726. Interior (Guillén)
  - (B) Philippe Lemer: Córdoba (Argentina), Compañía, before 1671. Wooden crossing roof (M. Buschiazzo)
- 51 Cajamarca Cathedral. Façade, begun 1699 (Guillén)

52 (A) José González Merguete and Andrés Blanqui: Córdoba Cathedral, *c.* 1687–1729. General view
(B) G. B. Primoli: Trinidad Mission (Paraguay), *c.* 1740. Sacristy doorway (M. Buschiazzo)
(C) Yaguarón (Paraguay), parish church. Exterior, 1761–84
53 (A) Diogo Boytac and João Castilho: Belém, Jeronymite Church, 1502–19. Nave (Novais)
(B) Afonso Álvares: Leiria Cathedral, 1559–74. Interior (Novais)
54 Diogo de Torralva: Tomar, Cristo Monastery. Main cloister, 1557 (Novais)
55 (A) Diogo Arruda: Tomar, Cristo Monastery. Exterior of chapter-room, 1510–14 (Novais)
(B) Oporto, Carmelite Church, 1619–28; Terceiros do Carmo, 1756–68. Façades
56 (A) Filippo Terzi: Lisbon, São Vicente de Fora, 1582–1605. Façade (Novais)
(B) Baltasar Álvares: Oporto, São Lourenço (or Grilos) Church, *c.* 1614–22. Façade (Novais)
57 (A) Braga, São Vicente. Façade, 1691
(B) João Nunes Tinoco(?): Santarém, Seminary, 1676. Façade (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)
58 João Antunes: Lisbon, Menino Deus Church, 1711–37. Interior (Novais)
59 (A) João Turriano(?): Coimbra, Santa Clara-a-Nova, 1649–96. Interior (Novais)
(B) J. F. Ludovice: Mafra, church, 1717–30. Interior (Novais)
60 (A) José and Joaquim da Silva: Milagres, votive church, 1732–95. Exterior (João Baptista Carrasco)
(B) Niccolò Nasoni: Oporto, São Pedro dos Clérigos, 1732–50. Façade (Novais)
61 J.-B. Robillion: Queluz Palace, west wing, 1759–60. North-west stair (Novais)
62 A. F. Lisboa and F. de Lima Cerqueira: São João d'El Rei, São Francisco, Third Order, 1774–1804. Façade (Prefeitura Municipal do Recife)
63 (A) Pietro Torrigiani: St Jerome, *c.* 1525. *Seville, Museum* (Mas)
(B) Bartolomé Ordóñez: The Epiphany, *c.* 1514–15. *Naples, S. Giovanni a Carbonara* (Foto Soprintendenza Gallerie di Napoli)
64 (A) Domenico Alessandro Fancelli: Monument to Prince Juan, 1511. *Avila, Santo Tomás* (Mas)
(B) Alonso Berruguete: The Resurrection, *c.* 1517. *Valencia Cathedral* (Mas)
65 (A) Jacopo Florentino: Entombment of Christ, *c.* 1520–5. *Granada, Palace of Charles V* (Mas)
(B) Juan de Juni: The Pietà, 1541–4. *Valladolid, Museum* (Mas)
66 (A) Bartolomé Ordóñez: Choir entrance, 1517–19. *Barcelona Cathedral* (Mas)
(B) Bartolomé Ordóñez: St John the Baptist, detail from the monument to Philip the Handsome, 1519–20. *Granada, Royal Chapel* (Torres Molina)
67 (A) Alonso Berruguete: The Transfiguration, 1543–8. *Toledo Cathedral* (Mas)
(B) Felipe Vigarny: High Altar, 1521. *Granada, Royal Chapel* (Courtesy Gómez Moreno)
68 Diego de Siloe: St John the Baptist, choir stall, 1528(?). *Valladolid, Museum* (Courtesy Gómez Moreno)
69 Diego de Siloe: Virgin and Child, choir stall, 1528–30. *Granada, San Jerónimo* (Courtesy Gómez Moreno)
70 Damián Forment: High Altar, 1509–12. *Saragossa, Pilar* (Mas)
71 Damián Forment: High Altar, 1520–34. *Huesca Cathedral* (Mas)
72 (A) Alonso Berruguete: St John, 1527–32. *Valladolid, Museum* (Mas)
(B) Alonso Berruguete: St Sebastian, 1527–32. *Valladolid, Museum* (Mas)
(C) Alonso Berruguete: Abraham and Isaac, 1527–32. *Valladolid, Museum* (Mas)
73 (A) Alonso Berruguete: Eve, choir stall, 1539–43. *Toledo Cathedral* (Mas)
(B) Juan de Balmaseda: St Luke, *c.* 1524–7. *Leon, San Marcos* (Mas)
(C) Alonso Berruguete: Moses, choir stall, 1539–43. *Toledo Cathedral* (Mas)
74 (A) Juan de Juni: St Matthew, 1540. *Leon, San Marcos* (Courtesy Gómez Moreno)
(B) Jerónimo Corral: Benavente Chapel, 1544–6, with altar by Juan de Juni, begun 1557. *Medina de Ríoseco* (Mas)
75 (A) Pompeo Leoni: Charles V and his Family, *c.* 1595. *Escorial* (Mas)
(B) El Greco: Christ resurrected, 1595–8. *Toledo, Duchess of Lerma* (Mas)
76 (A) Pedro López de Gámiz: High Altar, 1551–69. *Briviesca, Santa Clara* (Vadillo)
(B) Gaspar Becerra: High Altar, 1558–60. *Astorga Cathedral* (Courtesy Gómez Moreno)
77 Juan de Ancheta: Trinity Altar, 1575–8. Detail. *Jaca Cathedral* (Courtesy Gómez Moreno)
78 (A) Gregorio Fernández: The Veronica, 1614. *Valladolid, Museum* (Mas)

(B) Gregorio Fernández: St Bruno, 1634. *Valladolid, Museum* (Mas)

79 (A) Manuel Pereyra: Virgin of the Rosary, 1632. *Lisbon, São Domingos de Benfica* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

(B) Manuel Pereyra: St Bruno, *c.* 1635–40. *Madrid, Academy* (Mas)

80 Gregorio Fernández: The Pietà, 1617. *Valladolid, Museum* (Mas)

81 (A) Montañés: Christ of Clemency, 1603–6. *Seville Cathedral* (Courtesy Seville University, Laboratorio de Arte)

(B) Juan de Mesa: Christ of the Good Death, *c.* 1619. *Seville, University Chapel* (Moreno)

82 (A) Montañés: St Francis Borgia, 1610. Detail. *Seville, University Chapel* (Mas)

(B) Montañés: Adoration of the Shepherds, 1610–13. *Santiponce, San Isidro* (Mas)

83 (A) Alonso Cano: St Diego of Alcalá, 1653–7. *Granada, Palace of Charles V* (Courtesy A. S. Wethey)

(B) Pedro de Mena: St Diego of Alcalá, 1654–8. *Granada, San Antón* (Courtesy Seville University, Laboratorio de Arte)

(C) Pedro de Mena: St Francis, 1663. *Toledo Cathedral* (Mas)

84 (A) Alonso Cano: Virgin and Child, 1629–31. *Lebrija, Santa María* (Courtesy Seville University, Laboratorio de Arte)

(B) Montañés: The Immaculate Conception, 1629–31. *Seville Cathedral* (Courtesy Seville University, Laboratorio de Arte)

85 Pedro de Mena: Virgin of Bethlehem, *c.* 1664. *Malaga, Santo Domingo* (*destroyed 1931*) (R. de Orueta)

86 (A) Montañés and Felipe de Ribas: Altar of St John the Baptist, 1637–8. *Seville, Santa Paula* (Mas)

(B) Bernardo Simón de Pineda, Pedro Roldán, and Juan Valdés Leal: High Altar, 1670–3. *Seville, Caridad* (Mas)

87 (A) Pedro Duque Cornejo: Altar, Novitiate Chapel, *c.* 1730. *Seville, San Luis* (Seville University)

(B) Fernando de Casas: High Altar, 1730–3. *Santiago de Compostela, San Martín Pinario* (Ksado)

88 (A) *Tequitqui* decoration, early 1560s. Jamb of open chapel, *Tlalmanalco, Mexico* (Archivo de la Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales)

(B) Pedro Joseph de Roxas (?): Altar of St Joseph, *c.* 1768–70. *Salamanca, Gto., San Agustín* (Archivo de la Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales)

89 (A) The Baptism of Christ, 1622–33. High altar, *Bogotá, San Francisco* (Meyer-Meery)

(B) Quito School: Side Flap, *c.* 1680. *Quito, Santa Clara* (Author's photograph)

90 (A) Quito School: Main Altar, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *Quito, San Francisco* (Moscoso)

(B) Pedro de Noguera and assistants: St Luke, St Sebastian, and St Augustine, choir stalls, 1624–6. *Lima Cathedral* (Author's photograph)

91 The Christ of the Earthquakes, early seventeenth century. *Cuzco Cathedral* (Martín Chambi)

92 (A) Pulpit, *c.* 1680–95. *Cuzco, San Blas* (Martín Chambi)

(B) Pulpit, early eighteenth century. *Popayán, San Francisco* (Courtesy Pál Kelemen)

93 (A) Altar of Our Lady of the Consolation, *c.* 1760–80. *Cuzco, Compañía* (Guillén)

(B) Argentine School: Pulpit, *c.* 1700. *Jujuy* (Hans Mann)

94 (A) Nicolas Chanterene: Tomb of João de Noronha, *c.* 1526–8. *Óbidos, Santa Maria* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

(B) Jacques Loguin (?): Pulpit, 1520–2. *Coimbra, Santa Cruz* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

95 (A) Nicolas Chanterene: Altar, 1529–32. *Sintra, Palace Chapel* (J. de Carvalho Henriques)

(B) Jacques Loguin: Crucifixion Altar, 1541. *Cordova Cathedral* (Author's photograph)

96 (A) João de Ruão: Virgin and Child, *c.* 1535–50. *Lisbon, Ernesto de Vilhena* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

(B) Angel as Candlebearer, 1726. *Lisbon, Ernesto de Vilhena* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

97 Filipe Hodart: Apostle, 1530–4. *Coimbra, Museu Machado de Castro* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

98 (A) Gaspar and Domingos Coelho: High Altar, *c.* 1590. *Portalegre Cathedral* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

(B) High Altar, *c.* 1704. *Oporto, São Bento da Vitória* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

99 (A) High Altar, 1722–33. *Aveiro, Convento de Jesus* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

(B) High Altar, *c.* 1770. *Tibães, Benedictine Monastery* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

100 Joaquim Machado de Castro: Monument to Joseph I, 1770–1803. *Lisbon, Praça do Comercio* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

101 António Francisco Lisboa, O Aleijadinho: Prophet, 1800–5. *Congonhas do Campo, Bom Jesus de Matozinhos* (Peter Scheier – Courtesy Time)

102 (A) Fernando Yáñez: The Resurrection, *c.* 1510. *Valencia Cathedral* (Mas)

(B) Vicente Macip: The Nativity, 1530. *Segorbe Cathedral* (Mas)

103 (A) Pedro de Campaña: Descent from the Cross, 1547. *Seville Cathedral* (Mansell Anderson)

(B) Juan de Juanes: St Stephen in the Synagogue, *c.* 1570. *Madrid, Prado* (Mansell Anderson)

104 (A) Luis de Vargas: The Nativity and the Epiphany (predella), 1555. *Seville Cathedral* (Mas)

(B) Juan Fernández de Navarrete: The Beheading of Santiago, 1571. *Escorial* (Mas)

105 (A) Roland de Mois: The Epiphany, *c.* 1560–70. *Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum* (Courtesy Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle)

(B) Alonso Sánchez Coello: Infante Don Diego, 1577. *London, Lord Northbrooke* (Courtesy Colnaghi & Co.)

106 Luis de Morales: The Virgin and Child, *c.* 1555–75. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London)

107 El Greco: The Assumption, 1577. *Chicago, Art Institute* (Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago)

108 (A) El Greco: Vincentio Anastagi, 1576. *New York, Frick Collection* (Copyright The Frick Collection, New York)

(B) El Greco: Vincentio Anastagi, 1576. Detail. *New York, Frick Collection* (Copyright The Frick Collection, New York)

109 (A) El Greco: The Martyrdom of St Maurice and the Theban Legion, 1580–2. *Escorial*

(B) El Greco: St Jerome, *c.* 1600. *New York, Frick Collection* (Copyright The Frick Collection, New York)

110 El Greco: The Agony in the Garden, *c.* 1580–6. *Toledo, Ohio, Art Museum* (Toledo Art Museum)

111 (A) El Greco: View of Toledo, *c.* 1604–10. *New York, Metropolitan Museum* (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs H. O. Havemeyer, 1929. The H. O. Havemeyer Collection)

(B) El Greco: The Visitation, *c.* 1610. *Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection)

112 El Greco: St Peter repentant, *c.* 1583–8. Detail. *Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum* (Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle)

113 El Greco: St Andrew, *c.* 1599–1600. *New York, S. C. Clark* (Courtesy M. Knoedler & Co.; photo Sonja V. Bullaty)

114 El Greco: The Resurrection, 1608–10. *Madrid, Prado* (Moreno)

115 (A) El Greco: The Purification of the Temple, *c.* 1603–4. *New York, Frick Collection* (Copyright The Frick Collection, New York)

(B) Bartolomé Carducho: The Death of St Francis, 1593. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

116 (A) Alonso Vázquez: Lazarus and the Rich Man, *c.* 1600–2. *Madrid, Private Collection* (Courtesy E. Rodríguez)

(B) Juan Sánchez Cotán: Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber, 1602. *San Diego, California, Art Gallery* (San Diego Art Gallery)

117 (A) Juan Pantoja de la Cruz: Margarita of Austria, Queen of Spain, 1605. *Houston, Texas, Museum* (Courtesy Duveen Brothers Inc.)

(B) Luis Tristán: The Holy Family, 1613. *Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi* (Courtesy Count Contini-Bonacossi)

118 (A) Juan de Roelas: The Martyrdom of St Andrew, 1609–13. *Seville, Museum* (Mas)

(B) Juan de Roelas: The Preaching of St Andrew, 1609–13. *Bilbao, Museum* (Author's photograph)

119 (A) Luis Tristán: The Adoration of the Shepherds, *c.* 1620. *Bilbao, Museum* (Linker)

(B) Juan Bautista Mayno: The Recovery of Bahia, 1635. *Madrid, Prado* (Mas)

120 (A) Luis Tristán: St Louis of France giving Alms, 1620. *Paris, Louvre* (Giraudon)

(B) Francisco Ribalta: St Bernard embracing Christ, *c.* 1620–8. *Madrid, Prado* (Mas)

121 (A) Vincencio Carducho: The Dream of Pope Honorius, *c.* 1626–32. *Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland* (The Board of Trustees for The National Galleries of Scotland)

(B) Juan Bautista Mayno: Monk, *c.* 1635.

Oxford, Ashmolean (Courtesy the Late Percy Turner, Esq.)

122 (A) Juan van der Hamen: Still Life, 1627. *Washington, The National Art Gallery* (Courtesy Vitale Bloch)

(B) Juan van der Hamen: The Cook, *c.* 1630. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

123 Ribera: A laughing Girl with a Tambourine, 1637. Detail. *London, Mrs Margaret H. Drey*

124 (A) Ribera: St Joseph and the budding Rod, *c.* 1635. *Brooklyn, New York, Museum* (In the Brooklyn Museum Collection, gift of George D. Pratt)

(B) Ribera: The Trinity, *c.* 1636–7. *Madrid, Prado* (Mansell Anderson)

125 (A) Ribera: St Peter, *c.* 1631–2. Detail. *Madrid, Prado* (Mas)

(B) Ribera: St Jerome, 1644. Detail. *Madrid, Prado* (Mas)

126 Ribera: The Holy Family with St Catherine, 1648. *New York, Metropolitan Museum* (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1934)

127 (A) Zurbarán: St Bonaventura refers St Thomas Aquinas to the Saviour, 1629. *Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (destroyed 1945)* (Bruckmann, Munich)

(B) Zurbarán: Still-Life with Oranges, 1633. *Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi* (Author's photograph)

128 (A) Zurbarán: The Crucifixion, 1628–9. *Seville, Museum* (Mansell Anderson)

(B) Zurbarán: Vision of the Blessed Alonso Rodríguez, 1630. Detail. *Madrid, Academy* (Mas)

129 (A) Zurbarán: The Adoration of the Shepherds, 1638. *Grenoble, Museum* (Archives Photographiques)

(B) Zurbarán: St Francis kneeling, 1639. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London)

130 Velázquez: The Immaculate Conception, *c.* 1618. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by courtesy of Mrs Woodall and the Misses Frere)

131 Velázquez: The Immaculate Conception, *c.* 1618. Detail. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by courtesy of Mrs Woodall and the Misses Frere)

132 Velázquez: The Water Carrier, *c.* 1619. *London, Apsley House* (Courtesy Wellington Museum)

133 (A) Velázquez: Christ in the House of Mary and Martha, *c.* 1619–20. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London)

(B) Velázquez: The Surrender of Breda, 1634. *Madrid, Prado* (Museo del Prado)

134 Velázquez: The Surrender of Breda, 1634. Detail. *Madrid, Prado* (Mansell Anderson)

135 Velázquez: Venus and Cupid ('The Rokeby Venus'), *c.* 1650. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London)

136 Velázquez: Philip IV ('The Silver Philip'), *c.* 1635. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London)

137 Velázquez: Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain, *c.* 1631–2. *London, ex Huth Collection*

138 (A) Velázquez: The Fool Calabazas, *c.* 1635. *Madrid, Prado* (Mansell Anderson)

(B) Velázquez: Pope Innocent X, 1650. *Rome, Doria Palace* (Mansell Anderson)

139 (A) Velázquez: The Medici Garden, *c.* 1650. *Madrid, Prado* (Mansell Anderson)

(B) Velázquez: The Maids of Honour, 1656. *Madrid, Prado* (Mansell Anderson)

140 (A) Marten de Vos: Abraham and Melchisedek, engraving, *c.* 1579 (Author's photograph)

(B) Antonie van Blocklandt: Venus and Adonis, engraving by Philip Galle (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

141 Alonso Cano: The Angel and St John Evangelist, 1635–7. *London, Wallace Collection* (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)

142 Alonso Cano: The Descent into Limbo, *c.* 16(37–)40. *Los Angeles, County Museum* (Los Angeles County Museum)

143 Francisco Herrera the elder: St Basil dictating his Rule, 1639. *Paris, Louvre* (Mansell Alinari)

144 Murillo: The Flight into Egypt, *c.* 1645. *Detroit, Art Institute* (Detroit Institute of Arts)

145 (A) Murillo: Family Group, *c.* 1660. *Monroe, Michigan, Erik Bergmann* (Courtesy Erik Bergmann)

(B) Murillo: Marriage Feast at Cana, *c.* 1665–70. *Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts* (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham)

146 (A) Murillo: Jacob setting the streaked Rods

before the Flocks of Laban, *c.* 1670. *London, Sidney F. Sabin* (E. & D. Gibbs)
(B) Murillo: Christ healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda, 1670–4. Detail. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London)
147 Murillo: The Flower Girl, *c.* 1665–70. *London, Dulwich College* (Courtesy of the Governors of Dulwich College)
148 (A) Murillo: Family Group, *c.* 1660. Detail. *Monroe, Michigan, Erik Bergmann* (Courtesy Erik Bergmann)
(B) Murillo: The Santiago Madonna, *c.* 1670–5. *New York, Metropolitan Museum* (Courtesy of the Metroplitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1943)
149 (A) Murillo: Self Portrait, *c.* 1678. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London)
(B) Murillo: Self Portrait, *c.* 1678. Detail. *London, National Gallery* (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London)
150 Murillo: The Martyrdom of St Andrew, *c.* 1680. *Madrid, Prado* (Mansell Anderson)
151 (A) Jùan Ricci: The Mass of St Benedict, *c.* 1650. *Madrid, Academy* (Mansell Anderson)
(B) Jusepe Leonardo: The Birth of the Virgin, *c.* 1635. *Madrid, Prado* (Mas)
152 (A) Antonio Pereda: The Relief of Genoa, 1635. *Madrid, Prado* (Mas)
(B) Francisco Collantes: Hagar and the Angel, *c.* 1640–50. *Providence, R.I., Rhode Island School of Design* (Mas)
153 (A) Juan Antonio Escalante: The Dream of St Joseph, *c.* 1665. *New York, Walter P. Chrysler* (Courtesy Newhouse Galleries)
(B) Antonio Pereda: Still-Life, 1652. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)
154 Juan Pareja: The Baptism of Christ, *c.* 1667. *Huesca, Museo Provincial* (Mas)
155 Juan Martínez del Mazo: The Artist's Family, 1658(?). *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum* (Kunsthistorisches Museum)
156 Juan Carreño: The Founding of the Trinitarian Order, 1666. *Courson, Count Caraman* (Courtesy Count Caraman; photo Vizzavona)
157 Claudio Coello: La Sagrada Forma, 1685–90. *Escorial* (Mansell Anderson)
158 (A) Cabezalero: The Assumption, *c.* 1660. *Madrid, Prado* (Mas)
(B) Francisco Herrera the younger: The Triumph of St Hermengild, *c.* 1660–70. *Madrid, Prado* (Mas)
159 (A) José Antolínez: The Poor Painter's Drummer, *c.* 1670. *Schleissheim* (Bayerische Staatsgemälde)
(B) José Antolínez: The Immaculate Conception, *c.* 1670. *Barcelona, Museum* (Mas)
160 (A) Juan de Valdés Leal: St Thomas Villanueva giving Alms, *c.* 1665–70. *New York, Kress Foundation* (Courtesy Frederick Mont)
(B) Antonio del Castillo: The Triumph of Pharaoh, *c.* 1655. *Madrid, Prado* (Mansell Anderson)
161 (A) Juan de Valdés Leal: The Pietà, *c.* 1657–60. *New York, Metropolitan Museum* (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wilbour Fund, 1954)
(B) Juan de Valdés Leal: The Triumph of Death, 1672. *Seville, Caridad* (Mansell Anderson)
162 (A) Vicente Giner: An open Court, *c.* 1670. *Madrid, Sr González Conde* (Moreno)
(B) Vicente Salvador y Gómez: The Liberation of St Peter, *c.* 1670–80. *Mexico City, Franz Mayer* (Courtesy Victor Spark)
163 (A) Juan de Arellano: Basket of Flowers, 1672. *New York, Sir William Wiseman* (Courtesy M. Knoedler & Co.)
(B) Luis Egidio Meléndez: Still-Life with Bread, Bacon, and Vegetables, *c.* 1772. *Boston, Museum of Fine Arts* (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
164 (A) Michel Houasse: Bird Catchers near Madrid, 1725–30. *Riofrío, Palace* (Gudiol)
(B) José del Castillo: A Walk in the Park, *c.* 1770–90. *Madrid, Ministry of Education* (Mas)
165 (A) Luis Paret: The Arsenal Quay at Bilbao, 1780–92. *The National Trust, Upton House, Oxfordshire* (the National Trust)
(B) Luis Paret: The Draper's Shop, 1773. *Madrid, Museo Lázaro* (Museo Lázaro)
166 (A) Yanhuitlán Codex: Bishop and Dominican Friar, *c.* 1545–50. *Puebla, Academia de Bellas Artes* (Author's photograph)
(B) Augustinian Bishops and Doctors, *c.* 1570–80. Wall-painting in stair-well, *Actopan, Hid., Mexico* (Archivo de la Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales)
167 (A) Alonso Vázquez: St Michael casting out

the Devil, 1603–8. *Mexico City, Academia de San Carlos* (Academia de San Carlos)

(B) Cristóbal de Villalpando: St Michael, *c.* 1700. *Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum* (Wadsworth Atheneum)

168 Baltasar de Echave Orio: The Porciuncula, 1609. *Mexico City, Academia de San Carlos* (Academia de San Carlos)

169 Alonso López de Herrera: The Assumption, 1622. *Mexico City, Palacio de Bellas Artes* (Palacio de Bellas Artes)

170 (A) José Juárez: The Marriage of the Virgin, *c.* 1655–60. *Mexico City, Academia de San Carlos* (Academia de San Carlos)

(B) José Juárez; The Epiphany, 1655. *Mexico City, Palacio de Bellas Artes* (Palacio de Bellas Artes)

171 (A) Circle of Cabrera: Sor Rita María de San Luis Gonzaga, *c.* 1750. *Mexico City, Sra Viuda de Martínez del Río* (Author's photograph)

(B) José Guerrero: His Son José Manuel, aged 8, 1798. *Puebla, Academia de Bellas Artes* (Author's photograph)

172 Cuzco School: Corpus Christi Procession with the Parishioners of San Cristóbal, *c.* 1660. *Cuzco, Santa Ana* (Martín Chambi)

173 Nicolás de Correa: Christ at the Wedding, 1693. *Whereabouts unknown*

174 (A) Jupiter, *c.* 1590. Wall painting. *Tunja, House of Vargas* (Author's photograph)

(B) Gregório Vázquez Ceballos: St Ignatius, *c.* 1700. Pen. *Bogotá, Museo* (Author's photograph)

175 (A) Miguel de Santiago: The Virgin of the Eucharist, *c.* 1680. *Quito, San Francisco* (Estudio Bodo Wuth)

(B) Nicolás Javier Goríbar: Malachi, *c.* 1700. Detail. *Quito, Compañía* (Estudio Bodo Wuth)

176 (A) Bernardo Bitti, S.J.: Madonna and Child with St John Baptist, *c.* 1592–3. *Sucre, Seminario* (Author's photograph)

(B) Gregorio Gamarra: The Virgin with St Bonaventura and St Diego of Alcalá, *c.* 1607. *Cuzco, Recoleta* (Author's photograph)

177 Cuzco School: The Wedding of the Inca Princesses, eighteenth century. *Lima, Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (Junta Nacional de Monumentos Históricos)

178 (A) Rubens: St Anne and the Virgin, engraved by Schelte à Bolswert (Author's photograph)

(B) Cuzco School: St Anne and the Virgin, *c.* 1680–1720. *La Paz, Private Collection* (Ministry of Education, La Paz)

179 (A) Cuzco School: The Virgin of the Almudena, late seventeenth century. *Rio de Janeiro, Museum* (Courtesy Rio de Janeiro Museum; photo Carlos)

(B) Peruvian School: America nursing Spanish Noble Boys, *c.* 1780. *Montevideo, Dennis Osborne* (Courtesy Mortimer Brandt)

180 (A) Bolivian School: Archangel Asiel shooting, *c.* 1700. *La Paz, Ministry of Education* (Author's photograph)

(B) Melchor Pérez Holguín: St Peter of Alcántara and St Teresa, *c.* 1700. *Mondragón near Potosí, Zenón Guerra Vera* (Author's photograph)

181 (A) Jorge Afonso: The Resurrection, *c.* 1510. *Tomar, Monastery of the Order of Christ* (Royal Academy of Arts, London)

(B) Jorge Afonso: Christ appearing to the Virgin, 1515. *Lisbon, Madre de Deus* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

182 (A) Francisco Henriques: The Pentecost, 1509–11. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

(B) Frei Carlos: Christ appearing to the Virgin, 1529. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

183 Gregório Lopes: The Virgin and Child with Angels, *c.* 1536. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

184 (A) Lourinhã Master: St John on Patmos, *c.* 1515–20. *Lourinhã, Misericórdia* (Academia Nacional de Belas Artes)

(B) Vasco Fernandes: The Pentecost, 1535. *Coimbra, Santa Cruz* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

185 (A) Cristóvão de Figueiredo: The Entombment of Christ, *c.* 1529–30. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Royal Academy of Arts, London)

(B) Vasco Fernandes: St Peter, *c.* 1540. *Viseu, Museu do Grão Vasco* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

186 (A) Garcia Fernandes: The Epiphany, *c.* 1525 (with portrait heads by Jorge Afonso?). *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

(B) Gregório Lopes: Calvary, *c.* 1548. *Abrantes, Misericórdia* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

187 (A) São Quintino Master: The Lamentatino over Christ, *c.* 1555. *Lisbon, Count Rilvas* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

(B) The Master of the Évora Cathedral Epiphany: The Epiphany, *c.* 1560–70. *Évora, Cathedral* (Museum Nacional de Arte Antiga)

188 (A) Portuguese School: A Lady with a Rosary, *c.* 1550–60. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Royal Academy of Arts, London)

(B) Cristóvão de Morais: King Sebastian of Portugal, 1565. *Madrid, Descalzas Reales* (Moreno)

189 (A) Domingos António de Sequeira: The Mocking of Christ, *c.* 1830. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

(B) Domingos António de Sequeira: Gregório Francisco de Queirós, *c.* 1823. Charcoal and chalk. *Lisbon, Private Collection* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

190 (A) Domingos António de Sequeira: The Last Judgement, 1832–3. Charcoal and chalk. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

(B) Domingos António de Sequeira: The Viscount of Santarém and Family, *c.* 1805–10. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

191 (A) Josefa d'Aiala: The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine, 1672. *Cascais, Matriz* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga)

(B) Manuel da Costa Ataíde: Ceiling, 1803–4. *Ouro Preto, São Francisco* (Hess)

192 (A) Peruvian School: Viceroy Count Salvatierra, *c.* 1655. Detail. *Lima, San Francisco* (Jeannette)

(B) Peruvian School: An Evangelist, eighteenth century. *Lima, Buena Muerte* (Jeannette)

FOREWORD

The Editor hoped when he commissioned this volume in 1947 – and the authors hoped when they began work – that it would treat the art and architecture of the Iberian Empires from the Renaissance to the Napoleonic Wars. Ten years' labours and many travels have gone into a book which falls short of the original aim by the omission of Asia, Oceania, Africa, and the rest of Europe. It is as well, for the literature on the Spanish and Portuguese work of these continents is not ready for use. Had the needed works of earlier scholarship existed, the authors would have been more embarrassed than they now are by the riches they must describe in so few words and with so few pictures.

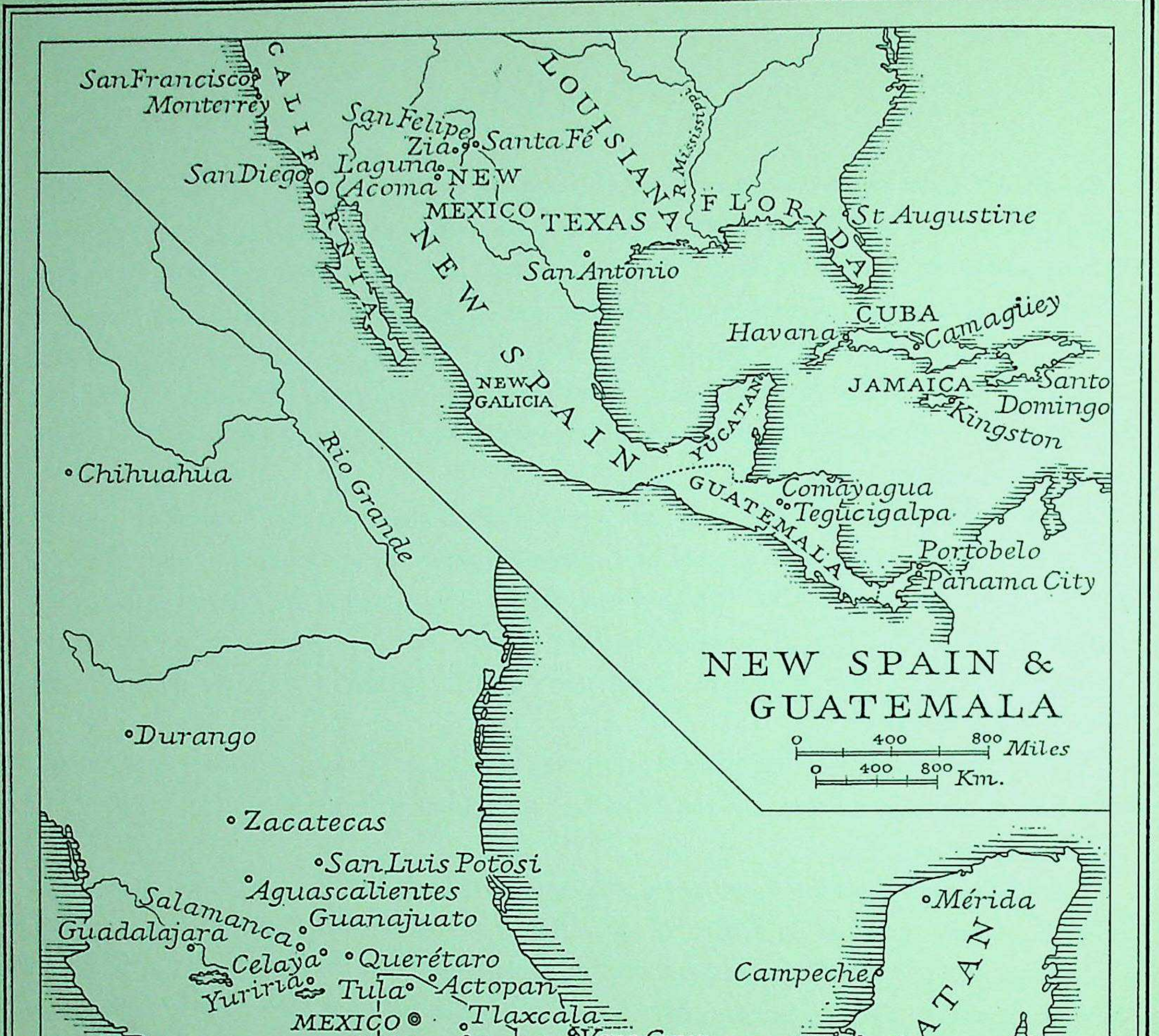
The main justification for our pains has been a continual awareness that no book of the scope of this one exists in any language, and that students everywhere are in need of one. We have kept two aims always in mind: to respect regional groupings, even at the expense of nationalist sentiment; and to treat style as our most important concern. We have tried to reflect the state of knowledge, and we believe that the perspectives opened by this wide range allowed many unexpected discoveries.

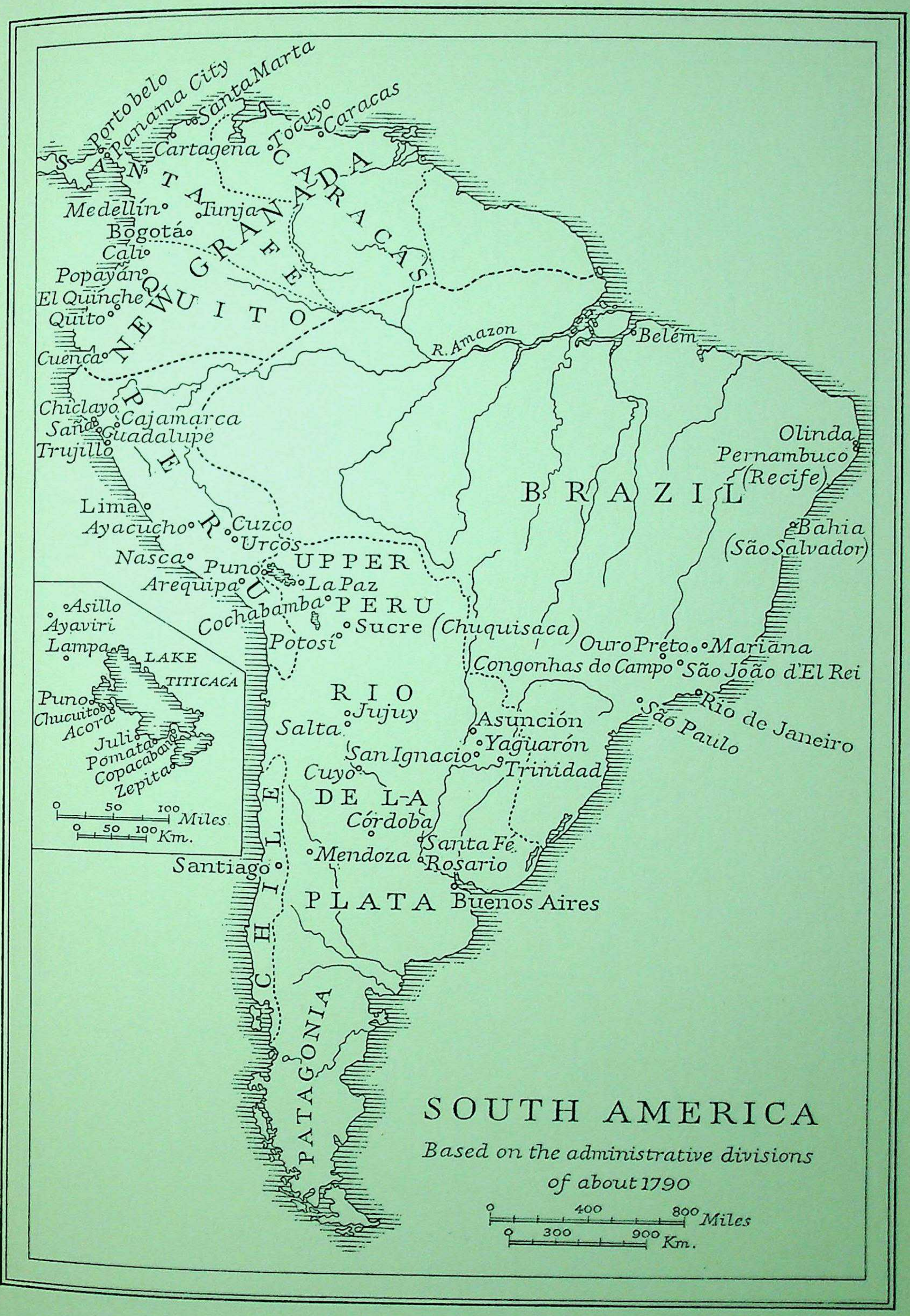
Entire agreement between the authors is fortunately lacking. We have occasionally differed on questions of common interest, and the differences are evident without weakening, we hope, the integrity of our purpose.

The bibliography and the footnotes try only to open the windows on more complete readings. They do not pretend either to exhaust the literature or to settle disputed points.

Separately and together the authors wish to express gratitude for support and assistance to these institutions: Yale University, Michigan State University, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Bollingen Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, the Belgian-American Educational Foundation, Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico in Barcelona, Instituto Diego Velázquez in Madrid, Museu de Arte Antiga and Academia Nacional de Belas Artes in Lisbon, Laboratorio de Arte at the University of Seville, Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales in Mexico, Biblioteca Nacional in Sucre, the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels. For guidance, advice, and help, cordial thanks are offered to Luis Alberto Acuña, Rafael Aguilar, Sr and Sra Santiago Alcolea, Diego Angulo, Carlos de Azevedo, Joseph Baird, Jr, Luis Benavente, Peter Bohan, Mario Buschiazzo, Mário Tavares Chicó, Fernando Chueca, João Couto, Nicolás Delgado, Agustín Durán Sanpere, Guillermo Fráncovich, Fernando Gamboa, Manuel Gómez-Moreno, María Elena Gómez-Moreno, José Gudiol, John Hoag, Mgr Junyent, Pál and Elizabeth Kelemen, Celestino López Martínez, Franz Mayer, Gunnar Mendoza, Anton Ventura Porfirio, Antonio Sancho Corbacho, Alfredo Santibáñez, Luis Reis Santos, and Harold and Alice Wethey.

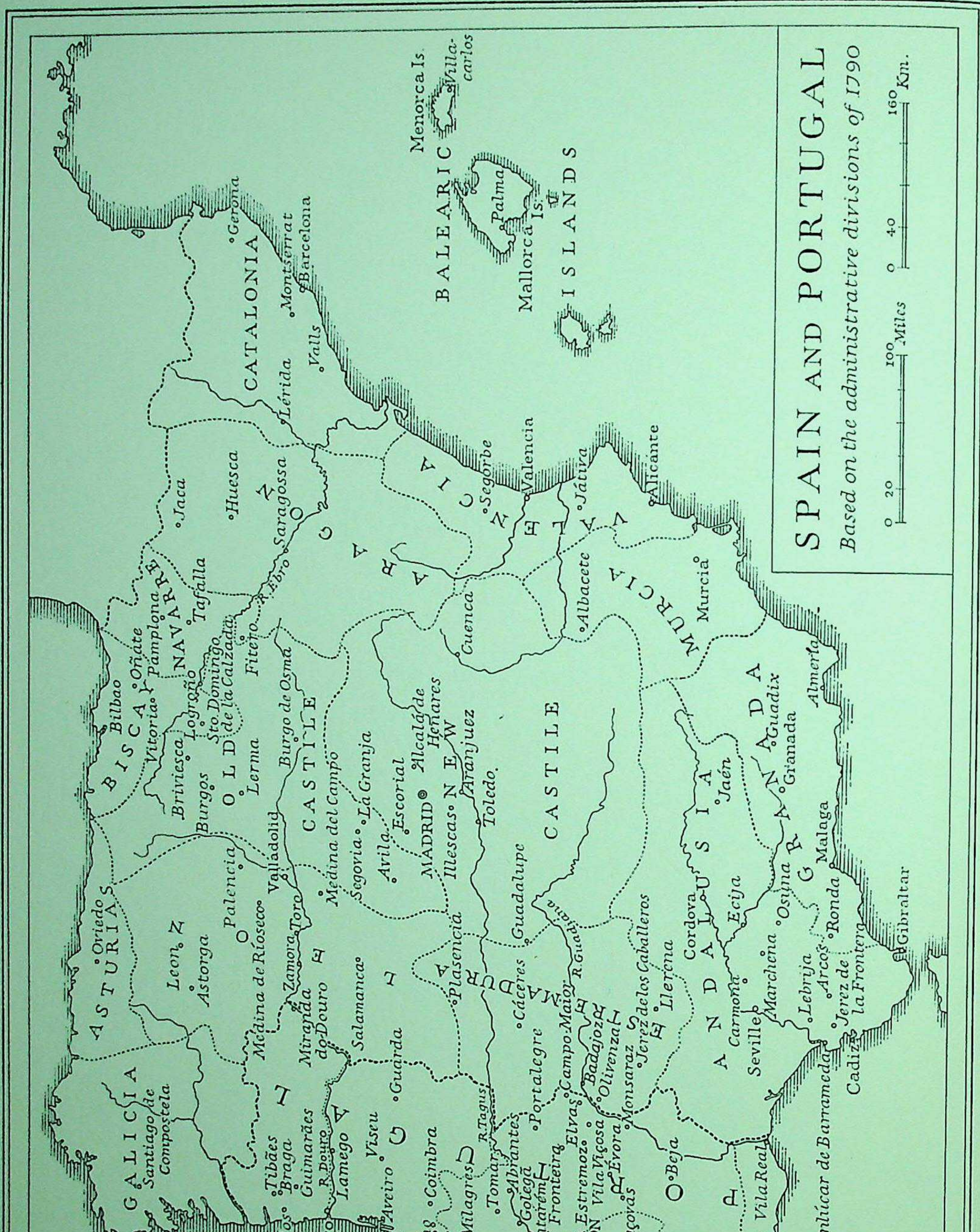
G. K.
M. S.


NEW SPAIN & GUATEMALA
0 400 800 Miles
0 400 800 Km.
San Francisco
Monterrey
San Diego
CALIFORNIA
San Felipe
Zia
Santa Fé
Laguna
Acoma
NEW MEXICO
LOUISIANA
Mississippi R.
TEXAS
FLORIDA
St Augustine
San Antonio
NEW SPAIN
NEW GALICIA
CUBA
Havana
Camagüey
JAMAICA
Santo Domingo
Kingston
YUCATAN
GUATEMALA
Comayagua
Tegucigalpa
Portobelo
Panama City
MEXICO & YUCATAN
0 50 250 Miles
0 100 300 Km.
Chihuahua
Rio Grande
Durango
Zacatecas
San Luis Potosi
Aguascalientes
Salamanca
Guanajuato
Guadalajara
Celaya
Querétaro
Yuriria
Tula
Actopan
MEXICO CITY
Tlaxcala
Puebla
Vera Cruz
Taxco
Mérida
Campeche
YUCATAN
Yanhuitlán
Cuilapan
Oaxaca
Chiapa de Corzo
Rabinal
Guatemala City
Antigua
Chiquimula
Esquipulas
San Salvador
Tula
Tepotzotlán
Acolman
MEXICO CITY
Guadalupe
Tlaxcala
Xochimilco
Tlalmanalco
Huejotzingo
Calpan
Cholula
Puebla
S. María Tonantzintla
Tepeaca
Oaxtepec
Yecapixtla
Tecali
0 10 50 Miles
0 20 80 Km.


Portobelo
Panama City
Santa Marta
Caracas
Tocuyo
Cartagena
SANTA FE
NEW GRANADA
CARACAS
Medellín
Tunja
Bogotá
Cali
Popayán
El Quinche
Quito
QUITO
Cuenca
R. Amazon
Belém
Chiclayo
Saña
Cajamarca
Guadalupe
Trujillo
PERU
Olinda
Pernambuco (Recife)
BRAZIL
Lima
Ayacucho
Cuzco
Urcos
Bahia (São Salvador)
Nasca
Puno
UPPER PERU
Arequipa
La Paz
Cochabamba
Potosí
Sucre (Chuquisaca)
Ouro Preto
Mariana
Congonhas do Campo
São João d'El Rei
Asillo
Ayaviri
Lampa
LAKE TITICACA
Puno
Chucuito
Acora
Juli
Pomata
Copacabana
Zepita
0 50 100 Miles
0 50 100 Km.
RIO DE LA PLATA
Jujuy
Salta
Asunción
Yaguarón
San Ignacio
Trinidad
Rio de Janeiro
São Paulo
Cuyo
Córdoba
Santa Fé
Mendoza
Rosario
Santiago
Buenos Aires
CHILE
PATAGONIA
0 400 800 Miles
0 300 900 Km.

SOUTH AMERICA

Based on the administrative divisions of about 1790



SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Based on the administrative divisions of 1790

0 20 40 100 Miles
0 40 160 Km.
GALICIA
Santiago de Compostela
ASTURIAS
Oviedo
Leon
Astorga
BISCAY
Bilbao
Vitoria
Oñate
NAVARRE
Pamplona
Tafalla
Logroño
Sto. Domingo de la Calzada
Fitero
Briviesca
Burgos
OLD CASTILE
Lerma
Burgo de Osma
Palencia
Valladolid
Medina de Rioseco
Zamora
Toro
Medina del Campo
Segovia
La Granja
Avila
Escorial
MADRID
Alcalá de Henares
Illescas
Aranjuez
Toledo
NEW CASTILE
Salamanca
LEON
Miranda do Douro
ARAGON
Jaca
Huesca
Saragossa
R. Ebro
CATALONIA
Gerona
Montserrat
Barcelona
Lérida
Valls
BALEARIC ISLANDS
Menorca Is.
Villa-carlos
Mallorca Is.
Palma
VALENCIA
Segorbe
Valencia
Játiva
Alicante
Cuenca
Albacete
MURCIA
Murcia
ESTREMADURA
Plasencia
Guadalupe
Cáceres
Campo Maior
R. Guadiana
Badajoz
Olivenza
Jerez de los Caballeros
Llerena
ANDALUSIA
Cordova
Ecija
Carmona
Seville
Marchena
Osuna
Lebrija
Arcos
Jerez de la Frontera
Cadiz
Sanlúcar de Barrameda
Ronda
Gibraltar
GRANADA
Jaén
Granada
Guadix
Almería
Malaga
PORTUGAL
Barcelos
Tibães
Braga
Guimarães
Oporto
R. Douro
Lamego
Viseu
Guarda
Aveiro
Coimbra
Montemor-o-Velho
Leiria
Milagres
Batalha
Alcobaça
Caldas da Rainha
Óbidos
Lourinhã
Mafra
Cintra
Oeiras
Queluz
LISBON
Setúbal
Alcaçovas
Tomar
R. Tagus
Abrantes
Golegã
Santarém
Fronteira
Portalegre
Elvas
Estremoz
Vila Viçosa
Evora
Monsaraz
Beja
Vila Real

PART ONE

ARCHITECTURE

BY

GEORGE KUBLER

CHAPTER I

PLATERESQUE AND PURIST STYLES 1480–1650

FROM GUAS TO VANDELVIRA

A NEW epoch in Spanish architecture opened about 1480, after a long period of inactivity. It began with a late medieval style in fashion under the Catholic Kings, passed through the two stages of Plateresque style under Charles V, and ended with the severe style of Juan de Herrera and his followers.

The Isabelline Preliminaries

Juan Guas [1] (d. 1496) was the outstanding architect of Spain after 1480. He was a Breton by birth, trained in Brussels. He settled in Toledo with a group of Flemish workmen in his employ *c.* 1450. Three principal works are securely his: San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo (design 1479/80); the Infantado Palace in Guadalajara (1480–3); and the chapel of San Gregorio in Valladolid (1488). His participation is documented at the Parral monastery of the Jeronymites near Segovia (*c.* 1472) and at Santa Cruz in Segovia.

The blind-aisled or cryptocollateral church plan, if it is not his invention, owes its sixteenth-century form to Guas.[2] The type at San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo (Figure 1) has square, rib-vaulted bays flanked by deep chapels between interior buttresses without aisles. Another *mise au point* by Guas at Toledo is the interior façade-tribune spanning the nave at the entrance, as a choir-loft for the use of the musicians,[3] in a solution later used throughout the Spanish and Portuguese world. At the chapel of San Gregorio in Valladolid, Guas may have designed the retable-façade containing many *Sondergotik* forms derived, as in northern Europe, from trees and bushes. The extrusion of altar-carving was unprecedented, and Guas is perhaps to be credited with the first formulation of a type that became standard in Spain and America after 1650. Finally, Guas's design for the Palacio del Infantado at Guadalajara is the earliest of the large town-houses of the Spanish nobles, and it is the first palace of Italian block-design outside Italy. The façade ornament, though *mudéjar* in origin, is Italianate by its external display. Italian also are the arcaded courtyard and the piano nobile.

Guas exemplifies the cosmopolitan nature of the Isabelline style. He reconciled medieval structure with *mudéjar* ornament and Italian space-design. He also found lasting solutions for the peculiar ritual and decorative needs of Spain at home and in the Colonies.

The other principal figure of the period, Lorenzo Vázquez, has been called the Spanish Brunelleschi. Born at Segovia, he lived in Valladolid. It is supposed (on grounds of style alone) that he was trained in Bologna.[4] His hand appears most clearly at Valladolid in the Colegio de Santa Cruz. The ground floor, begun in 1486, is still a Gothic structure.

The wall buttresses at ground-level support a screen of Flamboyant tracery. In 1491, Lorenzo Vázquez transformed the design with a rusticated centre panel, of classical orders on the upper buttress faces, beneath a modillion cornice.

The Medinaceli Palace at Cogolludo (1492–5) has also been assigned to Lorenzo Vázquez. If the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Valladolid is a Gothic structure plated with Renaissance details, the Medinaceli Palace (Plate 1A) is a Renaissance structure with Gothic ornament.[5] It recalls Filarete's Banco Mediceo in Milan, by its harmonic proportions and twin windows under pointed Flamboyant arches.

At San Antonio de Mondejar (before 1508), Vázquez appears as a naive ornamentalist, one of the first to display the energetic fantasy of Plateresque design. The dissociated elements of the classical vocabulary spill out over the portal. Above a round arch with its entablature comes a segmental arch enclosing a shell form. Above this a pseudo-pediment, lacking a lower member, interweaves among candelabra.

Vázquez renewed his acquaintance with Italian Renaissance forms in the province of Granada, at Calahorra Castle (Figure 3), where the Carlone family of Genoa was employed in 1509. Vázquez built the castle walls, according to Gómez-Moreno. The Carlone family installed the courtyard, carved of Carrara marble in Genoa and shipped to Spain.

Italian fashions first entered northern Spain with Lorenzo Vázquez in the region bounded by Toledo, Valladolid, and Alcalá in Castile. Another centre was Saragossa, where the Morlanes family carved the alabaster retable-façade of Santa Engracia (before 1504 to 1519). Into the south-west, from Granada to Valencia, Italian artists were brought by aristocratic patrons between 1505 and 1510. In addition to the courtyard of Calahorra Castle, a palace was built for Geronimo Vich in Valencia about 1510, with a Venetian window of Carrara marble. These first importations, whether in Castile, Aragon, or Andalusia, originated at Genoa, Bologna, and Florence in a more restrained ornamental tradition than the capricious Lombard forms that appeared during the next decades in Spain.

The First Plateresque Style to 1540

The term Plateresque means 'silversmith-like', but it does not specify a metalwork origin; it is descriptive only of appearances, occurring first to Cristóbal de Villalón in 1539 to describe the Gothic cathedral of Leon. A century later Ortiz de Zúñiga described the Capilla de los Reyes in Seville Cathedral as made of *fantasías platerescas*. The conceit is purely literary, for Spanish silverwork remained gothicizing until 1540, the date of Antonio de Arfe's Renaissance *custodia* for Santiago Cathedral.[6]

Plateresque ornament is 'adjectival'.[7] It fits loosely upon the structure it adorns. No clear necessity determines location, context, or scale. The expressive effect is often extravagant and florid, suggesting great animation and energy, but at unexpected places and for unclear reasons. The ornament is never delicate. If it could be conveyed in sound, it would be loud, harsh, and intricate of rhythm.

Early Plateresque architecture escapes both medieval and Renaissance definitions. The medieval architect achieved form by segmentation – by the addition of identical units. The Renaissance architect proceeded by derivation from a unitary conception of the

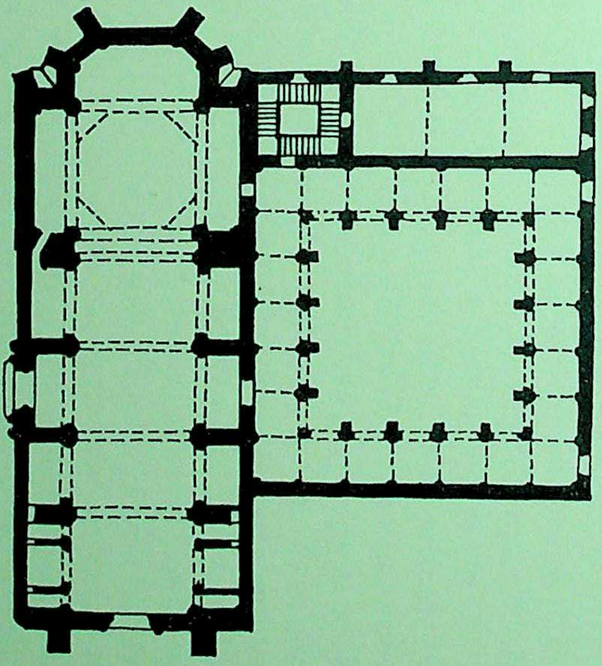


Figure 1. Juan Guas:
Toledo, San Juan de los Reyes, designed 1479/80.
Plan of church and cloister

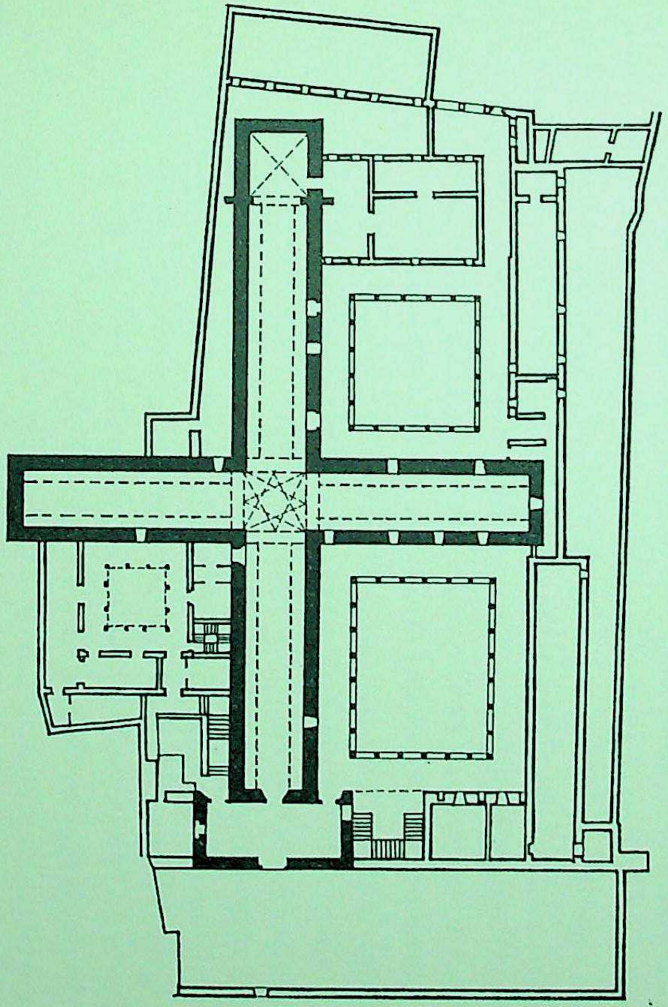


Figure 2. Enrique Egas:
Toledo, Hospital de Santa Cruz, 1504–14.
Plan

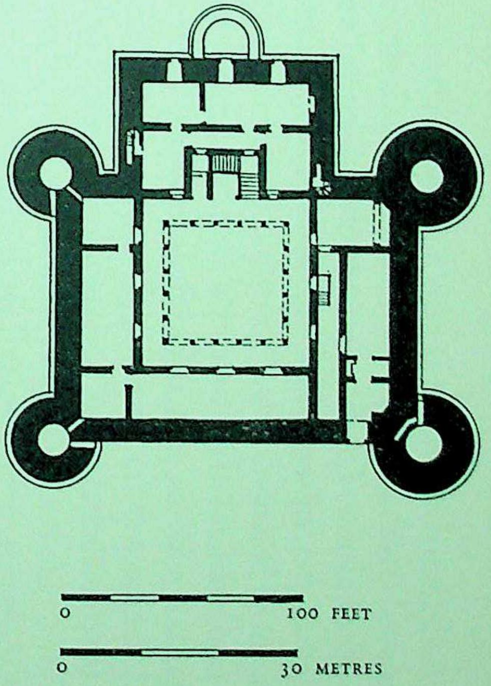


Figure 3. Michele Carlone and family:
Calahorra Castle, *c.* 1509.
Plan

whole form. In Plateresque ornament neither principle prevails. The shapes are clotted rather than segmented. A Plateresque façade seems invertebrate, composed of clusters of ornament which stress neither function (as in medieval design) nor total harmony (as in Renaissance design). Later, however, the architects of the 'second style' imitated Italian conceptions of integral harmony.

The practical achievements of the first style are not inconsiderable. (1) New functional programmes appear,[8] such as plazas, hospitals, schools, town-houses, country seats, town halls, and exchanges. (2) In a major reform of Gothic rib-vaulting practice, Plateresque ribs become round arches, and the webs approach domical vaults. This more stable system allows wall buttresses to replace the flying buttresses of Gothic construction. (3) The standard volume is the 'hall church' with nave and aisles of equal height, lacking clerestory windows, but suitable for religious and secular use alike.

The reputation of Enrique Egas [9] (d. 1534) as a builder is attested by the many times he served as a consultant, for example on the *cimborio* or crossing vault of the Seo in Saragossa (1505) and Seville Cathedral (1512 and 1515), and on the cathedral projects in Malaga (1528) and Segovia (1529). His own most notable design is the Hospital Real in Santiago de Compostela. Its construction, authorized in 1499, was in progress from 1501 to 1511. The principal doorway was contracted in 1518 to two French sculptors, Martín Blas and Guillén Colis; its Manueline accent may be due to Blas's earlier connexions at Coimbra. The design by Egas repeats the cruciform plan of Italian hospitals of the Quattrocento, such as Filarete's for the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, and Sangallo's Santo Spirito Hospital in Rome (1473–6).

In Toledo, the cruciform Hospital de Santa Cruz (1504–14) has long been attributed to Egas.[10] The two-storeyed sick-rooms and the vaulted crossing are like those of the hospital in Santiago. The vestibule, the patios, the portal, and the stairway decoration are all by Alonso de Covarrubias after 1515 (Figure 2).

The open-well staircase structure is probably by Egas. The only earlier stair like it in Europe was built by 1504 at Toledo (Figure 1) in the cloister of San Juan de los Reyes.[11] The type has usually been accredited to the Genoese, but the earliest open-well stair built by the Genoese is Spanish, after 1509, at Calahorra Castle (province of Granada), by Michele Carlone and his family (Figure 3). The Calahorra stair has a scenographic [12] setting at the centre of the patio range, instead of being enclosed in a room at the corner, as in San Juan de los Reyes. But the first stair to expose the ascent to the view of people in the court was the corner stair in the Toledo Hospital.

Mudéjar is an Arabic term, signifying a tributary, or sedentary subject. The word is of fourteenth-century origin, and since about 1850 it has come to refer to Moorish art in Spain under Christian domination, notably in Andalusia, Aragon, and Castile. *Mudéjar* art is a folk art of wall ornament and wooden ceilings. G. G. King noted the *mudéjar* affinities of Plateresque ornament when she stressed its 'low relief, recurrent patterns, indifference to balance and accent ... repudiation of the Gothic principle of supremacy and subordination'.[13]

Pedro de Gumiel, active at least until 1516 as architect to Cardinal Ximénez at Alcalá, was the chief proponent of the 'Cisneros style' of decoration in *mudéjar* patterns. His participation in the design of the academic theatre (*paraninfo*) of the University of Alcalá (1518–19) is not documented, but the room (Plate 1B) is the chief example of the style with which his name is connected. The chamber is two storeys high, surrounded on three sides by a tribune at the upper level. This tribune opens upon the main chamber by segmental-arched windows, under a painted wooden ceiling. The academic sessions met on the ground floor, surrounded on three sides by solid walls. Above them the galleries held the public. The solution is like the throne-room with galleries in the Aljafería at Saragossa. The medieval system of a central chamber abutted by surrounding tribunes; the Renaissance arabesques of plaster at the tribune openings; and the Moorish interlaces in the ceiling make up the familiar Plateresque triad.

Juan de Alava (active 1505–37) was a leader among those who sought to rejuvenate the system of rib-vault and flying buttresses.[14] He substituted semicircular ribs for pointed ones, and handkerchief vaults for the Gothic tradition of steep webs rising to flat summits. His masterwork is San Esteban in Salamanca, begun in 1524 on a crypto-collateral plan. The wall surfaces are massive and dense, lightened by crocketed and finialled buttresses fastening the vaults inside like skewers (Plate 2). Alava treated the flying buttress as half a Roman arch, complete with impost and entablature. The buttress faces are paired pilasters panelled in classical mouldings. The penetration of the medieval structure by classical forms is almost complete: only the crocketed finials preserve the ornamental forms of Gothic architecture.

Diego de Riaño (d. 1534) first appeared at Valladolid as the designer of the Colegiata, begun in 1517. In the same year he was engaged as *maestro* on the cathedral in Seville. His style is known only by the town hall in Seville, where his dense and refined surfaces strike an alien Italo-Castilian note (Plate 3A). The Ayuntamiento is a fragment. Its interior is a medieval maze of functionally connected chambers, all packed into a symmetrical Renaissance envelope like those of North Italian municipal buildings (e.g. Brescia).

In 1529/30 the cathedral chapter of Seville received designs for three rooms, all in different styles, from Riaño: one Gothic, one Plateresque, and one Graeco-Roman.[15] The event is matched in the career of Diego de Siloe. In 1528 his *a lo romano* design for Granada Cathedral greatly disturbed Charles V because of the conflict with the gothicizing style of the adjacent Capilla Real, built for the tombs of Ferdinand and Isabella (Figure 4). Early in 1529 the emperor ordered work to stop, and Siloe had to go to court at Toledo to defend his design. The incident reveals the awareness of the men of the time that the concurrent practice of different styles might lead to aesthetic disorder. This confusion of styles was at its peak in the late 1520s: it prefigures the eclecticism of nineteenth-century architecture in Europe and America.

Diego de Siloe (*c.* 1495–1563), like Covarrubias, began as a sculptor in the Italian manner.[16] His forms are always heavy, stressing massive stability by firmly outlined compartments and by robust mouldings. His surfaces are energetic yet harmonious. Like many of his contemporaries, he used the roundel to enhance the illusion of dense mass, as in the North Italian work by Bramante. The Plateresque roundel usually encloses a profile head like an ancient coin, inviting the spectator's tactile enjoyment. The

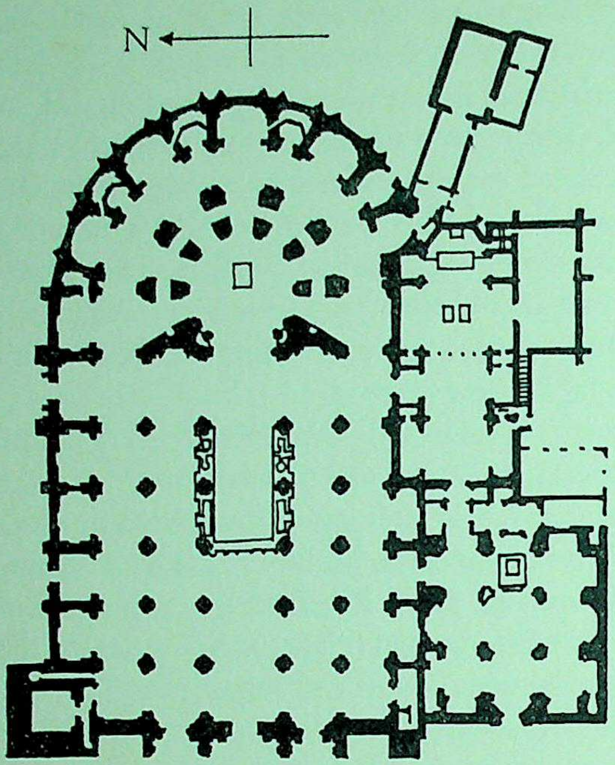


Figure 4. Diego de Siloe:
Granada Cathedral, begun 1528.
Plan

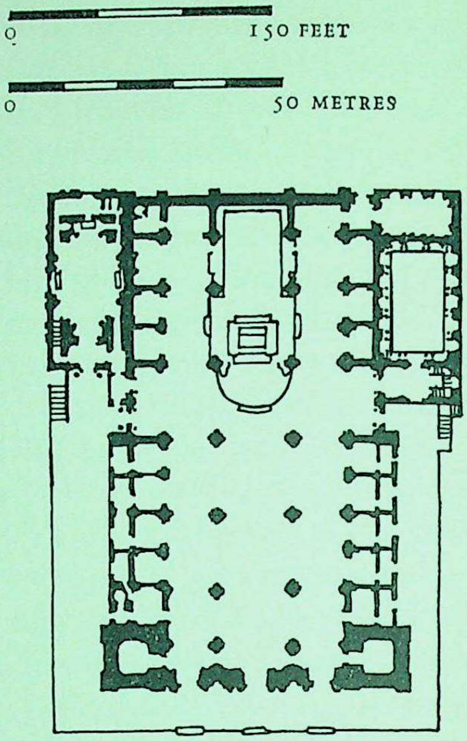


Figure 5. Andrés Vandelvira:
Jaén Cathedral, begun 1546.
Plan

heroes of mythology often lean forth from the wall, gesticulating with phylacteries, and suggesting an active and crowded life within the thickness of the wall. Such roundels, like the portrait roundels of the Early Christian sarcophagi which are their origin, symbolically endow the stone with energetic life.

Siloe's associate in Burgos was the Burgundian Felipe Vigarny,[17] from whom he absorbed traits of the French style of François I. He turned early to architecture, in the Bramantine forked stairway of the north transept (Escalera Dorada) at Burgos Cathedral (1519–26). In 1528 his great powers found their fulfilment in the design for Granada Cathedral, where it was his ambition to build like the Romans. He absorbed these Renaissance ideals of archaeological 'fidelity' in the Italianate atmosphere that had already been created in Andalusia by Francesco and Jacopo Florentino and Pedro Machuca, as well as by the Carlone family at Calahorra Castle. At Murcia from 1512 Francesco Florentino executed the Puerta de las Cadenas. He also began the tower stages of the cathedral. In Granada he built the chevet of San Jerónimo to cornice-level by 1523/4. Siloe completed this church in 1528–43, working out in it many solutions of the Cathedral rotunda.

Granada Cathedral [18] is the measure of Siloe's genius. Its scheme is the most complex in the history of cathedral designs. The cylindrical rotunda chevet (Plate 3B) is ringed by an ambulatory and radiating chapels. The approach to the rotunda is through an immense double-aisled pavilion. This is actually a hall church, but it is compounded with a double transept [19] and the corresponding clerestory windows.

Siloe's model, according to Rosenthal, was the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, where rotunda and basilica were conjoined. Siloe may have known of Alberti's original plan of 1450 for the Tempio Malatestiano, a burial church at Rimini in Italy.

The purpose of Siloe's rotunda was to allow the perpetual adoration of the Host in a ritual to purify Granada from the taint of the Moorish occupation. Rosenthal sees the rotunda plan, unprecedented in allowing full circulation around the altar, as a manifestation of humanist religious symbolism during the ascendancy of Erasmus at the court of Charles V (1527–33). Thus Granada Cathedral was a grateful memorial to the triumphant Christ. Physical beauty, as a token of God's grace, justified the imitation of antique forms in the Christian church.

The majestic space and the symbolic power of Granada Cathedral mark it as the greatest of Plateresque buildings. In it Siloe transcended and redirected the style of his contemporaries. As with many architects of the first rank, his other works are often derivations from the commanding design or variations upon it. The tower of Santa María del Campo near Burgos (1527), though it is a porch tower, prefigures the design of the Granada tower. The Salvador church at Ubeda (1536) again combines a rotunda and nave. San Gabriel at Loja (1552–68) has a most unusual trefoil chevet in a variant upon the rotunda theme. Guadix Cathedral (1549) has an apsidal ambulatory and a round sacristy.

The Second Plateresque Style

The organization of the royal works during the 1530s gave the monarchy its first permanent residences, and it gave Plateresque architecture the impetus of a national style. Beginning about 1537–40, designers changed from the earlier loose membering, and from haphazard ornamental divagation, to a grander system of unified design on High Renaissance principles, of which Siloe alone had been the prophet. The use of the orders is increasingly correct and frequent. The decorative Lombard *hors d'œuvres* of the earlier stage either disappear or retreat to inconspicuous positions. The new rounded rib-vaults allow massive Renaissance effects to displace Gothic lightness and articulation. The superfluous ribs gradually disappear to make way for geometric vault-compartments of Italian origin. Prince Philip, born in 1527, first favoured the style, but he abandoned it in 1553, when he appointed Francisco de Villalpando to replace Covarrubias at the Alcázar in Toledo. He eventually cut off the Plateresque tradition by turning his attention to a new severe style of which the Escorial is the master-work.

Alonso de Covarrubias (1488–1570) [20] began as an Italianate sculptor, with forms like those of the Sienese circle of Francesco di Giorgio and Lorenzo di Mariano. His arabesques and grotesques continued the charming ornamental undiscipline of Lorenzo Vázquez upon the great ornamental programmes of the day at Sigüenza, Toledo, Alcalá, and Guadalajara until 1534.[21] Thereafter he turned to architecture, probably in order to benefit from the monarchy's new organization of the royal works. Gaspar and Luis de Vega were the administrative heads – Luis in charge of royal palaces, and his nephew Gaspar specializing in the supervision of foreign artisans. Covarrubias was their designer until 1553. Thus by date his career belongs to the second Plateresque style, but by the formal properties of his work he is a retardataire master of the first style.

His chief work is the Alcázar of Toledo, designed in 1537 upon a quadrangular plan with projecting corner towers. The main façade (Plate 4A) unites palace and castle forms by extending a part of the arcaded rhythm of the courtyard to an exterior elevation. To an Italian, the façade is full of solecisms, such as rustication and windows on bracket-sills in the top storey. Both such forms 'belong' at ground-level. But this inversion satisfies a Spanish (and Islamic) need for an ornament like tapestry hangings, as it is also seen in Covarrubias's design of 1559 for the remodelling of the Puerta Bisagra at Toledo. The arched outer doorway, drawn from Serlio, is surmounted by a gigantic banner in stone showing the double-headed eagle crest of Charles V between stubby rusticated turrets.

In 1553 Covarrubias fell out of favour with Prince Philip. Francisco de Villalpando, whose bookish purity of style heralded the barren manner of the Escorial,[22] was appointed to his place as master of royal works. Covarrubias's best works exemplified 'national' Spanish style; his others were provincial, like the hall church at Getafe (1549), with cylindrical Doric entablature blocks on top of each column.[23] Prince Philip no doubt discarded Covarrubias in 1553 because he was an old man, and because the first Plateresque style, with its awkward enthusiasms, of which Covarrubias was the leading representative in Castile, had been obsolete since about 1540.

Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón (1500/10–1577) united in his career the late medieval style of his father Juan Gil, with the most complete expression of the aims of the second Plateresque style. As a constructor he continued the line of Juan de Alava: a text of 1539 cites him with Siloe, Vigarny, and Juan de Rasines as a very learned theorist of stereotomy. In decoration, his work has the fluid and melodic ease of Covarrubias's. He achieved derivative membering in contrast to the accumulative membering of his predecessors, without becoming either a purist student of antiquity or the imitator of Italian works. His activity extends through Castile, Leon, and western Spain.[24]

He compiled a treatise on architecture[25] which is a unique record of the computation of thrusts and of proportional calculations, both of medieval origin, which he learned from his father. Juan Gil was the true inheritor of the German school of the Colonia family of Burgos, whose ascendancy ended with the mediocre sculptor, Francisco Colonia[26] (*c.* 1470–*c.* 1542), before 1520. Juan Gil laid the corner-stone of Segovia Cathedral in 1525; he died in 1526, and the plans were executed by his son, who continued in charge until the nave was vaulted in 1538/9.

At Segovia Cathedral, Plateresque architecture can be seen as the continuation of Late Medieval practices in planning and in structure. Here it is useful to distinguish between Gothic and Late Medieval design. Gothic architecture, which sought to enclose vertical spaces by thin buttresses and glass walls, ended about 1300. Thereafter architects aimed for unified spaces under a simplified roofing. Hence Late Medieval spaces generally resemble Renaissance spaces, with all respect to great differences of structure and decoration.

The Late Medieval drift towards unified spaces and ponderous masses of classical tradition is best illustrated at Salamanca Cathedral in a conflict over the form of the nave supports, arising between 1515 and 1522. One group wanted massive columns; another favoured slender clusters of colonnettes. The progressives (Juan de Rasines, active 1522–42, and Vasco de la Zarza, active 1499–1524) wanted a hall church of nave and aisles each 110 feet high, for economy, and to avoid cross-thrusts in the supports. The conservatives won the day with the extant clerestory system, of which Rodrigo Gil built the high vaults in 1538–50.[27]

Rodrigo Gil's method of proportioning the plan of a church also satisfies a Renaissance ideal while continuing a Late Medieval tradition. The habit of relating all parts in simple arithmetical ratios was an integral part of Gothic practice. Toledo Cathedral in the thirteenth century was laid out upon a double square, with derived dimensions for aisle and nave bays, as in the treatise by Rodrigo Gil.[28] This arithmetical harmony (Alberti's *concinnitas*) centred in Italy upon the proportions of the golden or $\sqrt{2}$ rectangle (in which the long side of the rectangle equals the hypotenuse of a square formed on the short side). Spanish architects generally preferred a sesquialter (3 : 2) proportion, less elongated than the Italian rectangle, but producing the squat and rugged strength that distinguishes Spanish design.

Rodrigo's masterpieces, and the main monuments of the second Plateresque style, are two secular buildings: the Monterrey Palace in Salamanca, and the University façade in Alcalá de Henares. In Salamanca Rodrigo with Fray Martín de Santiago signed plans (probably prepared some years earlier) for the town-house of the Count of Monterrey in 1539. Only one wing of the great plan to enclose four courts was built. It is bare at ground-level; ornate in the skyline; dense in massing; heavily layered; ponderous yet refined. The decorated chimneys are borrowed from Touraine or England.

At the University in Alcalá, construction began under Rodrigo in 1537 and ended in 1553, among fireworks and popular jubilation. It is an extraordinarily energetic design, achieved by a method of interlocking squares (Plate 4B). Two squares, whose sides equal the total height of the façade, overlap to define the central doorway panel. The lateral compartments flanking the centre are divided into three storeys. In each lateral panel the first and second storeys form a square: second and third storeys form another square overlapping with the lower one. Both the central panel and the piano nobile are therefore framed by the overlapping of square compartments. The effect is centripetal: at every point the eye is returned to the central zones.

Rodrigo's ornament retained strong medieval accents even in this most classicizing system. For example, the main doorway has a basket-handle arch, serving two purposes: its flattened curve stresses the tranquil flow of layered design; and its many-centred curve is more energetic than the half-round arch. The form first appeared in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as a discharging arch to relieve the load over a window door. Gothic builders usually concealed it on the façade, and it showed only on the interior, affording a bay in the thickness of the wall. It emerged into full outside view only in the fifteenth century, when horizontal effects became fashionable.

The knotted Franciscan cord is carved on the arch rim of the portal. It reappears in the crowning entablature and down the sides, as if tying the central design together. Such forms of high symbolic value, like the chain mouldings signifying the Reconquest at San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, are unclassical.

Andrés Vandelvira (1509–75) was Diego de Siloe's pupil, as well as his executant at the Salvador Church in Ubeda (plan 1536, built 1540–59 with doorways designed by Vandelvira).[29] Like Covarrubias, he moved from ornamental exercises to a more architectural style after 1540. His great work is the cathedral of Jaén, begun in 1546 as a hall church (Figure 5). Each nave bay has doubled aisle chapels, as in Barcelona Cathedral. The flat chevet is patterned upon Seville Cathedral.

The sacristy at Jaén, commissioned in 1548 and completed by 1556, is the best example of a Plateresque type. It is barrel-vaulted on an oblong plan with arcosolia or niches vaulted at right angles to the main vault. The niches hold clothes-presses for vestments. An early example of the same type (1532) is the sacristy at Sigüenza Cathedral, probably by Covarrubias. At Jaén the sacristy is lined with a screen of full round columns in two storeys.

The Santiago Hospital Church at Ubeda (1562–75) is Vandelvira's last work. The nave is lined by deep barrel-vaulted chapels, two on each side. Between the chapels rise two towers, as if from the centre of the church. The terrace and courtyard of the hospital reflect the Escorial design, both in plan and in the severe elevations.

Herrera and his Sequel

The Italianate Prologue

Side by side with Plateresque architecture there exist a few buildings in a purely Italian style transplanted to Spain. At Granada, Pedro Machuca's palace for Charles V rose together with Siloe's cathedral. It is a Roman palace in Bramantine taste, perhaps the most complete of its type in Europe (Figure 6). Before the mid century another Italianate edifice was begun at the edge of Toledo – the Afuera Hospital of San Juan Bautista, for Cardinal Tavera.[30] Neither building influenced the course of the Plateresque style; in fact both were contaminated by it. They express the taste of a courtly class to whom Plateresque work was an untutored provincial extravagance. They prepared the way for the coming replacement of Plateresque energy by Vignolan manners in the reign of Philip II.

Construction of the palace of Charles V according to Pedro Machuca's designs started in 1527 and continued to 1568, when revenue was cut off by the Morisco rebellion in Granada.[31] Machuca, born in Toledo, became a painter in Italy, and returned to Spain with Jacopo Florentino in 1520. The Italian antecedents of his design are obvious: its elevations belong to the group of Roman palaces[32] designed by Bramante and Raphael between 1515 and 1520.

The circular courtyard within the block stands upon a platform 5 feet higher than the exterior building level.[33] Its dimensions approach those of the round portico of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. At ground-level a remarkable annular vault spends its thrusts in the horizontal voussoirs of the giant circular entablature and in the square encasing block of abutting chambers. In the triangular spaces between the square and the ring, Machuca fitted an octagonal chapel and three winding staircases. The vestibule behind the east entrance, if really designed in 1527,[34] is one of the earliest oval chambers in Europe.[35]

Palomino listed Machuca as a follower of Raphael. Jacopo Florentino called him a pupil of Michelangelo. But Francisco da Hollanda numbered him among the three 'eagles' of Spanish Renaissance art. Hispanic traits are not hard to find in the palace. The discontinuity of inner and outer form, as well as the large south and west doorways intruding upon the cadenced Italian fronts, seem at home in Spain. The garlanded window-frames[36] and the awkward volutes of the capitals of the south doorway are strident Plateresque invasions of the Roman surface.

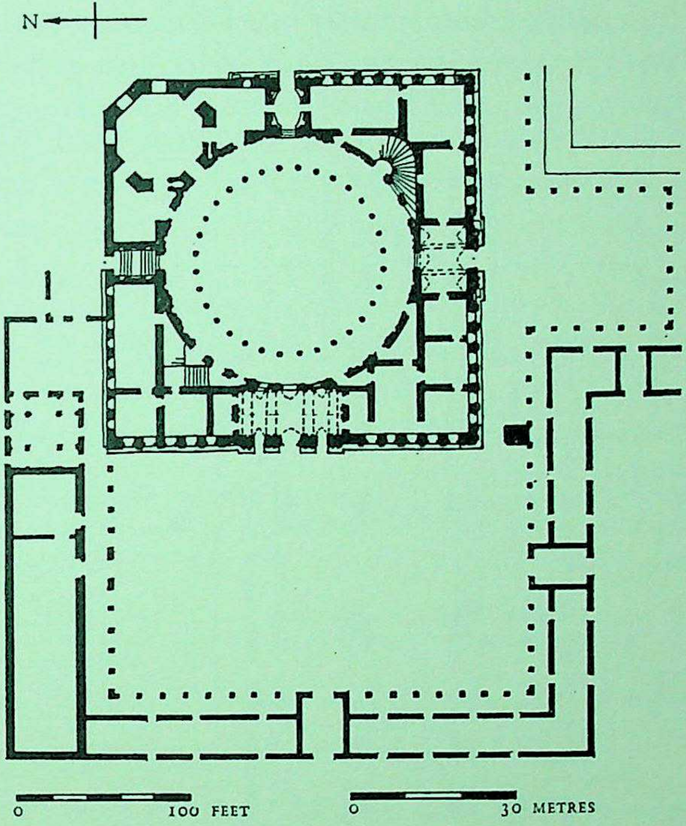


Figure 6. Pedro Machuca:
Granada, Palace of Charles V, 1527–68. Plan

These intrusions of a national style into the aloof academic taste of the court ceased in the 1550s, when Philip II began to direct the course of Spanish architecture.[37] The prince first intervened in the design of the staircase of the Alcázar at Toledo by replacing Covarrubias with Villalpando in 1553. Dissatisfied with English lead for the Alcázar roofs, Philip instructed Gaspar de Vega in 1559 to follow the northern custom of steep, slate-covered roofs. From Brussels he sent a number of artisans to initiate the craft, which still persists in Spain.

From Ghent Philip ordered Juan Bautista de Toledo to leave Naples for Madrid in 1559. This Spaniard, who knew the principal Italian architects of the time, had long directed viceregal buildings in Naples. When Villalpando died in 1561, Juan Bautista's responsibilities increased. In the spring of 1562 he measured the ground, plotted the foundations, and organized the working teams for the Escorial (Figure 7).

Philip wanted under one roof a mausoleum for Charles V with a large church, a Jeronymite monastery, and a palace for the court, which would all express Spanish national character in its new imperial dignity. Juan Bautista de Toledo chose a scheme resembling Antonio Averlino Filarete's Ospedale Maggiore in Milan.[38] Behind Filarete's grandiose, unrealized plan is the *villa urbana* of Late Roman civilization. Diocletian's palace at Spalato is the archetype,[39] which Filarete may have known directly.

The grid plan of the existing edifice is surely Juan Bautista's.[40] At his death in 1567 the entire south façade was up, as well as the two-storeyed Court of the Evangelists, which he modelled upon Antonio Sangallo's Farnese Palace.[41] His style at the Escorial, and in a

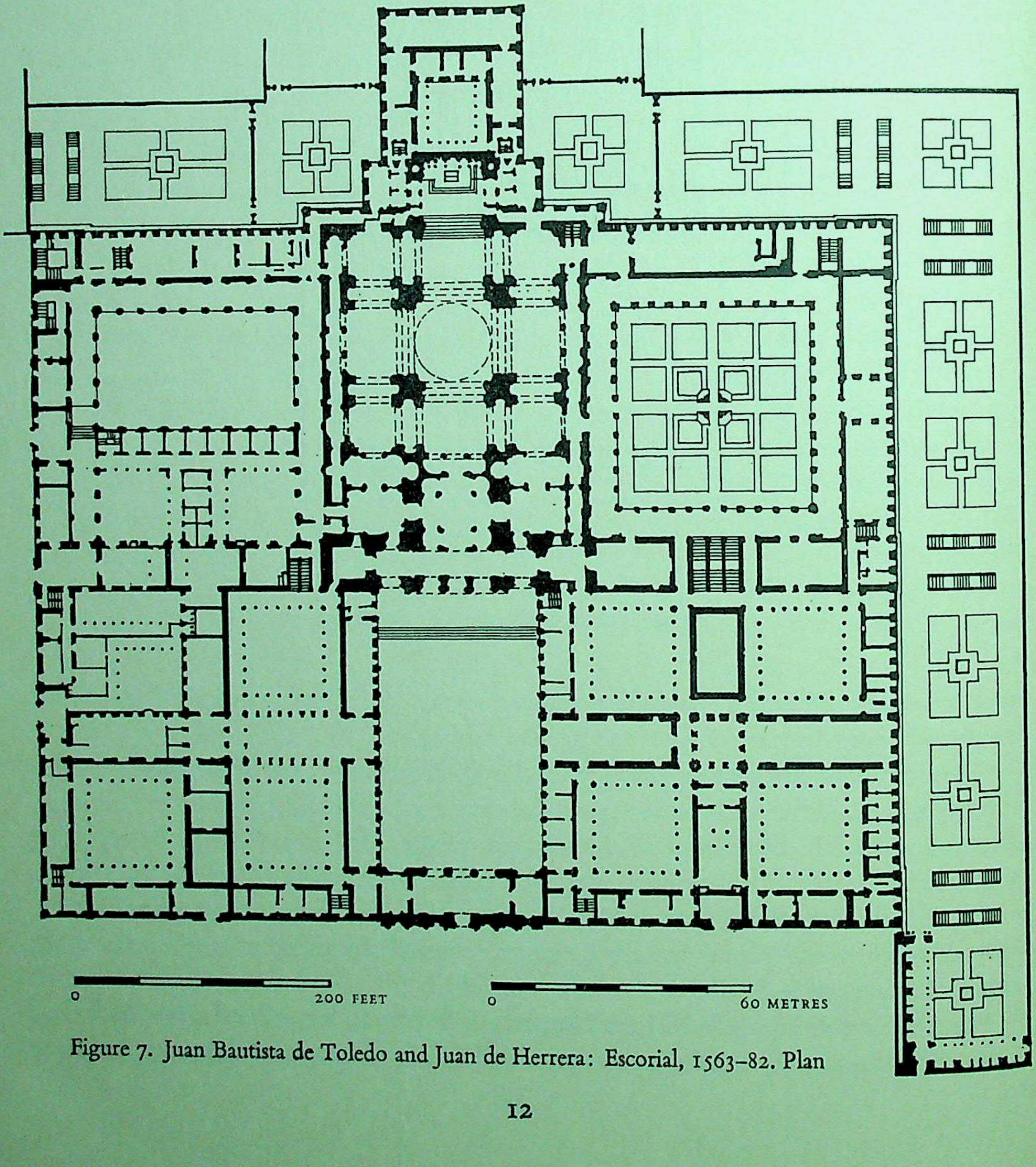


Figure 7. Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera: Escorial, 1563–82. Plan

fragment of the palace at Aranjuez, is like a military engineer's vision of ancient Roman architecture, built of a local granite described by Gautier as 'mouse-grey, coarse as kitchen salt', from the Guadarrama quarries behind the 'slag-heap', which is the literal meaning of the Escorial.

The many voices criticizing the 'coldness' of the Escorial always spoke of the exterior, and therefore of Juan Bautista de Toledo's designs. But the name of Juan Bautista de Toledo has long been forgotten by all but a few. The full burden of blame unjustly weighs upon Toledo's successor, Juan de Herrera, whose style of 'infinite consonances'[42] is closer to Vignola and Serlio than to Toledo's denuded geometry.

Juan de Herrera (*c.* 1530–97)

Herrera first appeared at the Escorial in 1563 when Philip appointed him to be Toledo's assistant. Herrera had accompanied Philip to Italy and Brussels in 1547–51 as a young courtier fresh from his studies at Valladolid; from 1551 to 1559 he was in Italy and with the emperor at Yuste.

After Toledo's death, not Herrera but Giovanni Battista Castello of Bergamo and Genoa was in charge at the Escorial, where the imperial stair in the west range of the Evangelists' cloister is his design.[43] Herrera had no work to his credit; his talent was unknown, and not until 1572 was he fully entrusted with the immense labour. Toledo died leaving no instructions or drawings for the roofs, so that the slate-covered spires and steep dormered gables were Herrera's first intervention. Herrera also added the two-storeyed central increment to the west façade, to relieve the barren monotony of Toledo's cliff-like design.

The difficult technical organization of the great workshop, the preparation of a new design for the church, and the inviting infirmary at the south-west corner are Herrera's main contributions from 1572.[44] The new regime of construction by Herrera in 1572 defined the working hours, the building teams, and the methods of work. Herrera later required the stone to be shaped at the quarry. Many opposed this innovation, which was surely drawn from Palladio, but it achieved important economies after 1576, and by Herrera's estimate in 1584 it permitted a tenfold acceleration of the rate of work.[45]

The church of the Escorial was left until last (Plate 5A). As Juan Bautista's design seemed ordinary to Philip II, new projects were first solicited from Alessi, Tibaldi, Palladio, Vincenzo Danti (an oval), and others. From these twenty-two designs Vignola allegedly combined an 'ideal plan'. All have been lost, but none impressed the king, who declared in 1573 that little should be taken from them. Fortunately, a critique of Toledo's plan by Francesco Paciotti (1521–91)[46] survives. As an Italian he naturally thought that Toledo's proportions were too squat and that the supports were too slender. The dome rose too high, suggesting a Gothic campanile, and the choir balcony was too much like a grotto. Herrera's design as executed improves upon Toledo's without sacrificing the wide, heavy sesquialter (2 : 3) proportion, which Spanish architects had long preferred to the $\sqrt{2}$ rectangles and duple proportions of Italian taste. Work finally began in 1574, to continue without break until completion in 1582.

Herrera's church is a centrally planned edifice with aisles, tribune, and clerestory elevation opening out from a large entrance vestibule and tribune.[47] In the vestibule the central plan repeats on a smaller scale. Above it is the choir tribune of the friars. Instead of removing the grotto-like tribune that offended Paciotti in Toledo's design, Herrera amplified it. As the building is a double church in plan, so also is it a double church in elevation, with the level of the choir tribune continuing into the transepts and sanctuary, where it meets the piano nobile of the royal apartments. This solution met Philip's wish to view the Sacrament from his bedside, as Charles V could do at Yuste.

Herrera also disregarded Paciotti's criticism of the height of the crossing dome. His intention was first to set the exterior columns of the drum upon a pedestal 11 feet high. When one of the crossing pillars cracked during construction, Herrera reluctantly omitted this element. His model [48] was Galeazzo Alessi's dome planned in 1549 for S. Maria di Carignano at Genoa (begun in 1577). Another Italian form which Herrera adapted is the peripheral aisle for the sole use of the clergy in visiting the forty-eight altars of the church – an arrangement as in Tibaldi's S. Fedele in Milan (begun 1569).

Two solutions in Herrera's church are important for later developments: the narthex-loggia entrance, and the mausoleum under a sacramental chapel. The loggia entrance allows rich plastic combinations; it dignifies the approach, and it enlarges the west gallery for the choir while reducing the cave-like space underneath. The sacramental chapel behind the main altar amplifies the *viril* (p. 23) of Aragonese altar-pieces of the fifteenth century. Herrera's combination with the mausoleum below was the first of a series including the *camarín* structures at Guadalupe, at Malaga, and at Estepa (p. 32).

The Escorial was Herrera's first building. His later work at Aranjuez, at the Exchange in Seville, and at the cathedral in Valladolid all obey the same canon of harmonic proportions, but they seek a variety of expressions for their different purposes. The palace of Aranjuez (Figure 22), begun by Toledo and designed anew by Herrera in 1567, is a gay and inviting summer seat. It follows the precedent of Vignola's Villa Giulia, where the little domes at the ends break the excessive formality of designs governed by the centre. Herrera's plan was not completed, but his drawings repeatedly afforded an occasion for other architects to study anew his profound meditation upon the harmony of repeating measures and relations.

The Exchange in Seville, planned in 1582 to replace the cathedral as a meeting-place of the merchants,[49] breaks with the Spanish tradition for buildings of this type (Plate 5B). Instead of repeating the hall-church formula of Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, or Palma, Herrera made a square, free-standing block with vaulted halls in two storeys surrounding a cloister courtyard. The exterior pilaster cadence carefully reflects the interior order, with the paired pilasters always corresponding to a bearing wall in the cross-section, and the single pilasters marking the vault bays. This two-storeyed scheme of brick panels framed by limestone trim governs several later designs in Seville, notably the façades of the Colegio de San Telmo (Plate 11B). The Tobacco Factory repeats it too, but in other materials, and with another tonic (Plate 20).

Valladolid Cathedral was probably designed *c.* 1585 on Diego de Riaño's foundations of 1527. Little of Herrera's scheme was built, but its influence was far greater than that of the Escorial. Herrera planned a rectangular biaxially symmetrical church (Figure 8). The crossing dome is equidistant from the ends of the rectangle, which are marked by corner towers. Juan de Ribero Rada, under its influence, in 1588 abandoned the original plans of the east end of Salamanca Cathedral, to replace the ambulatory apse with a rectangular chevet. In America the plans of Mexico, Puebla, and Lima Cathedrals were all altered (Figure 31) to conform with Valladolid. Finally, the most important church plan of the seventeenth century in Spain, the Pilar in Saragossa (p. 28), elaborates (Figure 15) upon the plan of Valladolid Cathedral.

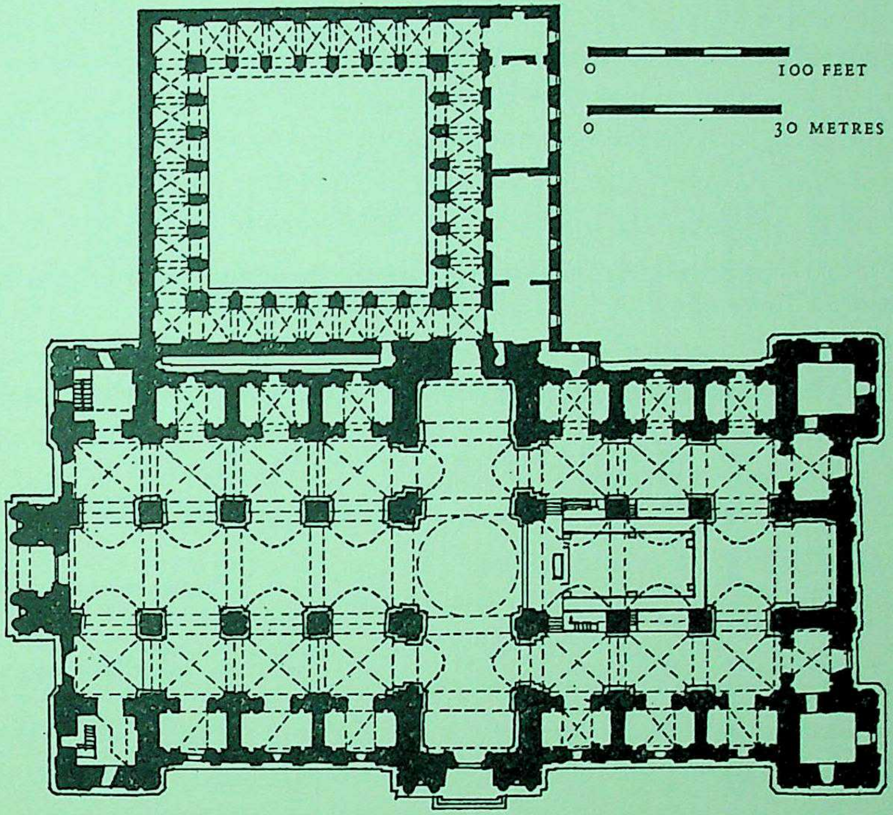


Figure 8. Juan de Herrera: Valladolid Cathedral, *c.* 1585. Plan (not completed)

But Herrera's own harmonic manner had no successful imitators. A Romantic critic[50] made the point in 1829 when he referred to the *inimitable* character of Herrera's style, inimitable because founded upon 'obscure and metaphysical principles' that are inaccessible to persons not endowed with similar gifts of temperament.

The Sequel 1600–50

North of the Tagus

After Herrera his pupils and followers at once loosened his majestic style. From about 1600 to 1650 unsymmetrical compositions, chiaroscuro effects, brick walls of fragile appearance, and carefully proportioned framing trim made a Castilian school with qualities of simplicity, grace, and solemnity.[51]

Francisco de Mora (*c.* 1546–1610), whom Herrera recommended to Philip II as his successor, was among its first proponents. His chief work is the design of the city of Lerma (1604–14) for the favourite of Philip III, Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas. Upon a ridge overlooking the Arlanza river, Mora surrounded the medieval village with a palace and a ring of religious houses, many connected by covered passages to one another and to the palace. The spaces of Lerma are irregular enclosures in asymmetrically linked sequences which renew the medieval tradition of the 'convent-city'.[52] Mora's

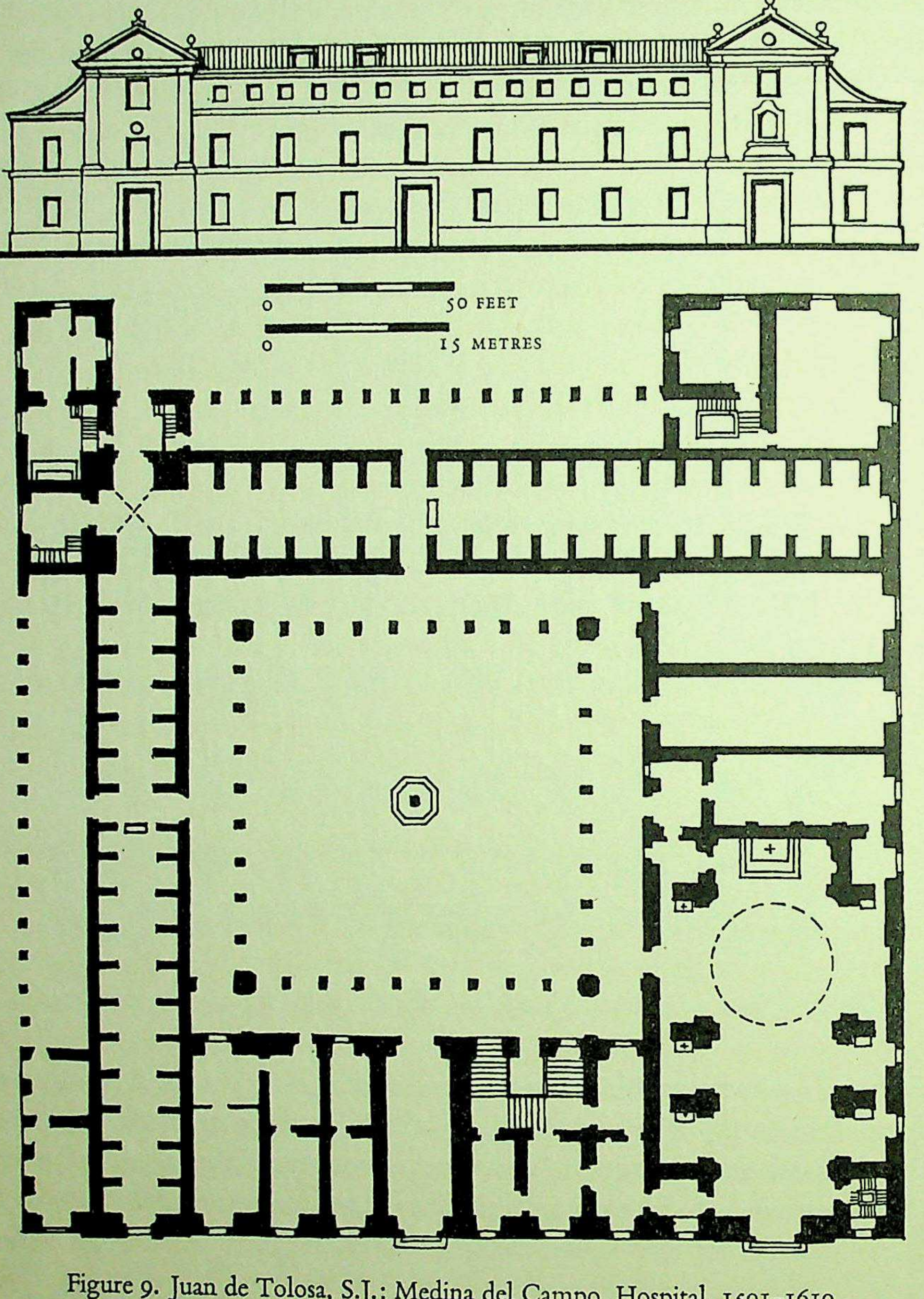


Figure 9. Juan de Tolosa, S.J.: Medina del Campo, Hospital, 1591–1619.
Elevation and plan

predilection for irregularity and variety appears as well at 'La Cachicanía', a porticoed and pyramidal gardener's cottage he built at the Escorial in 1596. The façade of San José in Avila (1608), with a narthex loggia embraced between extended nave walls, forms a prism bounded by opaque and transparent planes.[53]

Another architect trained in the shadow of the Escorial, Juan de Tolosa, S.J. (1548–c. 1600), had family ties closer to Juan Bautista de Toledo than to Herrera.[54] His style is best conveyed by the hospital at Medina del Campo (1591–1619; Figure 9). The wards on two cloister ranges open both on the cloister and on outer loggias. The main façade has giant pilasters. Superfluous horizontal mouldings are suppressed. This design, repeated at Montederramo in Galicia (1598–1600), establishes a tall, narrow proportion, characteristic of the period between 1600 and 1650 in all the provinces of Spain.

Alcalá de Henares is the most complete seventeenth-century city of Spain. It is like Lerma in the picturesque yet orderly asymmetry of its streets and squares. The oval [55] Bernardas Church (built in 1617–26 by Sebastián de la Plaza) exemplifies the post-Herreran style (Figure 10). Rectangular and oval chapels alternate beneath tribunes around the nave. The dome with strap-work ornament executed in stucco is encased in a polygonal hipped roof, from which the spire rises. No form could be less Herreran than this oval encased in crystalline planes. The church is membrane more than mass.

Valladolid and Segovia built massive and plastic façades upon Palladian principles. The Angustias Church (1597–1604) in Valladolid by Juan de Nates [56] and the San Frutos doorway of Segovia Cathedral (1620) by Pedro de Brizuela are examples, reinforced by the publication in 1625 at Valladolid of the First Book of Palladio's *Architecture*, translated by Francisco de Praves. In the Angustias façade (Plate 6A) the patterned surface of interweaving uprights and horizontals, like the diamond-faceted spandrels over the door, mark the change from tectonic order to decorated surface.

Elsewhere in Spain the change may be noted at about the same moment: at Uclés, in the façade of the church of the Order of Santiago; [57] in the façade of the Cerralbo chapel at Ciudad Rodrigo; and in the work of Simón de Monasterio (d. 1624) at the Jesuit Colegio del Cardenal [58] in Monforte de Lemos (1608–19). This patterning of the surfaces obeys no academic rule: it is a process in which Italianate forms become Spanish by entering the provincial tradition of all regions through the initiative of local builders. It differs not at all from the American provincial absorption of Spanish forms (p. 73).

In the Mediterranean provinces more direct Italian connexions guided the efforts of Catalan and Valencian architects. The Colegio del Patriarca (1590–1608) in Valencia by Guillén del Rey has in its cloister columns cut in Genoa. In Barcelona, the Diputación (1596–1617) by Pedro Blay [59] is adapted from Michelangelo's Palazzo Senatorio, as recorded in the Dupérac engraving of 1569. At Alicante, San Nicolás Bari (1613–62) by Agustín Bernardino is a blend of Italian and medieval forms: cryptocollateral nave, tribunes, apsidal chevet, and attenuated Tuscan pilasters.[60]

Andalusia

A southern variation of the severe style yielded *c.* 1600, as in the north, to more ornate surfaces. Herrera's influence through the Seville Exchange counts for little until late in

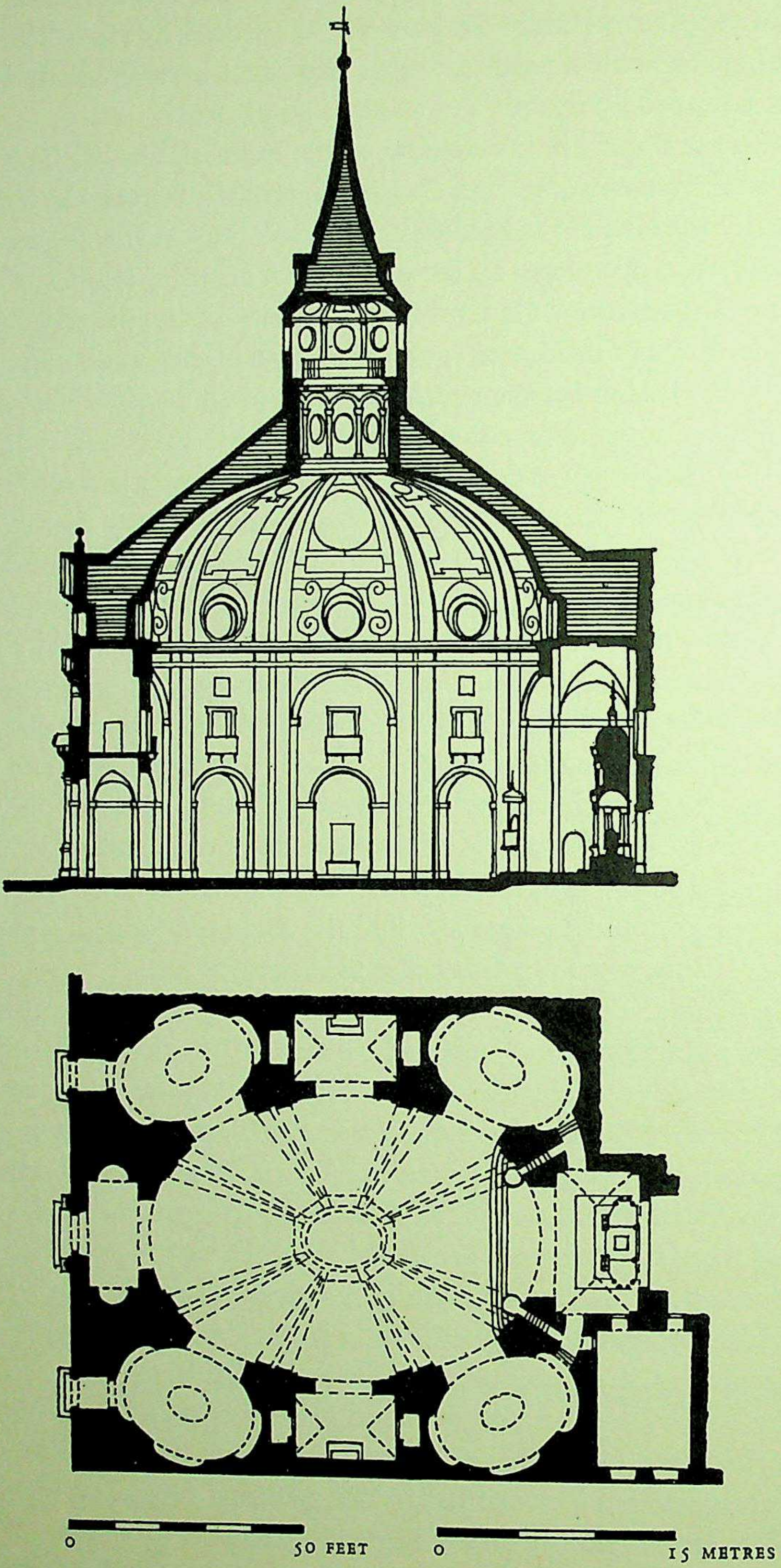

0
50 FEET
0
15 METRES

Figure 10. Sebastián de la Plaza: Alcalá de Henares, Bernardas Church, 1617–26. Section and plan

the seventeenth century. More decisive was the intervention of Bartolomé Bustamante in the vigorous campaign of the Jesuits to build Andalusian churches. The Profesa (now university chapel) in Seville (1565–78) and the Salvador church in Cordova (1564–89) show an austerity born of haste and economy under the regime of Bustamante[61] as Provincial of Andalusia from 1555 until his death in 1570. Glazed tile inlays are the principal decoration of these plain churches: this Islamic revival began about 1560, upon strap-work patterns of North European origin.[62]

The principal door of the university chapel at Seville, like the Castilian doorways noted above, shows the shift from tectonic relations to patterned surface ornament by strongly framed compartments. The Andalusian origin of these surfaces, in which the background overcomes the tectonic figure, is probably the design (Figure 11) by Hernán Ruiz II for the Sevillian church of the Hospital de la Sangre (1560–7). It is a prophetic building in other ways as well, especially in view of the high box-like naves of the seventeenth century. Ruiz narrowed the nave at ground-level by twin chapels in each nave bay, as in Andrés Vandelvira's design (Figure 5) for Jaén Cathedral. This scheme,

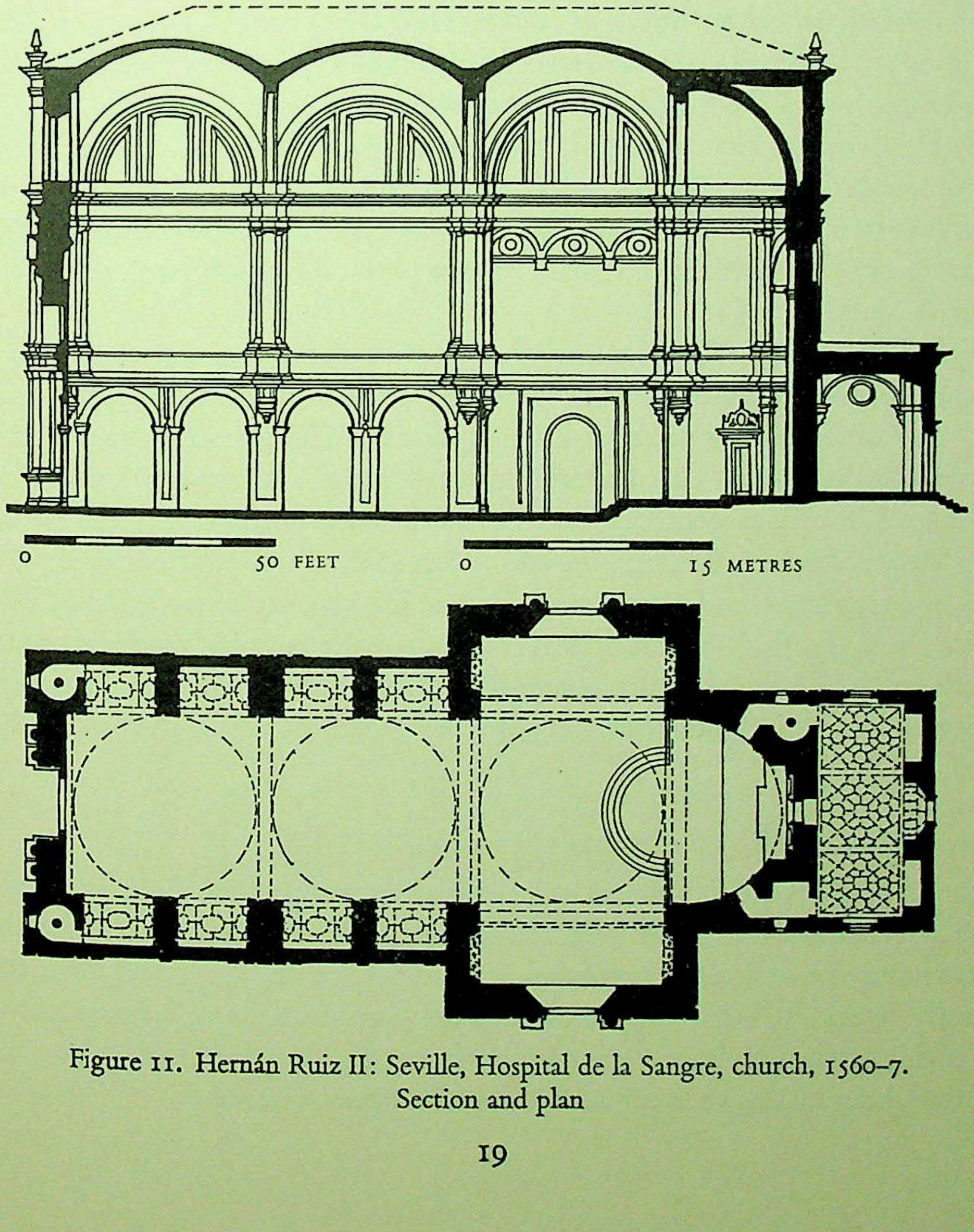


Figure 11. Hernán Ruiz II: Seville, Hospital de la Sangre, church, 1560–7.
Section and plan

which has Gothic antecedents in the cathedral of Barcelona, reappears in the Sagrario Church of Seville, built by Miguel de Zumárraga on a plan of 1615. Above the twin chapels a tribune rises to the vault and exaggerates the lofty effect of the nave (Plate 6B).

The influence of Italian Mannerist books in Andalusia was far greater than in Castile. Some woodcuts in Serlio's Book VII (1575) are like the façade of the Chancillería at Granada. The Chancillería, completed in 1587, has nearly continuous vertical window-axes in four storeys, and an imposing doorway panel rising in three stages linked by broken pediments (Plate 7A). As in other Andalusian façades, ground decoration and surface shapes compete for primacy. Another conflict arises between the cadenced Italian façade intervals and the dominant doorway axis of Spanish tradition. These conflicting rhythms of the voids and solids reappear throughout Andalusia later on: an example is the Merced, finished in 1625, at Sanlúcar de Barrameda; another is the façade of the church of the Caridad Hospital in Seville, built by Bernardo Simón de Pineda in 1647, with continuous vertical bays of a crowded rhythmic design in retreating and projecting planes.

Another channel for Italian Mannerist design opened with the revival of stucco wall decoration, using the old traditions of *mudéjar* craft for the intricate forms of Italian and North European pattern books. It was an inexpensive fashion, and its revival coincides with the beginning of the long inflationary crisis of the seventeenth century. Cordova was probably its centre from 1600, when the vault of the cathedral choir was decorated (Plate 7B), very likely by Roman stucco-workers.[63] In Seville, the interior of Santa Clara, redecorated in 1620–2 by Juan Martínez Montañés, Juan de Oviedo, and Miguel de Zumárraga, has the richness of Italian forms without the gloomy expressive character of Mannerist design.[64]

During the progression from the severe style of the last quarter of the sixteenth century to the Italianate Mannerism of the opening decades of the seventeenth, each principal city of Andalusia discovered its own expression. The portals in particular display local accents. In Seville the fantasies and inventions of the stucco-worker appear in ingenious if unharmonious combinations, as in the outer portal of the Sangre Hospital (1618) by Asensio de Maeda, or the façade of San Pedro (1624). The municipal style of Cordova is more rotund and ponderous, closer to the gloomy constriction of Florentine Mannerism, as in the choir-screen of the cathedral, or the portal of the Quemadas house. In Granada a rich and festive effect, continuing the tradition of Siloe, is characteristic, as in the portal of the Hospital Real (1632) and, much later, the Angustias doorway (1664–71).

The Court Style: Juan Gómez de Mora (1586–1646/8)

The nephew and pupil of Francisco de Mora became master of the royal works in 1611. His career was prolific rather than inventive, and he steered a middle course both as a courtier and as a designer, conforming to the taste of his time rather than changing it. His early work, to 1625/30, continued the unconventional, almost picturesque manner of his uncle. His later work shows thorough knowledge of Italian academic practice, enriching his native Spanish preference for prismatic solids.

709.4
K 95 A
57,700

The Encarnación Church in Madrid (1611–16) amplifies his uncle's scheme of atrium and narthex loggias. The façade has a grave and inviting charm, by the use of flat, bare mouldings, aspiring vertical accents, and a steeply pitched pediment.[65] The wide, flat, and bare mouldings prefigure the placage effects of the end of the century. They reappear in a most austere form on the façades of his dormitory building for the Jesuit Clerecía in Salamanca (design 1617). The plan of the Clerecía church is also his: the most notable detail is the seating of the choir behind the altar. Herrera tried this reform, first at the Alhambra Church in Granada, which was criticized on scriptural grounds and because the clergy faced the people; [66] and at Valladolid Cathedral.

Gómez de Mora in 1617–19 again realized an incomplete scheme of 1581 by Herrera in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid. It is a porticoed $\sqrt{2}$ rectangle, closed to through traffic.[67] The Panadería on the north side is his own design, a market hall supported upon a grid of pillars, with municipal chambers above,[68] as in fifteenth-century halls in Italy and Flanders, which Herrera first adapted to Spanish use in the Toledo Town Hall [69] of 1575 (completed 1618; spires by Ardemáns in 1693).

The Jesuit church in Alcalá de Henares (completed 1625) begins the series of Gómez de Mora's more Italianate works.[70] The façade is inspired by S. Giacomo degli Incurabili in Rome. Its plasticity and its rhythmic structure seem to prepare the way for the design of the Cárcel de Corte [71] in 1629–34. The source of this plan (Figure 12) is Bustamante's Hospital de Afuera in Toledo (p. 10). At Las Zarzuelas in 1634 Mora designed an intimate palace of one storey with steep French dormered roofs.[72] His last building, the town hall of Madrid (1640), combines the one-storey elevation with the public grandeur of the Panadería.[73]

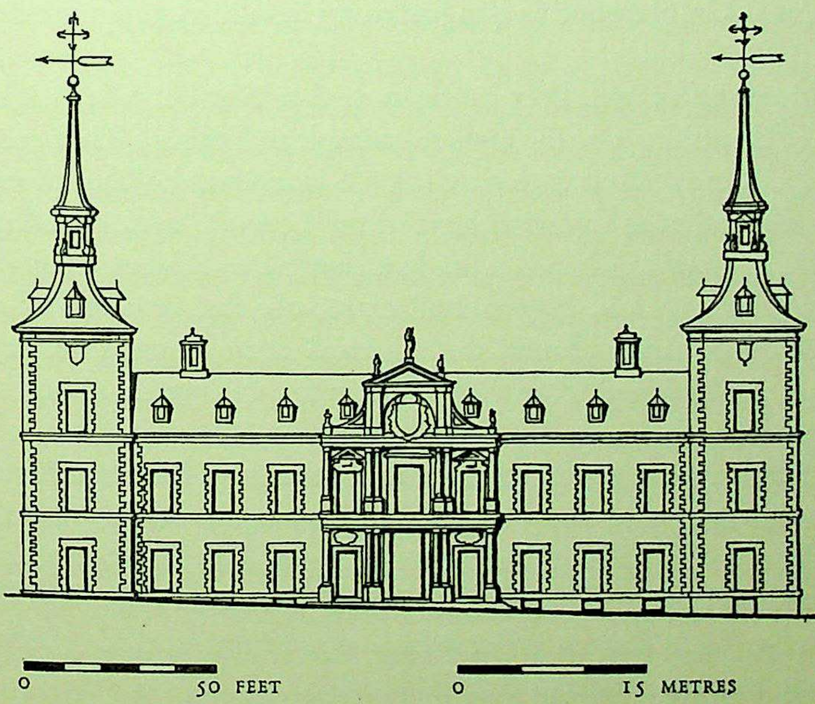


Figure 12. Juan Gómez de Mora: Madrid, Court Prison (now Foreign Office), 1629–34. Elevation

CHAPTER 2

THE HERESIARCHS 1640–1750

THE EARLY ARCHITECTURE OF ACTIVE SURFACE

Bautista, Crescenzi, and Carbonell

FRANCISCO BAUTISTA, S.J. (1594–1679), the architect of the Jesuit churches in Toledo and Madrid, had his early training as a retable-maker in the Italian Mannerist style.[1] He probably took charge of the Toledo church in 1628, and in 1629 he replaced Pedro Sánchez at the Collegium Imperiale in Madrid (now San Isidro and cathedral).[2] Both designs share Bautista's characteristic forms: vertically connected voids within a giant order; a 'sixth order' of Corinthian foliage capped by an egg-and-dart moulding; and paired triglyph consoles in the entablatures.

The Madrid church (Plate 8A) is the richer design, with the membering of the nave elevation repeated in the façade and on the transept end walls. This membering is like that of a retable. Bautista's problem in Madrid was to improve the tribune design. In Toledo the tribune opened upon the nave by spandrel windows which competed with the nave arcade. In Madrid, Bautista reduced the height and width of the nave arcades, and he animated the whole nave elevation by introducing secondary voids between twin giant orders of pilasters framing each bay. The crowded and animated solution was much admired, as at Umbrete and in San Jacinto in Seville (p. 34) in the mid eighteenth century.

Bautista's admirer and pupil, Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás, tells us in 1633 that the crossing dome of San Isidro was the earliest example in Spain of Bautista's invention of curved wooden braces revetted with slate (*cúpula encamonada*).[3] The 'invention' was of course only an adaptation to domical shape of the Low-Countries roofing brought by Philip II in 1558. In Bautista's hands it made it possible to achieve tall and slender profiles with great economy, and it permitted extremely free double shell construction, with an octagonal case rising around the spherical dome inside. Interior and exterior design were thereby loosened from one another for the typical Spanish interplay of contrasting geometric schemes.

The only undoubted work by the Italian courtier-architect Giovanni Battista Crescenzi (1577–1635) is the design of the bronze wall-ornaments of the mausoleum in the Escorial,[4] which set a new style of decoration in Spain. The chamber itself was built by Herrera and modified by Juan Gómez de Mora. Crescenzi's ample foliated *rinceaux* executed in 1619–*c.* 1626 had an effect which can be traced throughout the empire, wherever densely foliated surfaces were fashionable.

Alonso Carbonell[5] (active from 1620, d. 1660) was probably the chief designer and builder of the Buen Retiro palace. Only the ballroom (now Museo de Reproducciones) and the towered north wing (Museo del Ejército) stand today. This palace was a vast entertainment invented by Olivares to distract Philip V from the spectacle of Spain's decay in European affairs. Carbonell's name appears from 1633 (work began in 1631) until 1637–8. In his panelled brick walls framed by white trim he used a great many small rectangles and squares in two or three planes of relief to animate the surfaces.

Carbonell also completed the burial-vault of the Escorial in 1645–54, sheathing its surfaces in semi-precious stones of an unprecedented richness. Between them, Crescenzi and Carbonell transformed the surfaces of Spanish architecture, as Francisco Bautista transformed the design of the voids. By 1640 Spanish taste was prepared to abandon academic rule for the innovations and fantasies of many individual talents. Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás as early as 1633 lamented the corruption of the architect's profession by painters, sculptors, and court favourites.[6]

New Forms of the Mid Century

The entire empire helped to pay for the chapel of San Isidro (burned 1936) in the parish church of San Andrés at Madrid.[7] The design of 1642 by Pedro de la Torre (completed 1657–69) is gigantic, with a clear inner width of about 45 feet (Plate 8B). A low, windowless, square chamber serves as the nave; beyond it rises a domed bay with portals to east and west for processions to file past the silver reliquary of St Isidore. This sanctuary is lined with full-round Corinthian columns. The nave bay has large circular stucco *rinceaux* by C. Blondel and F. de la Viña. The debt to Crescenzi is clear, even to the infant angels in pendentives, lunettes, and cornices. The large outside scale comes in part from the striking geometric relation between the domed octagon and the double-cube pedestal. In the entablature, florid twin brackets establish the scale of jewellery, in contrast to the colossal scale of the double cube. Its binary form comes from Nicolás de Vergara's design of 1578 for the Ochavo chapel [8] in Toledo Cathedral, where, after long delays, Pedro de la Torre was summoned, together with Francisco Bautista, to resume work in 1632. The Ochavo was completed only in 1673 with polychrome marble revetment of a splendour that is characteristic of mid-century decoration.

An important amplification of these Castilian experiments is the church of the Desamparados in Valencia (Figure 13). Oval within and double-cube outside, the design by Diego Martínez Ponce de Urrana (between 1647 and 1652; built 1652–67) is the earliest example of the fully developed *camarín*. The plan resembles the Bernardas in Alcalá de Henares, but it departs from the model by the decisive isolation of the *camarín* behind the altar and seventeen steps – a full storey – above it. From the oval nave the *camarín* is an elevated and withdrawn holy of holies, approached indirectly through lateral chambers and up a flight of stairs.

No form of the period is more novel or more Spanish. The type is unknown elsewhere in Europe. The *camarín* probably originated in the *viril*, or closet window high in an altar for the display of the Sacrament. The oldest examples are Aragonese of the mid fifteenth century.[9] At Seville Cathedral in 1522 the three-storey edifice backing the main altar contains a primitive *camarín*. The Escorial altar has passages rising behind it to a small Communion chapel, with access from the rear to the emerald, gold, and jasper *custodia*. The true *camarín*, as in the Desamparados church, is visible from the nave: it interacts with the whole church, as a ritual counterweight, opening behind the altar, and designed to balance the high, small chamber against a much larger nave on a lower level.

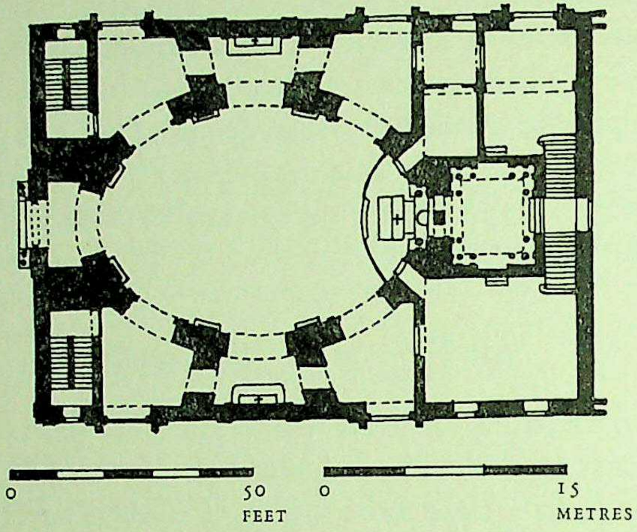


Figure 13. Diego Martínez Ponce de Urrana: Valencia, Desamparados Church, 1652–67. Plan

Church façades with towering portals like extruded retables reappeared from Levante to Andalusia after 1630. They recall the vast sculptural panels of the Isabelline age in Valladolid (San Pablo, San Gregorio) and the Plateresque portals of Castile and Aragon (Santa Engracia, Saragossa). Two façades by Martín de Olinda (d. 1655) near Valencia, at San Miguel de los Reyes [10] (1632–44), and at the parish church of Liria (incomplete in 1655), are important for an understanding of the Peruvian church façades after 1650 (p. 91). In Olinda's portals (Plate 9A), a characteristically Spanish mode of inducing the illusion of movement finds an early expression. It is unlike the Italian Baroque treatment of the façade as a membrane yielding in curved planes to the inner–outer play of forces. The Spanish movement transfers nothing from inside to outside or vice versa; it concerns vertical movement in the façade alone, by a design that carries the eye upward without return. The Chancillería façade of 1587 in Granada (Plate 7A) was a prelude to it, but Olinda's direct sources are the retables of the first third of the century, by Alonso Matías and Juan Martínez Montañés.[11]

The direction in which Olinda turned that tradition can be noted by comparing his two façades. At San Miguel (Plate 9A) the eye is still arrested in the first stage by wide Doric entablatures flanking the door. At Liria these shrink to cubical blocks, to stress the vertical membering. At San Miguel the end columns retreat to a plane behind the centre, to modulate the design by projection and recession. At Liria all membering is held in one plane; the design is less corpulent and more nervous. The undated and anonymous design of the Carmen façade at Valencia (Ponz assigned it to an Olinda pupil) carries this scheme farther. The same line of development leads to a cognate design in Galicia at the Benedictine façade of San Salvador of Celanova (1661–7) by Melchor Velasco de Agüero.

The retable-façade also won acceptance in Andalusia. The Cartuja façade [12] at Jerez de la Frontera (1667) repeats the fundamental seven-part design of the Valencia prototypes, as well as the insistent vertical membering. New in Spain, perhaps by reflex from Peru, is the upward rush of the central axis in deformed, deflected, and broken entablatures. Another novelty, recalling Peruvian design of *c.* 1650, is the balconied recess on the upper floor, framing a circular window.

Decorators, Scenographers, and Renovators

By 1660 southern Spain also had acquired both dialects: Crescenzi's opulent foliations and Carbonell's austere reticulation.[13] Alonso Cano's façade of 1664 for Granada Cathedral is linear and severe (Plate 9B). Eufrasio López de Rojas's façade for Jaén Cathedral (1667–86) has exuberant foliated decoration.

The Jaén design echoes many Italian forms. The arcaded façade windows interrupt and suppress the entablature (cf. the courtyard of della Porta's Palazzo Marescotti, Rome, *c.* 1583, and Rainaldi's Palazzo Pamfili, Rome, 1645). Above this entablature and behind a balustrade with nine statues rises the third storey, set back by an ample deck connecting the towers, as at the Escorial church and in Maderna's façade for St Peter's.

Cano's façade of Granada Cathedral is one of the most original and personal of all works of Spanish architecture (Plate 9B). The plan with the recessed portals is Siloe's; [14] work began in 1528, and reached a height of 6 feet by 1639. Cano's project of 1664 was enriched after his death in 1667 by narrative reliefs and statues. Cano's is the entire system of pilasters, layered planes, and of swags and bosses hanging like wasp's nests from the upper horizontal members. One is reminded of muscle and tissue interweaving over an animal's skeleton. The layers reveal and sheathe the lines of force in the design. Four buttresses scan the façade: they are lined with pilasters and mouldings like the tendons and nerve-sheaths lining the long bones of the body. At the top the entablature follows the curve of the arch, as in Bernini's nave arcades (1658) in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome. This sympathetic or reflecting behaviour of the entablature contributes to the expressive unity of Cano's design; this is also carried by insistent vertical repetitions in shadow and in stone – which are like delayed architectural equivalents of El Greco's elongations.

Two churches in Granada – the Angustias (1664–71) and the Magdalena (1677–94) – have been attributed to Cano. They differ in style, and neither resembles Cano's style in the cathedral façade. The Angustias Church is interesting mainly for its clear and simple use of coursed brick, as in the earlier Granadine work of Francisco Díaz del Ribero [15] (1592–1670), who first used specially formed bricks in the Jesuit cloister *c.* 1640. Juan Luis Ortega (*c.* 1628–77) may have designed the Angustias; he did direct its construction. Ortega probably designed the Magdalena Church (Figure 14), and it is much the more interesting of the two, mainly because of the fully developed use of placage, resembling jigsaw decorations in two planes.[16] Such *placas recortadas*, or layered planes, make a timid appearance in certain pilaster heads in Cano's cathedral façade, but here the *placas* produce their heavy shadows both indoors and out, on the façade and in the nave elevations. In this correspondence between nave elevation and façade, the Magdalena Church duplicates San Isidro in Madrid (Plate 8A). One extraordinary novelty is the use of pendentive windows at the crossing – oculi beneath triangular groins in the haunch of each pendentive.

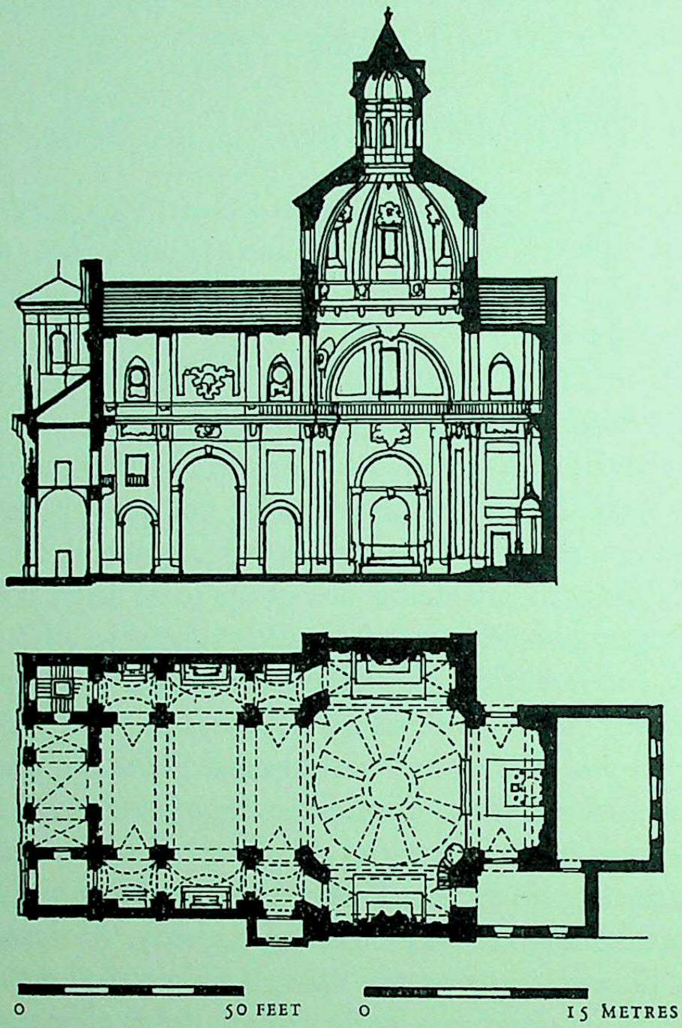


Figure 14. Juan Luis Ortega(?):
Granada, Magdalena Church, 1677–94. Section and plan

Such façades of the 1600s as Celanova or the Cartuja at Jerez showed the way towards a design of powerful members marking upward movement in the centre bay. Bernardo Simón de Pineda of Seville extended this mode of design with the invention about 1670 of a new retable with scenographic perspectives in a unified arrangement of large architectural members.[17] The altar of the Hospital de la Caridad was the first example, imitated throughout Spain until the mid eighteenth century. Pineda's most elaborate work in Seville stood only a few months in the spring of 1671, on the occasion of the canonization of San Fernando, when he and the painter Juan de Valdés Leal decorated the cathedral (Plate 11A), the Sagrario, and the Patio de Naranjos. This work of canvas on wood parallels the renovation in stone at the cathedral in Santiago, and it may have had more immediate influence through engravings. Pineda's monument[18] was a domed square enclosure with four flying buttresses of stepped counter-curves and massive scrollwork drawn both from printed northern sources, such as Dietterlin, and from Italian scenographic designs. Its tortured profiles prefigure the contoured reorganization of Spanish surfaces *c.* 1720.

In Valencia the urge to rebuild in the style of about 1675 was blocked by the survival of many intact fourteenth-century churches, but their wide Gothic spans with internal buttresses were nearly all remodelled in the new taste. Juan Bautista Pérez and his family (José Mínguez and J. B. Pérez Castiel)[19] dominated the renovation. Pérez was one of the principal pre-Churrigueresque innovators, and the eighteenth-century ornamentalists owed him a large debt. The cathedral presbytery (remodelled in 1674–82) is an example of this work: the Gothic shafts were revetted with composite pilasters and a bracketed entablature. The Gothic lancets became small oblong clerestory windows. Pérez filled the nave arches with two-storeyed aedicules as window-frames, flanked by the Solomonic twisted columns that are Pérez' signature, and surmounted by shell-ribbed pedimental portions.[20]

Another of the great Valencian decorators was Juan Bautista Viñés. The hexagonal tower of Santa Catalina (1688–1705) revives in Valencia an old Aragonese tradition of hexagonal tower plans. It is strengthened by corner buttresses at four levels, and in the fifth storey the buttresses become Solomonic columns. In each storey the windows vary, changing from Plateresque frames in the lower two stages to bracketed ones with pendant swags.

In the seventeenth century the importance of Santiago de Compostela as the greatest of Spanish pilgrimage centres was repeatedly threatened. The cathedral canons acted vigorously to defeat the pretensions of other contenders. Part of their strategy to reaffirm St James as sole patron of Spain was a great campaign of architectural renovation after 1650 under José de Vega y Verdugo as entrepreneur and José Peña de Toro as designer and executant.[21] Peña first came to Santiago from Salamanca in 1652: Salmantine traits mark his work, such as entablatures enriched by rosettes and strap-work and 'hanging' pilasters ending on corbels high above the ground. After Peña's death in 1676, another member of Vega's circle, Domingo de Andrade (*c.* 1639–1712),[22] succeeded him. The complete programme of renovation ended in 1750 under a pupil of Andrade, Fernando de Casas y Novoa (p. 60). The parts of the work are assigned as follows: *Peña:* Quintana Doorway, 1658–66; *cimborio* finished in 1665; Campanas Tower, 1667–70. *Andrade:* Reloj Tower (Plate 10B), 1676–80. *Casas y Novoa:* centre panel, main façade (Plate 25), begun 1738; also north tower.

The Quintana Doorway (Plate 10A) is rich without being new. A giant order of pilasters embraces two levels of windows, and the three centre bays have half-columns and garlanded *estípites*. The Campanas Tower is much more interesting: instead of the stodgy pilasters of the Quintana façade, Peña used five immense pilaster ribs, alternately curved and square, with deep breaks over each in the entablature, and doubled cornice brackets on all three faces of every break (Plate 25). The belfry stage repeats this entablature over twin arches. Flying buttresses support the crowning cupola with scroll outlines, pinnacles, and egg-shaped finials. The effect is heavy yet animated; no element is finely proportioned; the eye is in constant motion over these deliberately coarse decorations, which were either adapted from the pattern-books of Wendel Dietterlin and Vredeman de Vries, or introduced from Portugal, where the vogue for such decorations began in the seventeenth century with Baltasar Álvares in the Grilos church at Oporto (p. 106 and Plate 56B).

Domingo de Andrade carried Peña's manner to an exemplary conclusion in the Reloj Tower in 1680 (Plate 10B). It has been imitated in Galicia almost as often as the Giralda Tower in Andalusia. Andrade refaced a fourteenth-century shaft with a base about as high as the upper belfry portion, ribbed with hanging pilasters of simpler profiles than at the Campanas. Above the base the passage to the smaller stages is masked by polygonal domed turrets. Dietterlin-derived volutes flank the clock. The main cupola is enriched at the base by extremely thick, half-round (*bocelón*) mouldings which anticipate the fully developed style of the Churriguera family in the eighteenth century.

'*Borroministi*' *and Italians*

Although the name of the great Borromini was a favourite term of abuse among Spanish critics of eighteenth-century architecture, it is now clear that his forms were almost entirely ignored in Spain until about 1700. Older histories of architecture labelled José Ximénez Donoso (1628–90) 'El Corruptor', the painter-architect who destroyed the severe tradition in Castile after seven years' study (1647–54) in Rome.[23] His importance and his influence are greatly over-estimated. His remodelling (1674) of the Panadería alone is standing.[24] The design, with window frames of Plateresque derivation, with Spanish twin brackets in the entablatures, and with painted niches and emblems between window axes, has nothing either Borrominesque or even Italian. The destroyed cloister of Santo Tomás in Madrid (attributed, since Palomino, as *c.* 1655) is closer to Florentine Mannerism than to the Roman Baroque. Only at San Luis in Madrid (1679–89; destroyed 1935) is there any suggestion of Borrominesque details; but they occur in the façade and tower windows built after Donoso's death.

Francisco de Herrera the younger (1622–85) is another painter-architect falsely accused of *borrominismo*. It is true that he studied long in Italy, returning to Seville only in 1656. He turned to architecture alone in 1677, when Charles II made him master of the royal works. His only work was an ill-fated project for the Pilar in Saragossa (Figure 15). This vast church competes in size and splendour with the great cathedrals of the sixteenth century. The earliest design, of about 1675, by one Felipe Sánchez, followed Juan de Herrera's plan of Valladolid Cathedral, as an aisled basilica of duple proportion, with four corner towers.[25] In 1680 Francisco Herrera perfected the symmetry of Sánchez's scheme in order to exploit the advantage of the river-bank site. After Herrera's death in 1685 his plans were altered or mutilated. The astonishing domed silhouette of the present building owes nothing to Herrera, and even his nave supports were remodelled after 1750 by Ventura Rodríguez.

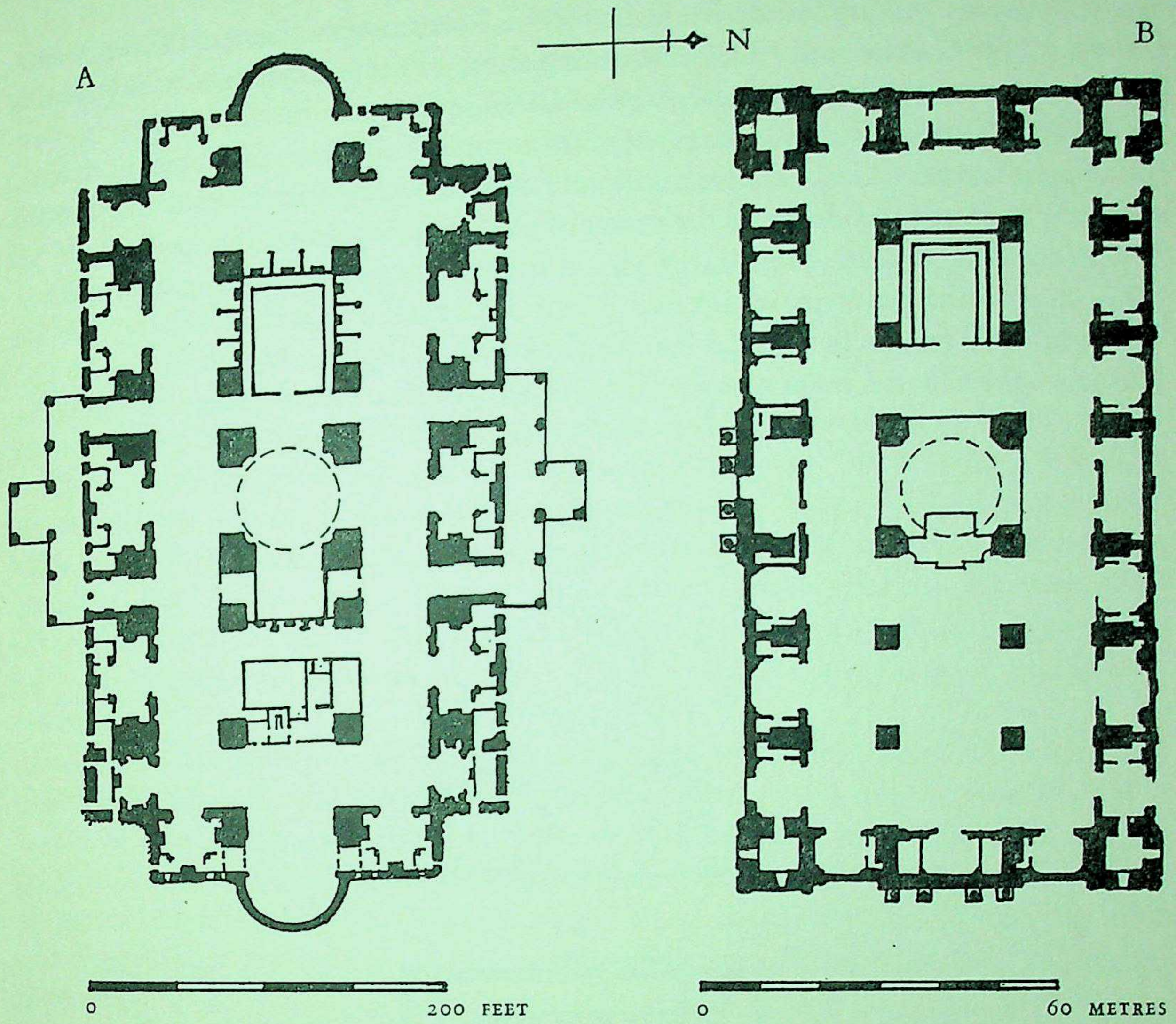


Figure 15. Francisco de Herrera the younger: Saragossa, Pilar Church, 1680.
Plans: (A) projected, (B) actual

Herrera intended to shield the nave from all circulation, and to treat the aisles as the main vessel, or as an ambulatory completely surrounding the closed-off inner volume. His solution recognized candidly and completely, for the first time in Spanish history, the ancient preference for plural spaces, by encasing one building inside another. The enclosed choir-and-altar nucleus was to be fenced in by ten of the twelve nave supports. The other two framed the chapel upon the site of the apparition of the Virgin. Herrera's intention, though we have no elevation to prove it, was surely to flood the nuclear region with light from the crossing dome; to hold the ambulatory in darkness under groined barrel-vaults; and to admit light at the periphery through the six chapel domes, the four domes flanking the exedrae at both ends, and the four elliptical corner domes. The mutilation of this grandiose design is one of the great losses in the history of Spanish architecture.

The Italians in Spain, or in touch with Spanish commissions, were the only true representatives of Baroque architectural taste. It is doubtful whether Guarino Guarini (1624–84) ever came to Spain, although the Theatine Church in Lisbon was built to his plans.

The supposition that he visited Spain in 1666–8 is based upon his use of open-centre *cimborio* vaults of interlaced ribs,[26] resembling those of the mosque of Cordova and of the crossing vaults at Burgos and Saragossa Cathedrals.

Giovanni Battista Contini (1641–1723) was a pupil of Bernini. His work in Spain is one of very few direct links between Roman Baroque and Spanish seventeenth-century architecture. In 1683 he designed the tower of the Seo in Saragossa. It is un-Spanish, not only in the octagonal stair-screw, but also in the Italian rupture of the exterior plane.

Another of the assistants of Bernini, Carlo Fontana (1634–1714), belonged to the 'safe' academic faction in Rome. Plans for the Jesuit Collegium Regium at Loyola near Azpeitia were ordered from him in 1681 (Figure 16). The round church resembles his

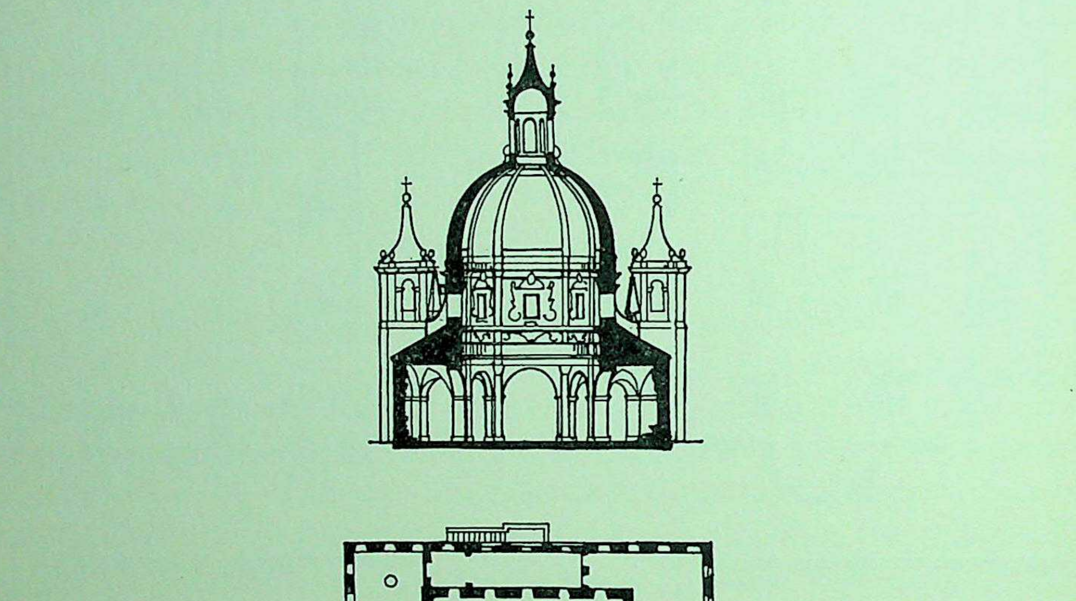


Figure 16. Carlo Fontana: Loyola (near Azpeitia), basilica of Collegium Regium, 1681. Section and plan

design for a martyrium at one end of the oval arena of the Roman Colosseum.[27] At Loyola the execution lagged, and the undecorated shell of the church was consecrated only in 1738. It was unmistakably a Spanish building, with apsidal towers, as at Monforte de Lemos (1592–1619), and a *camarín* behind the altar. Only the concave spires, the curved façade, and the dome profile recall the Berninesque origins of the design.

The First 'Heretic'[28] Generation

Leonardo de Figueroa (c. 1650–1730)

Leonardo de Figueroa gave Seville its style of cut brick construction in white or yellow walls surrounded by red trim. The Hospital de Venerables Sacerdotes is his earliest known work (1687–97), and it is the first major building in Seville have bare coursed brick (*vitolado*) without stucco disguise in the shaping of the tectonic members. The church is a conventional box structure, with a narthex beneath the choir. The nave capitals are brackets like those in Pineda's cathedral monument of 1671 (p. 26). In the patio the quiet proportions are enlivened by tasselled ornaments (*pinjantes*) and paired brackets.[29]

Further inventions appear at the Magdalena church (1691–1709; formerly San Pablo), a *mudéjar* fabric rebuilt by Leonardo. He flattened the curved window-hoods of Herrera's Exchange, and combined them with Solomonic pilasters of undulant outline in the cloister. The exterior entablature of the church is interrupted by immense foliated brackets, resembling jewelled hasps or hinges on a reliquary coffer. Inside, Figueroa used the undulant cornice (invented *c.* 1660 by Fray Juan Ricci) [30] for the first time in Spain.

For its date, 1696–1711, Leonardo's completion of the Salvador church seems reactionary: the façade follows a Serlio design; the nave supports return to Plateresque models; the flying buttresses revive fifteenth-century structural practices.[31] But the invasion of the nave entablatures by the arch heads is novel, as is the narrow peripheral tribune balcony, which gives variety, as of a rich inner lining, to the bounding walls.[32] At Jerez the Colegiata (*c.* 1695–1765) regroups the Salvador elements into a more vertical system upon an identical programme of plan, structure, and massing by Diego Moreno Meléndez, probably a follower of Leonardo.

San Luis at Seville[33] (1699–1731; an attribution) adapts the Rainaldi plan of 1652 for S. Agnese in Rome, as well as Borromini's doorways of 1653–5. The energetic 'half-Solomonic' columns with conventional lower halves are probably copied by Leonardo from younger men (e.g. the sons of Pedro Romero, who used them in 1697–1702 at the Triana chapel of Nuestra Señora de la O), so that San Luis may mark the waning of Leonardo's inventive powers.

The bulbous octagonal turret and spire of Santa Catalina (1721) may owe its reversing curves to Contini's spire of the Seo at Saragossa of 1683; it also leads in Figueroa's work to the San Telmo doorway of 1724–34, a glittering assembly of Leonardo's most vivid forms (Plate 11B). The balcony wall parts in layers to reveal a Borrominesque window beneath an oval medallion. The pulpit, borne upon the backs of four transoceanic aborigines, recalls the dedication of San Telmo as a school of navigation.

Figueroa's last work was the renovation of the main court of the Merced (contracted 1724) in tranquil and correct academic forms, as if tired of extravagant invention. Leonardo's son Ambrosio (1700–75) loyally continued the family style, especially Leonardo's idiom of horizontally coursed brick, many small compartments, and florid surfaces.[34]

Francisco Hurtado (1669–1725)

In Malaga the Victoria *camarín* above the mausoleum of the Counts of Buenavista (endowed 1691; begun 1693) is possibly Hurtado's earliest architectural commission.[35] The octagonal walls and dome of the *camarín* bear a swarm of foliated stuccoes dated 1694. Beneath the vaulted staircase and *camarín* is the rectangular burial-vault with macabre stuccoes under low elliptical groin-vaults meeting at a central cluster of four shafts. It resembles the clustered shafts of 1690 at the Buensuceso Church in Seville. The combination of *camarín* over mausoleum repeats a design at Guadalupe (Cáceres),[36] ascribed to Francisco Rodríguez as of 1688–96.

The main commissions of Hurtado's middle career were in Granada.[37] The sacramental chapel of the Cartuja already had walls and the base for the tabernacle when he took charge in 1702–20. Hurtado added two lateral chambers in 1713 to strengthen the fabric, and he designed the decoration both of the chapel and tabernacle.[38] The novel part is the use of oculi near floor-level through which visitors in the lateral chambers below could view the Sacrament. In the chapel walls elaborate changes of plane begin at floor-level. The wall works forward to the oculus by projecting planes. In the base of the tabernacle the planes recede, as if contracting before the centripetal push of the chapel walls. The baldacchino of the tabernacle is an everted and fluted form, competing with the scalloped and undulating entablature in contrasting waves of motion. The scale is larger than at Malaga; the large shapes keep the eye in curved and upward-sweeping motions.

Hurtado's last work, in the Cartuja at El Paular (Segovia), was designed in 1718 and completed by pupils.[39] It is an unusually complicated *camarín*. The tabernacle stands in a domed octagonal room, called the Transparente, behind the main altar. Behind this *camarín* in turn is a large cruciform anteroom with six-sided chapels between the arms (Plate 12A). Entrance to the anteroom is by diagonal passages flanking the *camarín*. The anteroom is lighted mainly by oculi in the pendentive triangles, as in J. L. Ortega's Magdalena church at Granada. The outside massing reflects each chamber, in a cluster of plane and curved solids rising to the drum re-inforced with corner turrets. These turrets may derive from Ribera's design for the Virgen del Puerto in Madrid, finished in 1718 (p. 38).

The Churrigueras

José Benito and Joaquín Churriguera came to Madrid from Barcelona, probably in the early 1670s, to continue the family trade as altar-piece-makers on the designs of others.[40]

Their ornate Catalan manner derives from the same sources as the Dalmases House in Barcelona, where Solomonic columns, pronounced torus or *bocelón* mouldings, and foliated surfaces were part of the Catalan vernacular from about 1665. José Benito Churriguera (1665–1725) was the head of the family after 1684. His altar-pieces repeat a few standard and fashionable formulas,[41] whether it be the retable of 1686–90 for the Sagrario in Segovia Cathedral, or the altar-piece of 1693 for San Esteban at Salamanca, with curved *coulisses* and gilded imitations of tasselled fabrics. The Salamanca formula is repeated at Leganés in 1707 and again in the design for an altar at San Basilio at Madrid (1717).

José Benito's architectural work was not abundant, and it came late in his career, beginning with the new town of Nuevo Baztán in 1709–13. It is the most ambitious and original urban scheme attempted by a private person in eighteenth-century Spain. It was built for the banker Juan de Goyeneche, who later tried to revive the Spanish glass-working industry there.[42] For him José Benito also built a town-house, now the Academia de San Fernando, in Madrid.

The plan of Nuevo Baztán skilfully avoids the dead rigour of perfect symmetry. The church and an adjoining palace (Plate 12B) make an off-centre block. The high, narrow church counters the long palace. Both are united by the three towers: two for the church and one for the palace. The block surveys three *plazas*: the south tower projects beyond the block to stress the separation of western and southern *plazas*. This freedom from regularity continues the Hispanic tradition of Alcalá de Henares and Lerma. Chueca calls Nuevo Baztán a 'farmyard' plan (*cortijo-pueblo*), organized on deliberately broken axes rather than by the usual Renaissance grid-iron. The church is unexpectedly severe. The pedimented façade rises in four surges: the polygonal lintel doorway; the arched portal; a first pediment framing the niche; and a crowning pediment on giant pilasters, echoing and compounding both Juan de Herrera and Palladio.

To explain José Benito's position in Bourbon Spain, one must introduce Teodoro Ardemáns (1664–1726),[43] trained in architecture by the Jesuits and in painting by Claudio Coello. Ardemáns became chief designer for the royal works *c.* 1702; José Benito was assistant designer without salary from 1690, and salaried from 1696. When Ardemáns rose to power, José Benito was charged with insubordination and presumption. That the men were rivals is clear: Ardemáns survived the dynastic change, and Churriguera found a private patron. The contrast of personalities shows in their styles. Ardemáns's manner is bold, virile, and cosmopolitan. His remodelling of the doorways and towers of the Madrid Town Hall (*c.* 1690) has Italianate polish, with curious parallels to the style of Vanbrugh in England. José Benito's talent is more retardataire: his best work returned to Herreran and Palladian qualities. It is ironic that the name of this least adventurous of Spanish architects has become synonymous with Baroque extravagance and freedom.

Joaquín de Churriguera (1674–1724) carried his brother's conservatism even farther by his revival of sixteenth-century Plateresque forms at Salamanca, in the *patio* of the Colegio de Anaya, and at the Colegio de Calatrava (begun 1717). His design for the crossing dome of Salamanca Cathedral (1714–24; dismantled after 1755) was a neo-Plateresque fantasy with candelabra pilasters and hooded shell-niches. Joaquín was not alone in this nostalgic return to Spain's age of splendour: Hurtado, Vicente Acero, and many others shared in the same revival.[44] It was part of the emotional temper of the early eighteenth century – an expression of nationalist sentiment, in a time of dynastic change, and in reaction from the Bourbon court of Philip V, the grandson of Louis XIV.

THE SECOND GENERATION: SPANISH ROCOCO

About 1720 major changes appear in the progressive architecture of all regions. Placage effects; linear traceries; strong framing mouldings (the torus *bocelón*); curved planes and biased columns; as well as *estípites*, in which the shaft of the column is dissolved and replaced by ornamental contours, are the new forms. Their purpose, as in coeval French Rococo,[45] is to have the frame occupy the eye at the expense of what it encloses. The silhouette triumphs over the surface.

Diego Antonio Díaz (c. 1680–1748)

Diego Antonio Díaz of Seville moved beyond the style of the Figueroa family, to stress linear pattern in shaped carved brick, and to reject the floral interlaces of the preceding generation. The grandeur of Díaz's design appears early, at Santa Rosalía[46] in Seville (1705–15). There is no foliation, and the tectonic identity of every member is divided by shadowed contour into many units to form a patterned total design. Díaz also redesigned the tympanum over the door beneath the main façade arch, by broken curvatures in several planes, so that lintel and arch connect as one continuous field of ornamental force.[47] In the 1720s, in the Santísima Trinidad at Carmona, the tectonic members are reduced to linear schemes of melodic properties: the inner façade wall (dated 1728) extends the nave capitals as a re-curved stucco entablature across the enclosure of the nuns' choir.

Díaz's masterpiece is the parish church at Umbrete (1725–33), upon a plan of crypto-collateral type, with tribunes above the chapels, hall-church vaults, and indirect lighting from the tribunes (Figure 17). His models[48] were probably the Merced at Ecija (*c.* 1624), where the nave elevation resembles a two-tiered aqueduct; and Diego Romero's Salvador Church (1700–20) for the Jesuits at Carmona, where the upper nave supports have both Corinthian and Tuscan capitals beneath full entablatures. At Umbrete Díaz corrected and refined the proportional relations, avoiding the ungainly cubical masses of the Carmona supports.

Díaz's style owes much to Francisco Bautista, who influenced Díaz's younger colleagues as well. The nave elevations of San Isidro in Madrid govern San Jacinto at Seville (Triana), by Matías José de Figueroa (1698–*c.* 1765), in 1735–40. This son and pupil of Leonardo de Figueroa stood closer to Diego Antonio Díaz, by style and generation, than to his parent.

The school of Diego Díaz survives recognizably in the work of Pedro de Silva (active 1756–81). At Las Cabezas de San Juan (1759–77) the lateral doorway has eight repeating

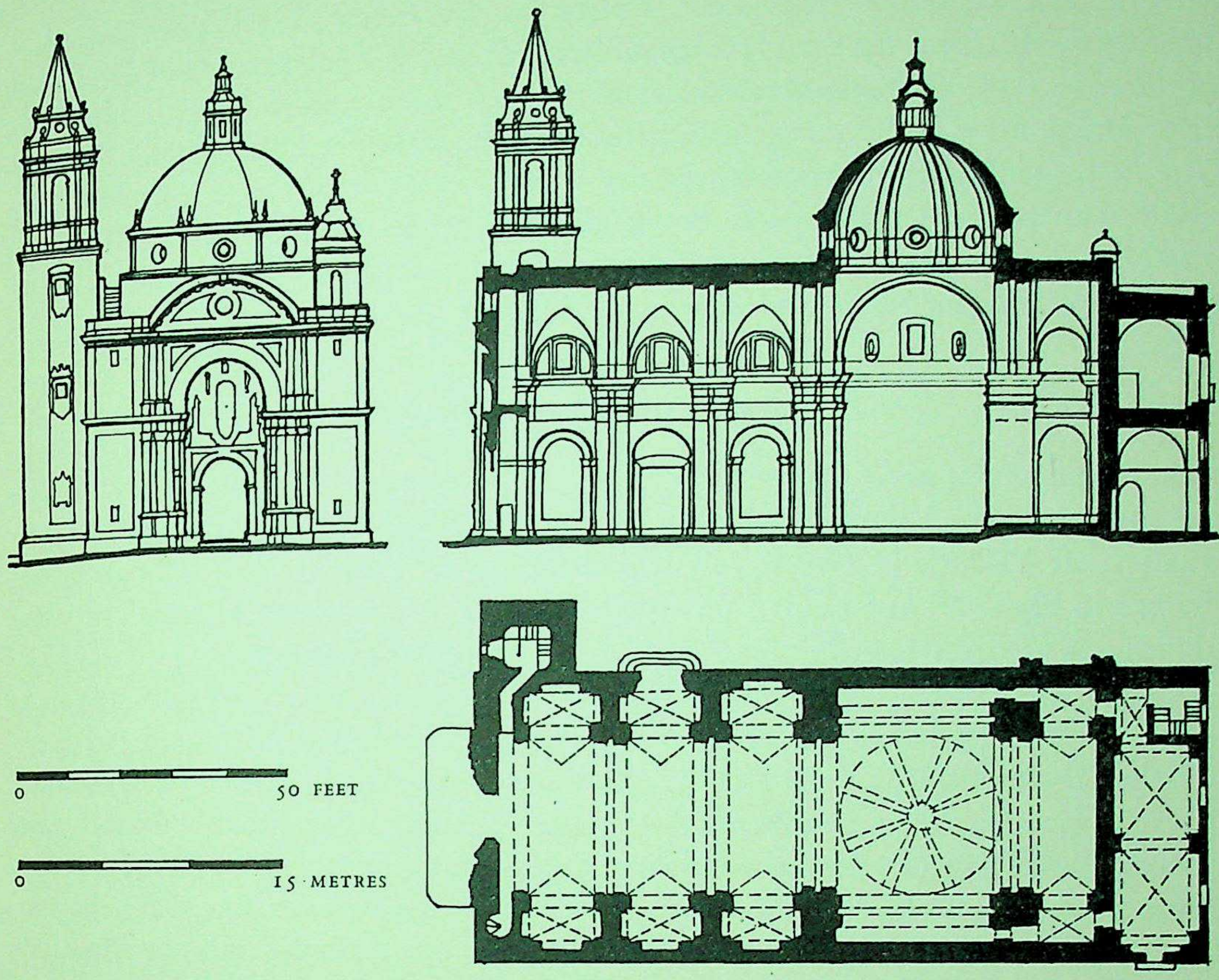


Figure 17. Diego Antonio Díaz: Umbrete, parish church, 1725–33. Façade, section, and plan

profiles on the jambs, which break at the lintel into a linear counterpoint of opposing curvilinear frames. Similar effects after 1760 in the bay region of Cadiz influenced American architecture in the Caribbean (p. 66).

Cordova and Granada

At Cordova no single architect emerges clearly from the unexplored architectural history of the city, unless it is Juan de Aguilar,[49] who designed the remodelling of San Hipólito (1728–36). The placage façade derives from the Magdalena at Granada by J. L. Ortega (1677–94), and the main doorway (1736) makes a tympanum design like those by Diego Antonio Díaz. The entire treatment stresses the frame, with suggestions as of a hanging textile ornament, for instance in the vertical edges of the façade, where the pilasters are treated as *pinjantes*.[50] The *estípites* in the upper portal storey, and the cornices and bases which curve upwards from the centre to the corners, are like those of the sacristy of the Cartuja of Granada.

No document identifies the designer of the Granada sacristy.[51] The outer shell, with an elliptical dome on perforated pendentives (Plate 13A), as in the anteroom at Paular, may be a Hurtado design. Though the construction was authorized in 1713, the accounts show no activity until 1730, and the plasterwork was executed in 1742–7. It is most unlikely that craftsmen in the 1740s would have adhered to a programme of decoration prepared in 1713. The sacristy interior does not look like a work of Hurtado's generation. Its designer must have begun his career about the time when Hurtado died in 1725. The even lighting throughout the sacristy is contrary to the principle of contrast by which Hurtado was governed in the adjoining Sagrario and the *camarín* of Paular.[52] Furthermore, the plaster tracery sacrifices the surface for qualities of linear motion in a manner alien to Hurtado and to his generation before 1720–30.

The Disruption of the Plane: Rudolf and Acero

Compound curvature with intersecting convex and concave surfaces first appeared at the main portal of Valencia Cathedral, begun by Conrad Rudolf in 1713 (Plate 13B). Rudolf left Valencia in 1707,[53] and died at Vienna in 1732. He claimed that he was trained in Paris and in Rome in the studio of Bernini. The problem at Valencia was difficult – a narrow recess between the Miguelete Tower and the chapter house was to be remodelled as a splendid main façade. Rudolf treated it as a seven-part composition in three storeys, of which San Miguel de los Reyes, Liria, and the Carmen are earlier examples. The movement in these earlier façades was vertical. In the cathedral, Rudolf's curved planes are like a membrane that registers differing pressures of inner and outer forces. The illusion of a laminated, double thickness in the façade is produced by twin Corinthian columns placed at an angle at the ends of the concave outer bays. Sinewy frontal columns on retropilasters, also placed at an angle, limit the convex central bay. The effect is of rebellious energies: a wide design has been crumpled and pleated to fit the narrow site.

Vicente Acero y Acebo (active 1714–*c.* 1738) saw none of his designs finished. His first work, the façade of Guadix Cathedral, was completed by the Cayón family. Acero's part (1714–20) is concavely curved in the buttress faces, and it has curved pilaster shafts at both ends as well as much small-scale decoration of Plateresque derivation. It combines Plateresque themes with the curved surfaces of Franco-Italian origin.

This ambivalence persists in Acero's grandiose designs for Cadiz Cathedral (Figure 18), begun in 1722 and modified in 1729 by Torcuato Cayón.[54] Acero's rotunda-chevet reproduces Diego de Siloe's cathedral of Granada (1528). Splendid drawings of 1725 record Acero's intentions. He eliminated Siloe's annular passage within the rotunda supports (Figure 4), and he avoided the funnel-vaults by using only four supports, instead of Siloe's six, in order to achieve a more diaphanous composition. At the entrance to the rotunda, Acero's diagonally placed and recurved chancel supports cleave the space of the nave as the bow of a ship parts the water. This theme of diagonally set edges cleaving the plane instead of facing it reappears throughout. On the façade, twin pilasters embrace the ridges of the curved plane intersections. In the towers, too, rounded and straight wall portions intersect. In the nave and aisle elevations, no form is frontal; every component is placed at an angle. The plan resembles Diego Antonio Díaz's linear arabesques of broken curve portions. All these bold innovations were mutilated in

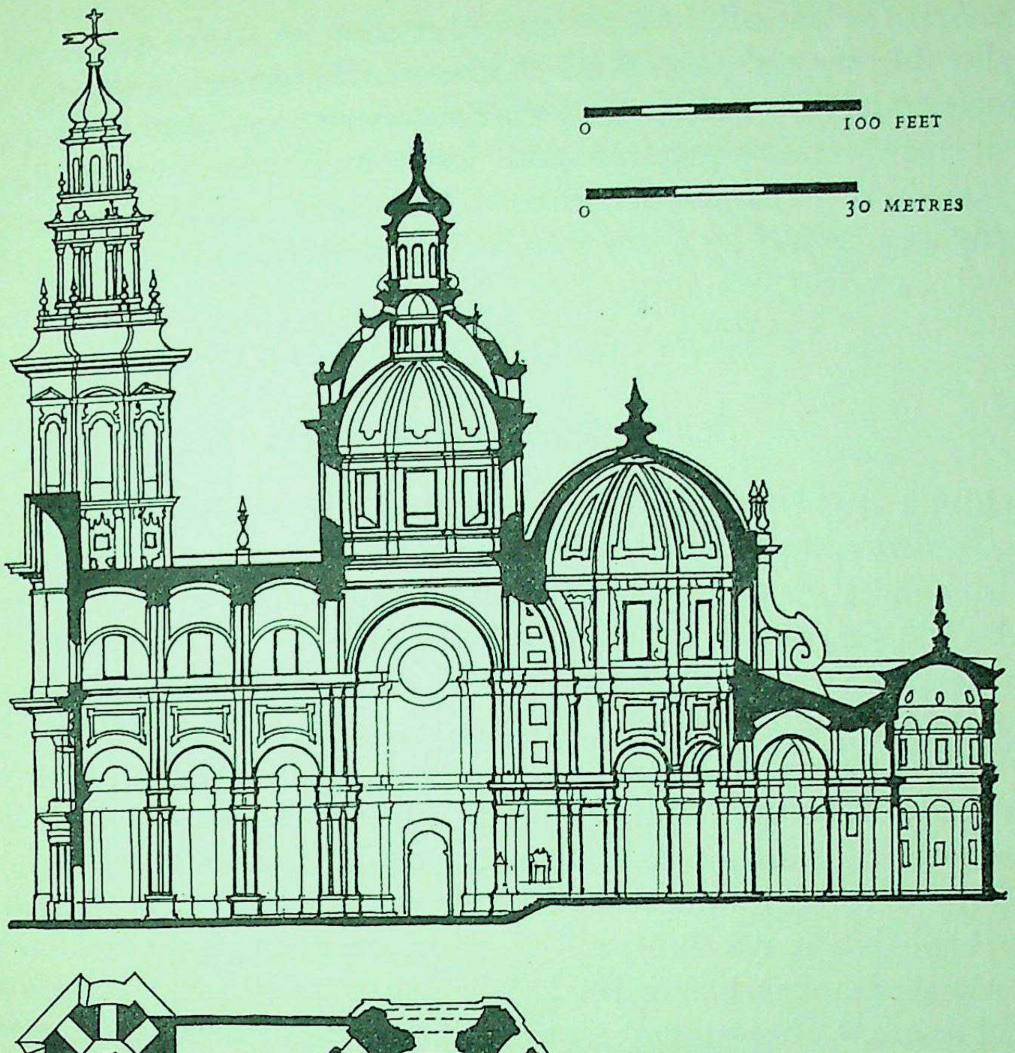

0
100 FEET
0
30 METRES

Figure 18. Vicente Acero: Cadiz Cathedral, project of 1722. Section and plan

execution. Acero's plans called for towers higher than the Giralda and for a crossing dome higher than the *cimborio* of Seville Cathedral. The hierarchic ordering, from the *camarín* vault up to the rotunda, and higher to the crossing dome, in the shadow of the six-storeyed towers, was replaced with lower profiles by Torcuato Cayón and others.[55] He reduced the number of horizontal divisions to cancel Acero's effect of Plateresque multiplicity, revived by Acero upon the heritage of Siloe.

THE 'DELIRIOUS FOOLS'

Pedro de Ribera (c. 1683–1742)

Pedro de Ribera should have been committed to a madhouse, according to E. Llaguno, the Neo-Classical critic. Llaguno's editor, Ceán-Bermúdez, hoped that a listing of Ribera's 'absurdities' would keep innocent men from incurring the blame, so he formed the only list of Ribera's work, on which all studies since 1829 are based.[56]

Ribera was probably a pupil of Ardemáns, to whose bold and energetic manner his work is related. He was assistant to Ardemáns in 1719, and succeeded him as chief architect to the Municipal Council of Madrid when Ardemáns died in 1726.

Ribera's early patron was Francisco Antonio Salcedo y Aguirre, created Marqués del Vadillo in 1712, and *corregidor* (or crown governor) of Madrid from 1715 to 1729. His urban reforms were the riverside park of the Virgen del Puerto (1718); many fountains; the first public lighting service in Madrid (1717); and the first register of public vehicles.[57] Vadillo, who died in 1729, is buried in the hermitage consecrated in 1718 to honour the Virgen del Puerto.[58] The precedent for a church with the silhouette and proportions of a park pavilion (Figure 19) was in Carbonell's lovely little *ermitas* scattered through the Buen Retiro park.[59] Ribera's bell-shaped spire furnishes an agreeable prospect from the many approaches to the riverside esplanade, which is the earliest in Spain. Towards the city, small towers define a harmonic façade. To all approaches the building is slightly off-axis, as if resisting, yet acknowledging them. In plan, exedrae open from the alternating faces of an octagon, and a raised *camarín* opens behind the altar exedra. Placage effects in the surfaces between the giant pilasters make the wall ornamentally active. The upright oval façade windows are Ribera's signature. The turreted buttresses at the corners of the octagonal drum were repeated at once by Hurtado at El Paular in 1718, in polygonal instead of cylindrical shapes. More conventional is the chapel of the Hospice of San Fernando in Madrid, after 1722. Ribera's debt to Ardemáns is clearest here, especially in the boldness and purity of the nave mouldings.

At Avila Ribera repeated the turreted drum in the chapel of N.S. de la Portería in San Antonio, finished in 1731. The plan of inverted triangles comes from Borromini's Roman church of S. Ivo (1642–60). The exterior surfaces are enmeshed in a network of coloured stucco decoration imitating brickwork in blue, white, and yellow on a red ground. The curved intersections of the drum with the roof recall Ribera's design of 1719 for the Toledo Bridge at Madrid, built in 1723–4. Here angular abutments intersect with the cylindrical turnouts.[60]

Ribera's Montserrat Church in Madrid (1720) is incomplete. The five-part façade includes two slender tower bases. The interior has his pure and powerful mouldings: his hand is most evident in the broken nave cornices, in the flat, deep cavetto mouldings of the bases, and again in the doorway *bocelón* and the tower profiles.

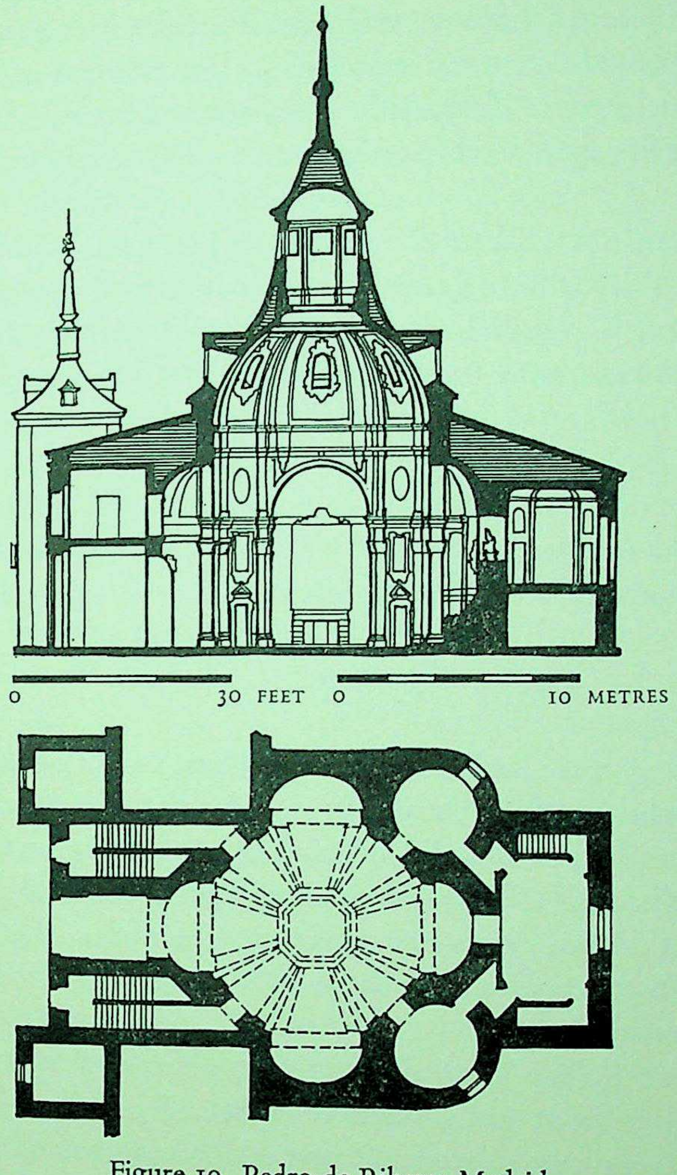


Figure 19. Pedro de Ribera: Madrid, Virgen del Puerto, 1718. Section and plan

San Cayetano at Madrid is also incomplete and truncated.[61] Ribera's drawings of 1722 and 1737 record his intentions. The towers are subordinated to the immense crossing dome, which he brought close to the façade, in a unique inversion of the cruciform plan, for the purpose of clustering the dome and towers and of subordinating the towers to the dome.

Ribera's portal compositions vary according to the functions of the buildings they adorn (e.g. the military severity of the Conde-Duque barracks of 1720;[62] the textile motifs of the Hospicio doorway), but his distinctive habits recur in all. His *estípites* have jewel-like bosses in protruding panels; and the entablature portions usually bear a cherubic *tête en espagnolette*. He also uses brief segments of curved line, in a staccato alternation with straight portions. Ribera often treats a curve in placage effects, so that it leaps abruptly from one plane into another. In its entire effect, his style is far from mellifluous.

The portal of the Hospicio de San Fernando (Plate 14A) is Ribera's most celebrated and most abominated work. Of coarse sandstone, it breaks through the main cornice by spasms of vertical motion, in contours animated by stony draperies, peopled with putti, and festooned by floral swags. These and other forms of rocaille and textured surface show Ribera's study of French work, possibly at the new royal workshops of La Granja and Madrid.

The tower of Salamanca Cathedral[63] (drawing prepared between 1733 and 1738) strives for a brilliant silhouette to carry great distances. It has gothicizing finials and Doric entablatures, and the design lacks the ornamental freedom of the portals. San José in Madrid, finished in 1742, may be by Ribera. Like the Salamanca tower, it combines his ornament with a nostalgic return to older forms (nave elevations and square dome case).

Ribera was like the crest of a great wave of exuberant decoration that gathered way during the seventeenth century, to break in his lifetime. The end of his life, and the later work of his contemporaries, were like the foamy backwash upon the shore.

Narciso Tomé (fl. 1715–1742 †)

Narciso Tomé[64] first appeared with his father and brothers as a sculptor of the University façade at Valladolid in 1715. Above the paired giant order framing the portal, the designer seems hypnotized by the shafts, which continue through entablature and cornice into the balustrade. The total effect of energetic and competitive elements belongs to the Plateresque revival of the early eighteenth century. The plan of the University is similar to that of the fifteenth-century Colegio de Santa Santa Cruz; Narciso's father, Antonio, probably directed the work.

The Transparente in Toledo Cathedral (1721–32) is signed by Narciso Tomé.[65] It is a sacramental chapel without walls, made of light and inscribed by theatrical artifice upon the space of a Gothic ambulatory (Plate 14B). To augment the light, Tomé found an ingenious solution: one entire rib-vault, the axial vault over the inner aisle, was removed. Above it a light-trap rises high above the Gothic vaults like a ship's ventilator. This super-clerestory rose-window opens eastward on the main axis of the cathedral. Within the marble casing that conceals the Gothic ambulatory support, a stairway rises seventeen steps to a tiny *camarín*.[66] In plan the composition is concavely curved. In elevation the two entablatures sag at the centre to establish perspective recession for the room of the Last Supper in the upper storey. On the supports, the fluted shafts are veiled in shredded streamers and broken membranes of skin-like consistency, as if to suggest that these forms are of new birth, shrouded in tatters of celestial space, where cherubim still disport.

Alberto de Churriguera (1676–1750)

Alberto de Churriguera, the youngest brother of José Benito, was the most talented member of the family, but he did not emerge from the shadow of his brothers' fame until their decease in 1724–5. His work relates him more closely to Díaz, Acero, and Ribera than to his brothers.[67] The Plaza Mayor of Salamanca (Plate 14C) was his first independent design, commissioned by the *cabildo* in 1728, who wished to rival the public places of Madrid, Valladolid, and Cordova. Construction began on the west side (1729–33) and proceeded clockwise. It is a courtyard plaza like the Plaza Mayor in Madrid, closed to through traffic by a wall of houses, and carved from the medieval heart of the city. The pressure of the medieval plan upon Alberto's square appears in the entrances: none is on an axis of symmetry.[68] The façades are still neo-Plateresque.

In 1729 Alberto designed the upper façade of Valladolid Cathedral. His purpose was to impose upon the grave rhythm of Herrera's first storey an animated movement in another key and tempo: an *allegro* upon Herrera's *andante*; a flute cadenza on the organ-tones of the older portion. The ribbed and corded surfaces catch and snatch the light, instead of accepting it quietly.

These nervous visual effects recur at San Sebastián in Salamanca (1731). The tall box-nave in double-cube proportion, surmounted by a high octagonal drum and dome-case, belongs to the family of the chapel of San Isidro in San Andrés at Madrid. The pilasters hang upon the façades like bell-pulls, with corded accents in the panelled shafts. In respect to tradition, Alberto is closer to Cano or Andrade than to his brothers: in respect to innovations, he is the rival of Ribera. The frame compounded of straight and curved portions is Alberto's signature. The lavish door frames of San Sebastián, with lintels ending in baggy curves, suggest Alberto's study of forms like those brought to Portugal from Rome and southern Germany by J. F. Ludovice (p. 110). Alberto's manner initiated a group of fine designs among his successors at Salamanca: the Rector's Doorway adjoining the University, and the doorway of the Clarissan convent. At the Medical School the type re-appears, displacing the lower part of a pilastered axis in calm disregard of structural symbolism. The Rector's Doorway is attributed to Manuel Lara de Churriguera, who is possibly also the author of the others in the group.

In 1738 Alberto resigned as chief architect of Salamanca Cathedral, because, having vetoed the design by Ribera for the tower, he could not continue when the chapter approved it. He left Salamanca for good. His last works, at Orgaz and Rueda, continue the direction abandoned by Ribera. The parish church at Orgaz (1738) has portal columns set at an angle and convex entablatures. At Rueda (1738–47) cylindrical towers flank a portal dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin (Plate 15), with concave vertical planes, and with sprays and plumes of stone all rising joyously to the Trinity profiled against the sky on the balustrade above. In the nave, diagonally placed supports and a triconch apse reflect Acero's style at Cadiz.

Alberto's unhappy career was shadowed first by his brothers, and at the end by the early stages of a revolution in taste, as well as by the ascendancy of foreign architects both at the court and in the principal cities.

Andrés Garcia de Quiñones (fl. 1750–5)

Andrés García de Quiñones (active 1750–5) of Salamanca built the Clerecía towers and *patio*, as well as the town hall. The towers he intended for the town hall were actually built at the Clerecía, and the window shapes of the tower recur on the town hall façade.[69] The Clerecía *patio* (Plate 16) has the same qualities of plastic strength together with linear insistence. Each range has an alternating rhythm (*a-b-a-b-a*) colliding in a doubled junction of columns at every corner. The enclosed upper storey has transom windows of Bramantine ancestry, first used in Spain by Donoso at Santo Tomás in Madrid (1652–6) and later adopted in Galicia.

CHAPTER 3

BOURBON SPAIN

THE ROYAL PALACES

La Granja

THE first great building of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty is the palace at San Ildefonso near Segovia, called La Granja (1719–39). Nowhere else are the transitions from Habsburg to Bourbon, from Spanish to French courts, and from French taste to Italian taste so clearly apparent (Figure 20).

Teodoro Ardemáns first built a four-towered Alcázar design (1721–3) round a sixteenth-century cloister on the site. The Colegiata chapel he modelled upon the Alpages church in Aranjuez.[1] Only the park (designed by René Carlier and executed by E. Boutelou) and fountains evoke the model of Versailles; they are the only vestiges of the French court, which disintegrated after the death of María Luisa of Savoy in 1714.

The next campaign (1727–34), under the direction of two Roman pupils of Carlo Maratta – Andrea Procaccini (1671–1734) and Sempronio Subisati (*c.* 1680–1758) – reflects the Italian court brought into being by Philip V's second wife, Isabel Farnese of Parma. The Romans designed the north and south courtyards and the ends of the east or garden façade. In 1736 Sacchetti built its centre on a design by Juvara. The western approach, between parallel barracks and stable buildings (1740–2),[2] is on axis with the

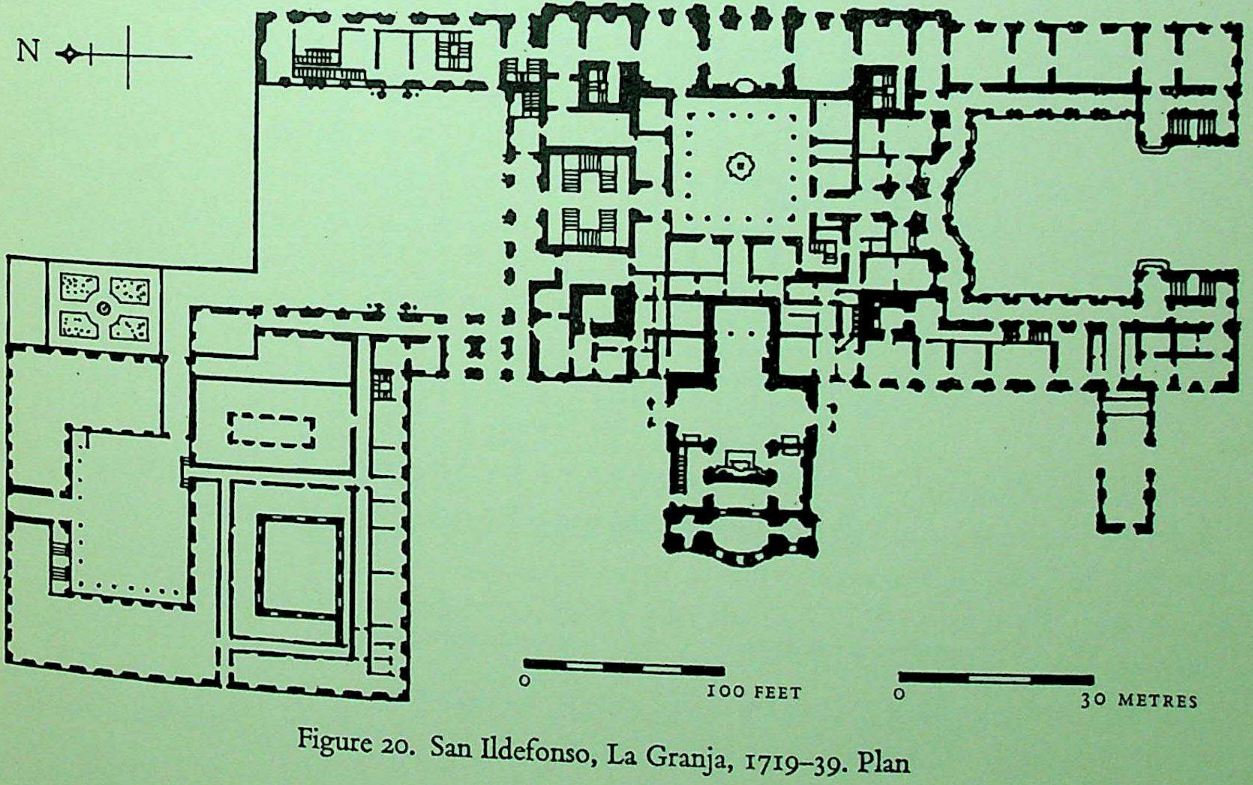


Figure 20. San Ildefonso, La Granja, 1719–39. Plan

towered presbytery façade of the Colegiata, remodelled by the Italians to resemble Fischer von Erlach's Liebfrauenkirche (1696–1707) in Salzburg.[3] Thus the nucleus is Spanish; the setting is French; and the surfaces are Italian, in an interweaving of distinct themes and rhythms that endows La Granja with the most haunting charm of all Spanish palaces.

The south court is like an open-air ballroom. Its rhythms are triadic, varying on the stair pavilions at the ends of the wings,[4] in the side façades, and at the concavely curved entrance, where inner triads appear in the pattern *a:b-b-b:a*. On the garden façade (Plate 17A) Juvara's central portion has three triplets of giant orders in a greater triad of wings and centre, of which the wings are each a triplet of triads. In the north court a more austere Spanish rhythm of doublets in triadic composition completes this most musical of palaces, where Scarlatti played from 1733, and Farinelli sang from 1737.

The Royal Palace at Madrid

The Royal Palace, Madrid (Plate 17B), recapitulates the history of the monarchy. It stands upon a Moorish fortress; its plan (Figure 21) is that of a sixteenth-century royal alcázar like the one built for Charles V in Toledo; and its façades follow a design first made by Bernini for the Louvre. Chueca has called it 'the chalky bone enclosing the marrow of Spain'.[5]

Philip V and Isabel Farnese at first desired a palace larger than Versailles when they commissioned Filippo Juvara's design of 1735, upon a three-court, three-storey plan

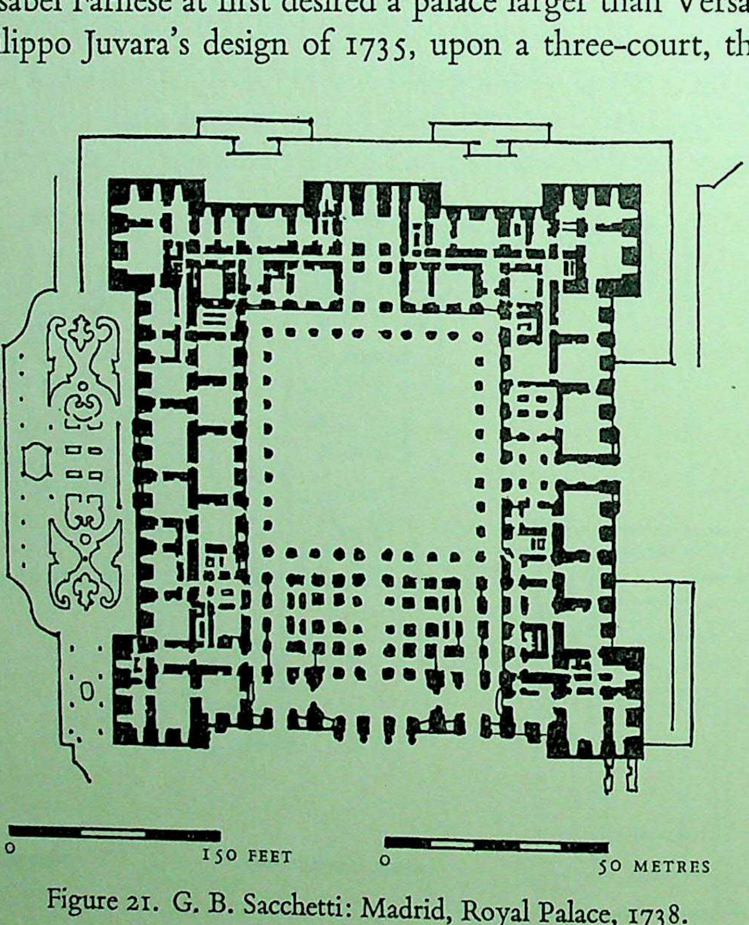


Figure 21. G. B. Sacchetti: Madrid, Royal Palace, 1738. First plan

with sixteen secondary courts, and seventy-nine bays on the garden façade. Juvara died in the same year, having recommended a Turin pupil, G. B. Sacchetti, as his successor.

Sacchetti in 1738 submitted new plans for the site of the Alcázar destroyed by fire in 1734. It rises six to seven storeys, on but one-fourth of the area of Juvara's scheme. Sacchetti returned to Bernini's Louvre design of only one single great court. He retained Juvara's double enfilades of chambers separated by central service corridors, instead of Bernini's old-fashioned single enfilades. From the Juvara plan he also adapted the tremendous double stair [6] (halved by Sabatini after 1775). He improved Bernini's Louvre courtyard by stressing the third-floor terraces, where Bernini had masked them, and he thinned all the members until he achieved the glass cage of the actual palace court. The exterior elevations loyally return to the spirit of Bernini. An early design [7] has Juvara's dense rhythm of narrow bays: by 1743 the thirty-three bays were reduced on the south façade to the present twenty-one. Both Juvara and Sacchetti repeated Bernini's forest of balustrade statues; many were executed but never placed.[8]

In Juvara's plan the opposing stair-ramps rose by unbroken flights. Sacchetti enriched them with halfway landings where secondary descending flights began. On each of the lower main flights three narrow landings have lateral flights branching off to cross and intersect beneath the upper flights.[9]

Sacchetti's first location of the chapel in 1738 [10] was over the main entrance, clasped like a jewel between the fingers of the convergent upper stairways. But this position was too abrupt, and it brought the chapel into conflict with the military requirements of the main entrance. The final solution of 1743 displaced the chapel to its present site in the north range, where its dome marks the arcanum with strong axial results in the courtyard (construction 1750–67).

In 1738 Sacchetti exceeded Juvara with a master plan for the palace grounds. To the east twenty-five buildings were to enclose twelve courts. Two mighty courtyards to the south were closed by a cathedral of Juvaran style bestriding the ravine of the present Calle de Segovia. A viaduct was planned in another project of 1752 and revised in 1757.[11] But the site always imposed its own military character upon all these efforts by the Piedmontese designer to turn a castle into a palace. In the end, Sacchetti's palace designs became more and more like an alcázar, like the Castilian plateau itself, and as rugged as the Guadarrama mountains from which its granite blocks were quarried.

Aranjuez

Two campaigns brought Aranjuez to completion: the first stage completed Herrera's sixteenth-century designs (1715–48). The second was a new design of the entire town in 1748–78 as a Bourbon *Residenzstadt*. The revival of the Herreran designs [12] of 1567–86 was part of the overt Hispanophile policy of Ferdinand VI. By completing Herrera's project for this most sylvan of all valleys in Spain, the Bourbon kings could identify themselves with the great moments of Spanish history under Philip II, in a residence much needed during the long construction of the Madrid palace. At Aranjuez, moreover, the stepson of Isabel Farnese could escape the strong will of the Parmesan dowager queen who dominated at La Granja.

New drawings based on Herrera's were first prepared for Philip V in 1715, and work began in 1727–8 under French military engineers, Étienne Marchand (d. 1733) and Léandre Brachelieu, assisted after about 1731 by Santiago Bonavia (d. 1759), a painter-architect from Piacenza. After the fire of 16 June 1748, Bonavia was put in full charge of rebuilding the palace and of renovating the town. Assisted by Alejandro González Velázquez and Jayme Marquet, Bonavia planned a city of 20,000 to replace the earthen houses of the earlier village.

Bonavia in effect turned the palace round, to relate Herrera's scheme to the wooded parks and gardens behind it. This he accomplished by amplifying and re-organizing the axial lines of the site (Figure 22). From the palace to the Alpages Church Bonavia ran one axis; at right angles from the south, another axis from the church of San Antonio intersected it at the river bend. The intersection drew all attention to the river, and it converted the rear of Herrera's palace into the main façade, while Herrera's former front became a *cour d'honneur* for coaches. At the islanded river bend Bonavia built bridges and a sloping spillway to increase the magical attraction of this forested garden of murmuring waters and sun-dappled shade.

The church of San Antonio on Bonavia's design of 1748 was completed in 1767–8 by A. González Velázquez. Two spatial expressions contrast and resolve on the undulant

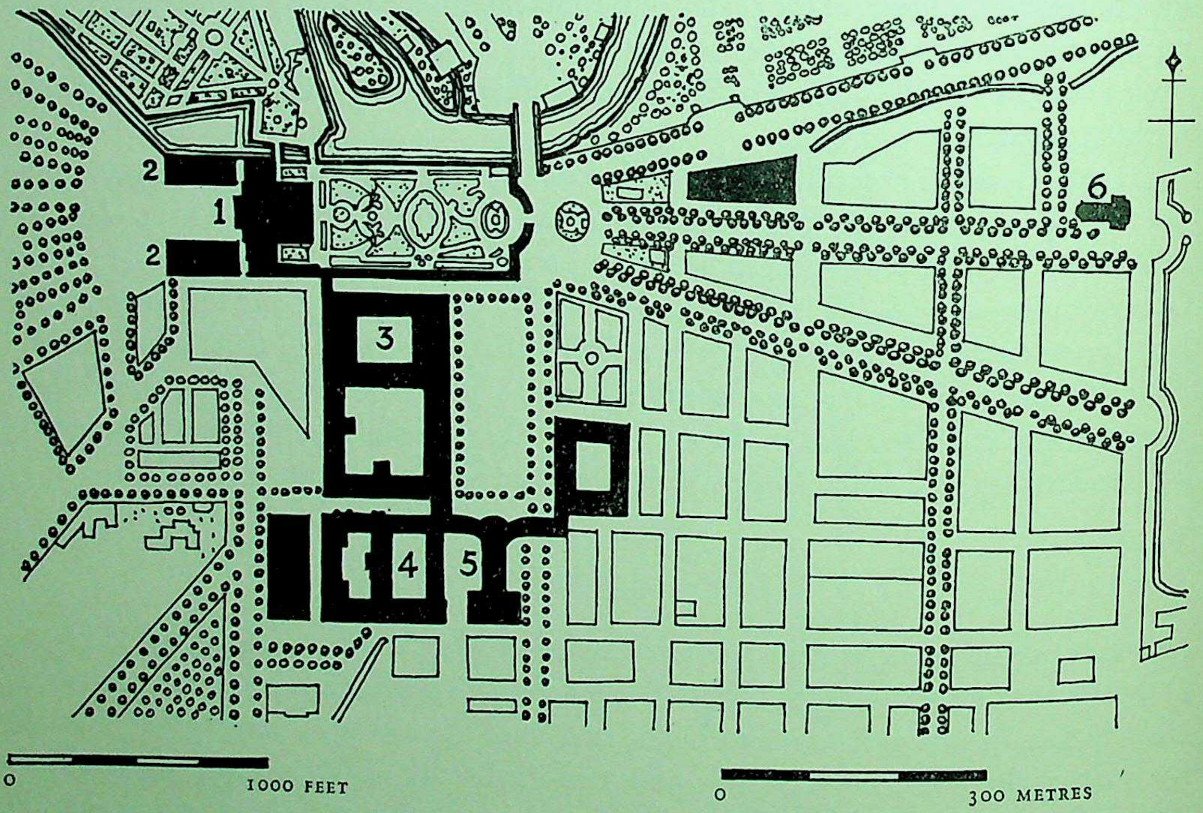


Figure 22. Aranjuez, Royal Palace, begun 1567, completed 1727–68. Plan: (1) Herreran Palace, (2) Wings by Sabatini, (3) Service buildings, (4) Stables, (5) Chapel of San Antonio, (6) Alpages church

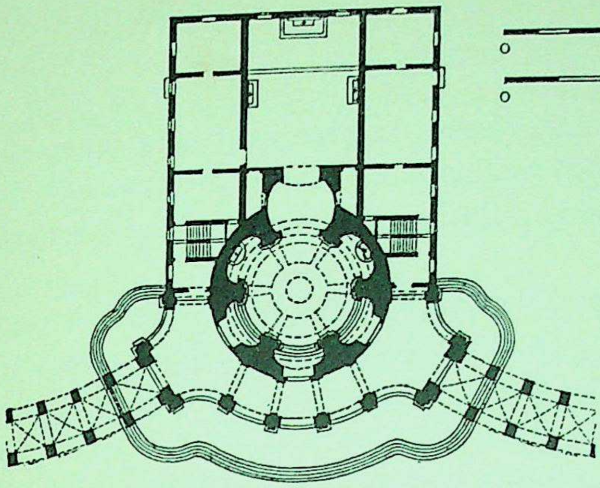


Figure 23. Santiago Bonavia:
Aranjuez, San Antonio, 1748.
Plan

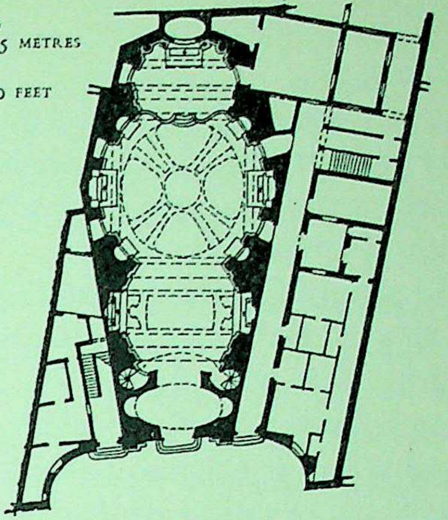


Figure 24. Ventura Rodríguez:
Madrid, San Marcos, 1749–53.
Plan

façade (Figure 23): the approaching porticoes curve and recurve to cushion the encounter with the cylindrical body of the chapel. The interior likewise resolves two spatial movements: one in the rotunda nave, and the other in the rear choir for the friars. Both spaces share the same altar in the elliptical chamber between them.

Riofrío and El Pardo

Isabel Farnese commissioned a dower-house from Virgilio Ravaglio in 1752 at Riofrío near La Granja. This associate of Bonavia designed nothing less than a nearly full-scale replica of Sacchetti's palace in Madrid. Except for the double imperial stairway, it is a cold and bare pastiche.

El Pardo became a palace by the symmetrical duplication of an alcázar upon a monumental axis, when Francisco Sabatini in 1772 doubled the hunting-lodge built in 1543–58 for Charles V by Luis de Vega.[13] Sabatini's concave shingled mansards recall central Europe.

VENTURA RODRÍGUEZ (1717–85)

The foreigners whom the Bourbons introduced soon trained a new generation of Spanish-born architects. The first great figure was Ventura Rodríguez, schooled as a draughtsman under Étienne Marchand at Aranjuez in 1731, and in Madrid from 1735 under Juvara and Sacchetti. His career as a palace architect ended with the death of Ferdinand VI in 1759. The salary he had drawn from the king since he was fourteen stopped,[14] and Rodríguez thereafter earned his living as a professor and with private commissions. Among some 140 projects, about one-third came to completion, often under the supervision of pupils or local architects whom Rodríguez brought under the spell of his magnanimous temperament and happy talent.

Early Style, to 1755

The brick-and-stucco parish church of San Marcos in Madrid (Figure 24) is his first major work (1749–53). The façade is a giant-order panel flanked by curved *avant-corps* to make a concave atrium, as at the nearby Encarnación church and in Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale in Rome.

The plan of five interpenetrating ellipses [15] recalls Bonavia's fluid curved volumes at San Antonio in Aranjuez (1748), as well as Bonavia's design for SS. Justo y Pastor (now San Miguel) in Madrid (1739–46). Like the designs for the chapel in the Madrid palace [16] dating from the 1740s, Bonavia's church is an experiment in elliptical forms, and its precise source is Guarino Guarini's *Architettura civile* of 1737,[17] especially the plan of Santa Maria Divina Providência in Lisbon. At SS. Justo y Pastor, Spanish planarity and Italian variety conflict in an uneasy compromise: in the nave vaults ponderous structural members interlace on diagonally placed supports, while the spandrels and lunettes bear a dainty rocaille decoration.

San Marcos carries Bonavia's thought farther. Like Bonavia, Rodríguez uses five compartments, but the Spaniard's volumes all differ, whereas the Italian used an alternating rhythm of cross-vault and dome. Rodríguez's varied ellipses occupy a coffin-like envelope, for the sake of a sequence of constriction, expansion, and renewed constriction in the presbytery and *camarín*. San Marcos is like an organ tone, swelling and decreasing upon the single note of the ellipse, in axial and cross-axial variants, and in varying proportions and sizes.

In 1750 Rodríguez was sent to re-model and complete the Pilar church in Saragossa (Figure 15). Popular dissatisfaction with Francisco Herrera's design centred upon the inadequacy of the chapel housing the pillar where the Virgin appeared to the Apostle James. Her statue, looking to the south-east from an off-centre position in Herrera's cardinally-orientated church, was sacrosanct and not to be moved. Rodríguez satisfied these difficult popular requirements with his own new and very beautiful solution, all the while honouring an oval design prepared about 1732 by a forgotten Rococo architect. His predecessors had all put the main entrance to the chapel on a cross axis; Rodríguez simply turned the field at right angles to enter it on the main axis of the church. The visitor, entering from the east, now beheld two exedrae flanking a central altar, with the pillar on the right, and a relief showing the apparition on the left. This triptych is visible from many feet away in a full half-circle outside the chapel. The chapel has a plan of oval character, really a quadrilobe of circular segments, with end lobes of half the radius of the front lobes.[18]

Other early works of Rodríguez are the Transparente (1753) of Cuenca Cathedral, structurally similar to Tomé's great Toledan altar; San Norberto in Madrid (1754; destroyed), based upon the Colegiata façade of La Granja; and the remodelling of the interior of the nave of the Encarnación in Madrid (1755) with an Ionic order of much calm and purity. Soon after, his star at court began to wane.

'Functional' Works

In the 1760s and later Rodríguez's new severe style exemplifies certain radical changes about 1750 in European architectural theory. The new theorists demanded an *intrinsic* ornament, to be achieved by adapting the forms to their purpose and to their material. Expressive character was to be attained by pure geometric forms alone, under the conception that the necessary alone is beautiful.[19]

Blondel's *Architecture françoise* of 1752–6 was the compendium of the new architectural pedagogy. Like Blondel, Rodríguez strove to keep the formal character of Baroque design under the new functional approach to ornament, and like Blondel he disliked both extremes – the frivolity of Rococo arabesques, and the doctrinaire pedantry of the rigorists. As Blondel did, he found the resolution in a return to Greco-Roman antiquity, but through a guide lacking in France – the work of Juan de Herrera.

The house of the Agustinos Filipinos of 1760 at Valladolid shows Herreran severity in the ratio of wall to void and in the laconic surfaces. But the stubby towers, subordinated to a low dome, and the block design, uniting church and friary in a storeyed elevation,[20] mark the edifice as of the mid eighteenth century. The Agustinos church also belongs to a group on which Rodríguez sought to combine the central plan with a retrochoir. He finally achieved the solution in the design for the Covadonga church of 1779: the altar and retrochoir are framed by a curved pedimented portico in the rotunda nave.[21] The choir and the nave penetrate one another in full interaction. The retrochoir of the Agustinos, however, is closer to Bonavia's timid beginning of 1748 in San Antonio at Aranjuez.

Of 1761 is Rodríguez's operating theatre for the Royal College of Surgery in Barcelona.[22] This is related to a scheme by J.-F. Blondel. The rotunda has tiered seats rising from the operating stage, behind façades of exceptional severity, with mouldings of very slight projection because of the narrow viewing-distance (Plate 19A). No design better illustrates the functional membering of the new theory. Expression suited to site and purpose is attained by geometry, and not by figural means or decorative flourishes.[23]

Work in an Academic Taste

Rodríguez's friends and admirers wept when his project for San Francisco el Grande at Madrid was rejected in 1761. Ceán also says that the event was the greatest disappointment of Don Ventura's life. The plans are only modifications of his cathedral design for Madrid, which won him membership in the Roman Accademia di S. Luca in 1746. Both[24] are close to Maderna's façade for St Peter's; San Francisco was to have tall Juvaran towers and a Michelangelesque dome, over a crossing like Ribera's San Cayetano, and an open presbytery of Palladian type.

After 1760 Rodríguez was increasingly busy as a professor at the Academy. He was not connected with its early history, yet he substituted for Sacchetti, Bonavia, and Carlier without recognition until the official foundation in 1752, when he was appointed director of architecture. At the Academy Rodríguez became involved in a long polemic with Diego de Villanueva (1715–74), a polemic as between older and younger generations that involved student factions.[25] Don Ventura's art was regarded by the Villanueva brothers as reactionary, in contrast to their own doctrinaire modernity (p. 51), while Rodríguez considered the Villanuevas incompetent on technical points of construction. In pedagogy the conflict was between teachable system (the Villanuevan doctrine) and the idiosyncrasies of free invention (Rodríguez). Finally in 1769 Diego de Villanueva felt he had to demand satisfaction of his touchy honour from Rodríguez, and the Academy admonished both men for unbecoming conduct.

Among several palace designs[26] of this period, Rodríguez's best work was for the Infante Don Luis at Boadilla del Monte before 1776. The tyranny of the centre over the long block was overcome by square end-towers, housing the domes of the staircase and the chapel, which distribute the interest to the ends in an agreeable intimation of rural ease, as at Aranjuez. The plan of the chapel recalls Sacchetti's palace chapel. The tribunes of crowded rhythm are like Rodríguez's oval interior of the Sagrario built in 1764 for Jaén Cathedral (Figure 5).

The façade of 1783 for Pamplona Cathedral[27] – a tetrastyle portico between twin square towers – is the most grandiose expression anywhere in Spain of an archaeological design based on Roman models (Plate 18). Here, as in Juan de Villanueva's work of the same period, large forms and quiet surfaces alternate with the convulsed shadows and contrasted masses of romantic pathos. The opaqueness dissolves from the towered edges towards the mysteriously shadowed double row of Corinthian columns.

Rodríguez's long development does not easily scan into stages. Other artists either rapidly shed one chrysalis after another, or they slowly explored one stage or two. Rodríguez's career is like a steep mountain stream tumbling through a variety of landscapes, carrying in its rush a burden of rocks and gravels swept from many other stretches of its banks.

Of course, the coexistence of various manners in any work by Rodríguez may be due to his happy and trusting relationships with pupils and executants. For example, Julián Yarza Ceballos (1712–85) of Saragossa first knew Rodríguez at about forty: it is a tribute to Rodríguez that his designs for the Pilar façade were adapted by Yarza at the Seo façade of 1764 in a taut and Borrominesque transposition. Another such friend was Manuel Reguera González (1731–98), who executed Rodríguez's design of 1768 for the church of the Oviedo Hospital. The *patio* walks are treated like the aisles and tribunes of the octagonal nave. The history of José Martín de Aldehuela (1720–1802) again illustrates the power of Don Ventura's example: the two first met at Cuenca in 1753. Aldehuela's style changed from Valencian Rococo to Rodríguez's early manner, which he continued at Cuenca, Malaga, and Ronda.

The Fame of Ventura Rodríguez

The guardians of architecture between 1770 and 1830 agreed that detestable error arose from curved members, fragmentary portions, undulant mouldings, and paired supports. Yet none ever denounced any work by Rodríguez, whose works in all periods display continuing delight in these reprehensible practices. This astonishing suspension of judgement by academic critics who knew Rodríguez must be explained. The critics of the day, such as Ponz, were not architects but men of letters, whose conceptions and vocabulary did not permit detailed distinctions. Furthermore, they were engaged through the Academy in the framing and perpetuation of sound rules. They could not defend the Academy while attacking its members. Thus the criticism of Rodríguez was delayed until the popularization of romantic taste, when Rodríguez was regarded as a vandal who mutilated the Gothic façade of Pamplona Cathedral. Three distinct attitudes therefore govern the historical appreciation of Rodríguez's work. The academic or Neo-Classical view [28] treats Rodríguez as the bridge leading from Herrera to Villanueva's perfection. The romantics regarded him as an academic destroyer of picturesque values. The modern historical view [29] places him as a Baroque artist whose work ran counter to the prevailing standards of academic taste. In the Academy, the real conflict with the Villanuevas concerned teaching method. The academic world, under Juan de Villanueva's leadership, moved rapidly towards romantic expression and picturesque variety. Thus Rodríguez was the terminal figure of Baroque architecture at the Academy, and his influence almost ended with his death.

Juan de Villanueva (1739–1811)

The first mentor of the architect of the Prado Museum was his brother, Diego de Villanueva (1715–74). His life was a succession of romantically incomplete artistic positions, and he was unable to adapt his arrogant nature to the social regime of the eighteenth century. With his father, the sculptor Juan, he took part in 1745 in the fabrication of the Churrigueresque main altar for Coria Cathedral.[30] His drawings of architectural subjects, engraved by Minguet in 1757, are early expressions of picturesque taste. He was one of Sacchetti's draughtsmen at the Royal Palace until 1754: the borders and frames of a notebook of this period are Rococo fantasies. His remodelling of the Descalzas Reales at Madrid is in Juvaran taste. In the 1760s Diego became a rigorist and rationalist with a volume of essays [31] published in 1766. He combined the famous essay by Abbé Laugier (1753) with C. N. Cochin's anti-Rococo satire and Algarotti's essay of 1756 expounding Lodoli's rigorism into a criticism of both Churriguerist and Rococo principles. Now, Diego regarded himself as a teacher inspired to clear young minds of outworn and false doctrine. Architecture had been perverted by rounded walls, octagonal rooms, and curved doorways; ornament had taken precedence over distribution and fitness. The way of the reformer was clear: to strengthen the professional and humanistic training of the architect by academic education in the pure forms of antiquity.

Early Works

Juan's steady fortunes led him first to Italy for seven years (1759–65) as a Rome scholar at the Academy. There he knew the pupils of Legeay and Servandoni; Gondoin was his contemporary, and Piranesi's *Antichità romane* appeared in these years, when the brothers

F

Adam, and George Dance, and Clérisseau were all in Rome. His only real competitor among Spaniards was about ten years older – José de Hermosilla, with whom Juan went to Granada in 1766–7 to draw the 'Arab antiquities' at the royal command.[32]

In these years Charles III spent more and more time hunting at the Escorial, where the court needed new housing.[33] With the help of Antonio Ponz, Villanueva secured appointment as architect to the Jeronymites of the Escorial in 1768. Through occupying this post he became titular architect to the future Charles IV and his brothers the Infantes Don Antonio and Don Gabriel in 1771. Villanueva first built two small town-houses, and in 1771 the large building for the households of the Infantes, facing the west façade of the monastery-palace. It is a Herreran block of five courtyards for servants and stables, modelled in plan upon the similar edifice built in 1770 for the same clients at La Granja by José Díaz Gamones. All details repeat the Pharaonic key of Herrera's immense granite blocks. The stairway is a corridor bridging the difference of grade between east and west façades. At the landings, tributary stairs which connect the upper floors flow into the stair-corridor.

Villanueva's own style first appears in his work of 1770 for the cathedral of Burgo de Osma. The sacristy honours Ventura Rodríguez's model at the Encarnación in Madrid by imitation, but the Palafox Chapel has screens of free-standing columns in pairs around a rotunda, beneath straight entablatures, in a phrasing like that of his greatest work, the Prado. Further preparatory thoughts appear in the three little villas he built for his patrons: the Casita de Arriba at the Escorial for Don Gabriel (1773); and the Casita de Abajo at the Escorial (1773) and the Casita del Príncipe at El Pardo (1784), both for Prince Carlos.

For the music-loving Don Gabriel (d. 1788), Villanueva used the principal theme of the Prado: the entrance treated as two pylons, instead of as a closed unit bridged by the conventional pediment, in a method of contrast that prepares the way for picturesque form. The Casita de Abajo has rambling variety and opposition of masses, under concavely curved roof-lines of Rococo ancestry, to affirm the tiny silhouette upon the Guadarrama mountains and against the brooding block of Herrera's monastery. The Pardo Casita, of red brick and white trim, prefigures in miniature the five-part design of the Prado on fashionable French principles. This rich play of light and shade on an articulated massing makes one think of É. L. Boullée's (1726–96) *architecture des ombres*.[34]

At the Pardo Palace, Villanueva collided on building costs with Francisco Sabatini, the court architect (1722–97). Sabatini had arrived in Spain in 1760. Charles III preferred him, as Vanvitelli's pupil and son-in-law, and second in command on the palace at Caserta, to Ventura Rodríguez. His works betray only a modest talent, inclined to barren repetition and denuded surfaces, as at the Madrid Aduana (completed 1769; now Ministry of Hacienda). His presence at court blocked Villanueva from the most important opportunities until about 1784.[35]

Later Career

On 30 May 1785 Villanueva submitted his first designs for the Prado Museum of Natural History, displacing Ventura Rodríguez's design of 1776 for a curving peristyle walk. This first design is of excessive complication (Figure 25A) though it conserved the peristyle theme, with a colonnaded rotunda and end exedrae below the museum and parallel with it. A great basilica on the cross-axis was to connect the museum and the promenade, as a 'Temple of Science' for learned societies. The exterior massing was as flat and colourless as the façades of Sabatini or Marquet.[36]

New drawings of 1787 were for a museum alone (Figure 25B). Every relationship was re-studied as a scenographic problem in outdoor space, and the entire block was diversified for interesting contrasts and pleasant surfaces (Plate 19B). An intermediary stage in this process appears in a demountable wooden model. It displays the architect's incisive way of composing by large geometric units. From the first design of 1785 only the cross-axis of the auditorium survived. The first design treated the galleries between centre and end pavilions as a vertebral series of small units opening from a central corridor. Villanueva now simplified and unified the spaces, as four large chambers occupying the entire volume in two floors, lined on the upper storey with shelving for the display of scientific specimens. Villanueva designed a scientific museum, and

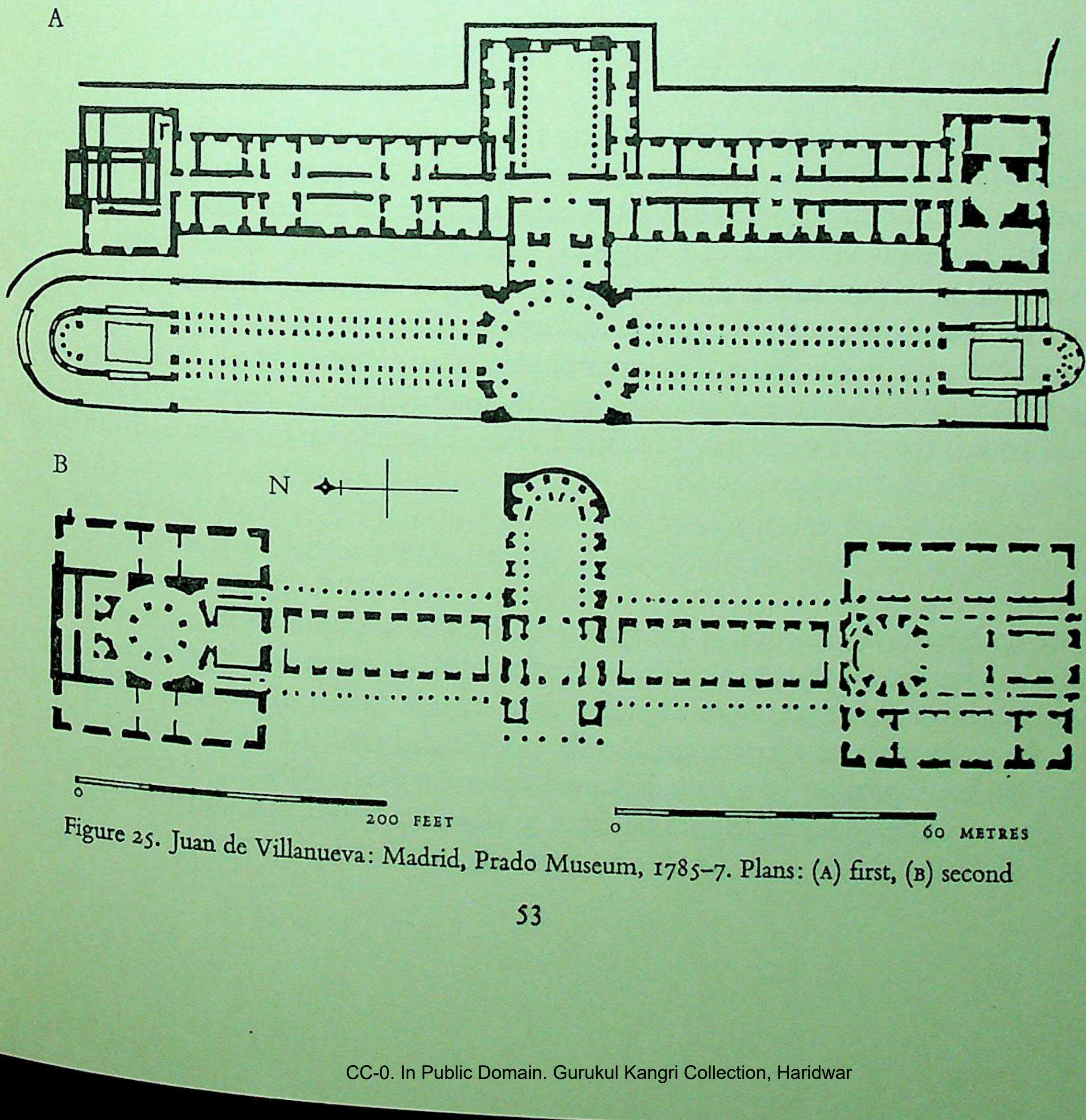


Figure 25. Juan de Villanueva: Madrid, Prado Museum, 1785–7. Plans: (A) first, (B) second

Ferdinand VII turned it into a picture-gallery long after Villanueva's death. The enlarged end pavilions allowed the addition of many smaller rooms. Chueca compares the south pavilion, with its *patio* and garden façade, to a palace: it was planned to house chemistry laboratories and collections. Villanueva's final change, to augment the independence and variation of the end pavilions, was to impose an attic storey upon each.

Villanueva never again had such an opportunity to design in a picturesque and theatrical style. The Madrid Academy of History, originally built for the Jeronymites in 1788, is a compact extension of the style of the Escorial. The north façade of the town hall of Madrid (Ayuntamiento) has screening colonnades between massive towers to make a monumental reviewing-stand (1787–9). The Oratory of the Caballero de Gracia in Madrid (1789) is Villanueva's only completed church.[37] It shows a close study of Palladio, with columnar screens as in the Early Christian basilicas of Rome. In 1791 the rebuilding of the Plaza Mayor began to Villanueva's designs in the massive manner of Juan Bautista de Toledo.

The Madrid Observatory was Villanueva's last important building. It is his first essay in the revival of Greek forms as advocated by Ledoux or Gilly. Villanueva sought, like Ledoux, to reconcile the expression of function with composition by contrasted geometric forms. This difficult problem became the obsession of the nineteenth century. Villanueva, as its first exponent in Spain, closed one era and opened another.

REGIONAL STYLES

Royal edicts in 1777 required that all plans for new civil and religious buildings be submitted for approval to the Academy of San Fernando. The purpose was to eradicate the residues of regional style throughout Spain, in favour of correct academic practice in the tradition of Vitruvius and Vignola. The monopolistic control sought by the Academy in its new role as an agent of the state was only an inevitable prelude to the terrible abundance, monotony, and uniformity of modern commercial design. The natural variety of pre-industrial craftsmanship practically vanished during the nineteenth century: its disappearance was joyfully prepared by the Academy. This section will record the rich variety of provincial Spanish architecture, before and during its proscription and disappearance.

Andalusia

The architectural evidence of prosperity under the Bourbon regime appears not so much in the capital cities, but in the ancient provincial towns, where lavish new building was more abundant, especially after 1750, than in Seville, Cordova, or Granada.[38] In the prosperous smaller towns, Seville and Granada still set the key for a stylistic division corresponding to the mountainous eastern and the flat western provinces.

Granada, always partial to metropolitan fashions, continued its traditional manner (as in José de Bada's San Juan de Dios of 1739–59), marked by concentration and many changes of scale and relief in the fine coloured marbles of the region. At Seville, centrifugal variations of the boundary on a flat surface, spreading like tendrils over a sunny brick wall, are the opposites of the rotund, centripetal effects of Granada. Granada holds to the Renaissance as in a true mirror; Seville reflects it as upon a lazily rolling surface of water.

The main architectural event at Seville was the building, from 1726 to 1757, of the tobacco factory to designs by Ignacio de Sala (1686–1754), a Catalan military engineer.[39] It is the most important industrial building (Plate 20) in early eighteenth-century Europe. The net profit of its products in one year was twice the amount of the total building expense.[40] Herrera's Seville Exchange (1582–98) is the model (Plate 5B) for the block design, the corner finials, and the correct window-frames. The plan has several hundred modular cells, vaulted in the basement and in two storeys by brick handkerchief vaults on cruciform piers of sandstone. The exterior wall, though massive, is only a curtain, more for thermal stability than for support. Many small courts and air-shafts interrupt the grid, which may also be read as an interlace of aisled naves. A moat isolates the vast block, which contained its own water supply, managers' dwellings, chapel, and prison chambers. The moat, the drawbridges, and the sentry-boxes are the prototype of the grim defences of the modern factory with its walls, gates, and industrial police.[41]

Throughout western Andalusia a forest of high brick and stone towers arose, as at Ecija, where the city is like a pin-cushion on the alluvial plain. Two types are to be distinguished. A segmented tower with many horizontal divisions like the collapsing sleeves of a sea-captain's eyeglass (as in the remodelling of the minaret of the mosque at Cordova by H. Ruiz II in 1593) is the expression of Renaissance sensibility. In the eighteenth century towers of uninterrupted rise, here called 'shafted', like the Giralda in Seville, were again fashionable[42] to the exclusion of the segmental type.[43] The Giralda formula is best represented in the towers by Antonio Matías de Figueroa, as at La Palma del Condado (1780), where the shaft, belfry, and octagonal spire (Plate 21A) compose the happiest of all Andalusian resolutions between minaret and belfry since the remodelling of the Giralda in 1560–8. Ecija nevertheless departed from the Giralda formula, mainly by an elaboration of the belfry.[44] Santa María (1717–25, by José Paez de Carmona) and San Juan Bautista (in construction 1734) have shafts rising to only half or less than half the tower height. San Gil in Ecija (*c.* 1777–82), most top-heavy of all, was designed by Antonio Caballero and A. M. de Figueroa.

At the Santísima Trinidad in Ecija the belfry is triangular, resting on canted triangular pedestals (*c.* 1760). In Cordova, at San Andrés (finished 1733), the square belfry fits diagonally on the shaft like a Gothic finial.

The town-houses of western Andalusia after 1750 mirror the extraordinary prosperity of the Guadalquivir basin. Two dwellings in Ecija, the Peñaflor (*c.* 1750) and the Valverde (*c.* 1756) Palaces, have converging ramp stairs, perhaps the earliest in Europe. Parallel flights, rising along the sides of the stair-well, meet at the landing. The single second flight spans the stair-well like a bridge. 'Converging ramp stair' is a compact name for this novel form. In the Valverde Palace (Figure 26) a proscenium arch 25 feet wide spans the entrance to the stair-well, and an axial passage traverses the stairs beneath

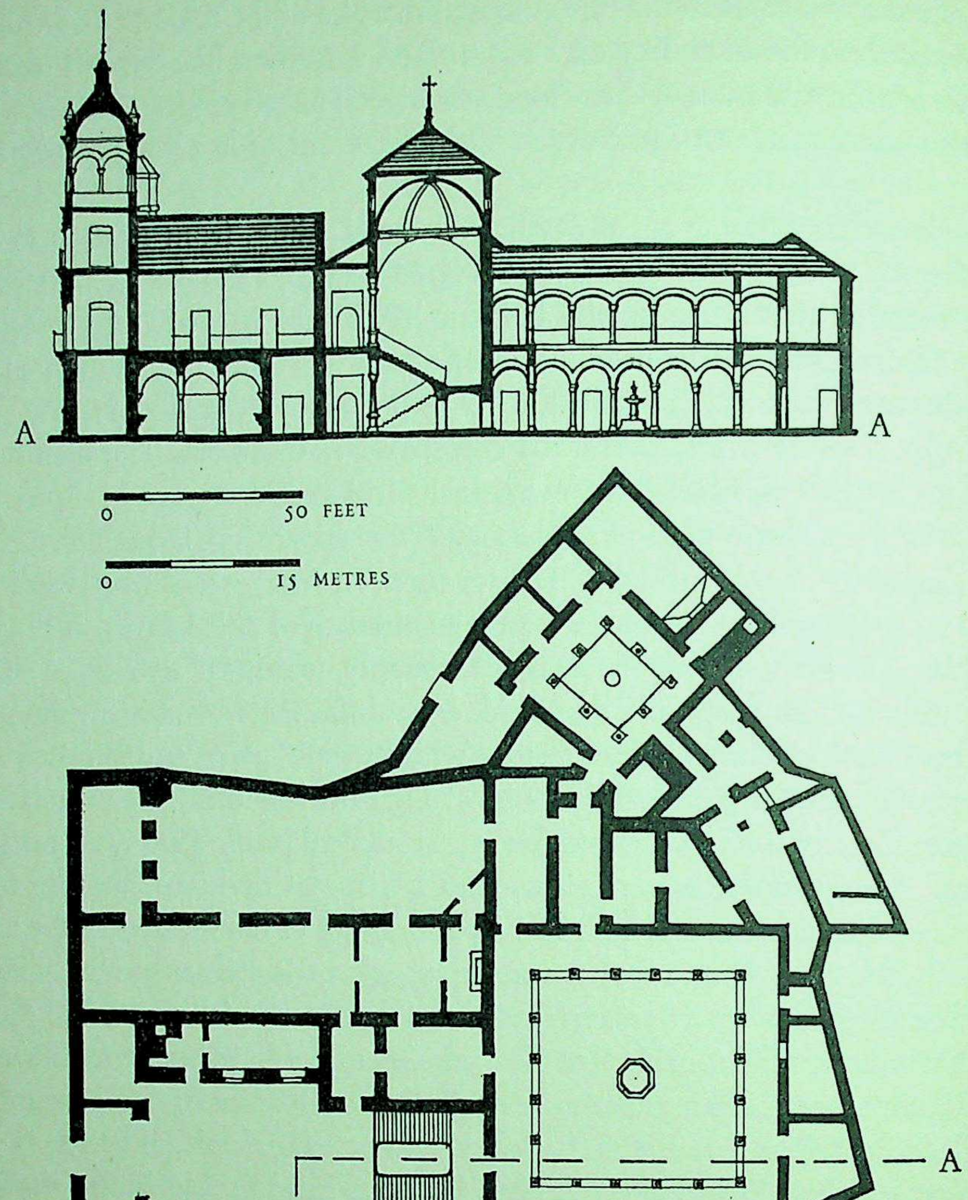


Figure 26. Ecija, Valverde Palace, *c.* 1756. Section and plan

the overhead ramp. It is the most theatrical of all Spanish staircase designs. The street doorway is the earliest example in Andalusia of a concavely curved façade. Such forms reach their most elaborate development in the houses of Jerez and the port cities on the bay of Cadiz.

The princely town-houses of Jerez de la Frontera have been credited to the influence of Antonio Matías de Figueroa (*c.* 1734–96?), Leonardo's grandson.[45] The Domecq Palace (1775–8) is an Italianate block of severe exterior, encasing a *patio* of Tuscan columns on rubbery cushion bases, with arcade imposts like inverted Ionic capitals. The stair has converging ramps. The portal of the Bertemati Palace (*c.* 1785) rises in contrasting curved motions on both levels. The exceptional importance of these houses was first noted by A. Sancho Corbacho,[46] who regards them as prototypes for the urban physiognomy of the port towns near Cadiz, and ultimately for America (p. 66).

Eastern Andalusia has its characteristic *camarín* type. The massing as a distinct tower annex differentiates it from the 'hidden' *camarín*, which has no exterior expression[47] (the Desamparados in Valencia, p. 23). The earliest tower *camarín*, at the Guadalupe monastery in Extremadura (1688–96), was imitated soon after at the Victoria church in Malaga (1693). Several fine examples at Estepa in Andalusia follow Granadine ornamental style: the Carmen (in construction 1718), the hexagonal Asunción *camarín* (before 1749), and the octagonal Remedios *camarín* (1754–90).

The most splendid of all tower *camarines* in Granada is the Rosary Chapel (1726–73) appended to the left transept at Santa Cruz la Real, the sixteenth-century Dominican church now called Santa Escolástica.[48] On the level of the upper storey, reached by inconspicuous stairs, three antechambers form a squared ambulatory round the vaulted shrine, which is veneered with tarnished mirrors of plane, spherical, and concave shapes (Plate 21B).

The identity of the followers of Hurtado is difficult to grasp, but their work is clearly evident in many towns of eastern Andalusia, such as Lucena and Priego. The Carmen at Estepa (1768) belongs to the same group of small churches with lavish interiors and polychrome marble portals ascribed to F. X. A. Pedraxas.[49] He signed the stucco ornament of the sacramental chapel in the parish church at Priego in 1784 (edifice 1771–86). It is an octagonal tribune chapel in two storeys. Above the eight pendentives the entablature breaks in wave-like segments beneath a melon-ribbed dome of sixteen fluted and flat panels (Plate 22A).

The sacramental chapel at San Mateo at Lucena (1740–72), attributed to Pedraxas, is entirely different in expression, with heavy and vigorous broken plane mouldings at the hexagonal corners. A tribune passage weaves back and forth behind the supports and in front of the windows, to stress the laminated effect of the surfaces. One is reminded of Alberto de Churriguera's placage ornaments at Salamanca.

Malaga's dependence on Granada continued with José de Bada (1691–1755), an eclectic who vacillated between timid academic essays (Sagrario Portal in Granada Cathedral, 1722) and an ornament of extravagant *estípites*, brackets, and *pinjantes* (Old Town Hall, Granada, 1722–8). When he was called to Malaga in 1722 his first designs for the façade were thought not ornate enough,[50] but execution went forward under his pupil and assistant, Antonio Ramos (d. 1782). Ramos's own work is the episcopal palace in Malaga, almost completed by 1776. The façade is the last descendant of the Chancillería of 1587 in Granada. The four-storey façade includes a three-storey portal panel. The quality of the carving in these rose-and-grey marbles is exquisite.

The Mediterranean Coast

The three east-coast regions, Murcia, Valencia, and Catalonia, differ much from each other. But their eighteenth-century architecture is connected by a direct relation to French art which is absent in the art of the court and in Andalusian or Galician art.

At Valencia, Conrad Rudolf (p. 36) introduced the architectural taste of the French Rococo *c.* 1701. His work was reinforced by the appearance in 1738 of a treatise on architecture by Agustín Bruno Zaragoza y Ebri,[51] illustrated with plates taken from French sources. Solid economic reasons underlie French fashions at Valencia: half the population in 1775 was employed in the silk industry, which required a constant flow of persons to and from French centres like Lyons. The apogee in Valencian architecture was the palace of the Marqués de Dos Aguas, remodelled in 1740–4 by the painter Hipólito Rovira Brocandel (Plate 22B). The main portal refers to the 'two waters' of Valencia, the Turia and Júcar rivers, shown by river-gods in rampant rather than recumbent postures. The rocaille window-frames (originally painted; moulded in stucco 1867) are set upon walls painted to resemble watered silk. From the cornices hang painted lambrequins and tasselled garlands. The Neo-Classical reaction formed early, under the leadership of T. V. Tosca (1651–1723), author of an important academic treatise,[52] and designer of the dry façade of Santo Tomás at Valencia. Antonio Gilabert (1716–92), like Ventura Rodríguez, stood between the two styles. The remodelling of Valencia Cathedral in 1774[53] recalls Francesco Herrera's Pilar design (p. 28), but his façade of the Liria Palace at Madrid (*c.* 1774?) is cold and formal in the approved style of the Academy.

Murcia first received French Rococo ornament in 1701, from J. F. Dupart, a Flemish sculptor trained in Paris and at Versailles. Later (1736–49) Jaime Bort Miliá, a Valencian, organized the workshop for the cathedral front. The façade (Plate 23) has the lacy manner of Meissonnier's project for Saint-Sulpice in Paris, and it breaks away from the provincial awkwardness of earlier work in Murcia, such as the Merced doorway of 1716, the Veronicas, begun 1727, or Santa Ana (1731). The cathedral façade has a free Rococo silhouette, curved planes, and fine detailing, as of goldsmith's work, in entablatures and canopies. It is another example of the Spanish tendency to carry a European style of ornament to an extreme never attained in the country of origin. The doorway *bocelón* is nevertheless entirely Spanish, as is the apsidal curvature of the façade, for which there are precedents at Viana (Santa María, 1549) and Astorga Cathedral (1660) in the north.[54]

Baltasar Canestro was Bort's successor after 1755, coming from the Madrid palace.[55] His façade of the episcopal palace (1748–77) combines Madrid traits, such as *bocelón* mouldings, a grandiose doorway, and foliated spandrel panels, with Louis XV details in the panoplies of the pilasters and in the entablature reliefs. A desiccated copy of San Marcos in Madrid, San Lorenzo (completed 1810) is Murcia's principal example of academic taste.

In Catalonia, Barcelona was brought under French influence after the siege of 1713–14, when the military engineers of the Bourbon government built the citadel and moved the University to Cervera at the royal command, to punish the Catalans for their support of Archduke Carlos. The residence of the military governor of Barcelona, the garrison chapel, and the arsenal of the Barcelona citadel still stand (erected 1716–27). Clear proportions, simple masonry trim around brick panels, French windows, and contrasted massing seem to anticipate a much later generation of French architecture. In the chapel (Plate 26A) the semicircular profile of the upper part of the façade reflects the barrel-vaulted nave.[56] In the arsenal the segment-arched windows of French building after 1650 appear for the first time in Spain. Throughout the century round-headed church façades of the Citadel type recur everywhere in Catalonia,[57] often with a distinctive tower form of Plateresque antecedents: an octagonal belfry stage passes into its square base by curving planes.

The University at Cervera (1717–62) is the design of the same military engineers as the Citadel. The plan of courts closed to the street by a high, blank wall is French, but the elaborate portal is a Hispanic enrichment of 1753–62, in an ornate style which owes very little to French sources, and which stems from the scenographic designs of Fernando Galli Bibiena (1657–1743).

Bibiena came to Barcelona in 1708 as pageant-master for Archduke Carlos, and he remained until 1711, producing Italian operas for the first time in Barcelona. His art set the key for Catalan retables and portals,[58] mainly through the Morató family of architect-decorators at Vich, who were in almost sole possession of the field in Catalonia. This family's debt to Bibiena appears most clearly in the work of Carlos Morató Brugaroles (1721–85), who designed the *camarín* of Santa Teresa at Vich in 1750.[59]

Barcelona held aloof from the international academic manner even during an era of great prosperity and intense building activity after 1770. The most important townhouse of the time, the Virreina Palace (Plate 24A), designed by Viceroy Amat (p. 96) and begun in 1772, has an Andalusian stair (p. 55) with ramps converging above the axial carriage-drive. But the court with rounded corners is in French taste. Only the façades of the Exchange, begun in 1772 by Juan Soler Faneca (1731–94), correspond to the academic ideals of the time.

The Balearic Islands are outposts where many foreign traits enrich the Catalan fabric. Mallorca was always open to Italian exchanges with Spain, and the islands were long under English influence. The grid plan[60] of Georgetown (1711) on Menorca (now Villacarlos) was repeated at Barcelona harbour by Pedro Martín Cermeño in 1749–55; at Ferrol in Galicia (1751–70); and in the centre of Lisbon after the disaster of 1755 (p. 110). Several private houses in Palma have staircases of Andalusian type after 1750, as at the Sollerich Palace by Gaspar Palmer (1763). A provincial Rococo doorway by Lucas Mesquida, dated 1758, adorns the church of Santa María del Camino.

Northern Spain

From Aragon to the Basque provinces, the lands north of the Ebro show architectural dependence on the main movements of Spanish taste. The maritime connexions of the Mediterranean coast are lacking. Isolated from the world by the Pyrenees, the region nevertheless is united in the Ebro valley, whose broad basin receives all the mountain valleys. A characteristic form is the deeply recessed church portal of apsidal plan (Plate 24B), as at Viana (begun 1549–67),[61] Astorga Cathedral (*c.* 1660), and at Múes[62] and Los Arcos in Navarre at the end of the seventeenth century. Santa María la Redonda at Logroño (1742–60) and Santa Cecilia at Sorlada continue the type. The Colegiata at Alcañiz (Teruel), built in 1736–72, extends the distribution diagonally across Spain from San Sebastián (Santa María, 1743–64)[63] to Murcia Cathedral (p. 58). As in Gothic portals, the recess increases the area for didactic sculpture, and it protects the work from the weather. The *nicchione* of Bramante's Belvedere court in the Vatican is the prototype.

Fine towers, as in Andalusia, line the Ebro valley. An early eighteenth-century example is at Burgo de Osma Cathedral, begun in 1739 by Domingo Ondátegui and completed by Juan de Sagarvinaga, with brilliant effects of chiaroscuro. A second group centres upon the parish church of Elgoibar (1748–57) in Guipúzcoa. This tendency towards more slender towers continued at Santa María la Redonda in Logroño (Plate 24B) and Santo Domingo de la Calzada.

The town halls of the Vasco-Navarre territory make a distinct group, to which Martín and Manuel Carrera probably gave the decisive form, at Mondragón (1746) and Oñate (1779–83), by following the patrician dwellings of the region, while in Castile and Aragon the town hall imitated the towered royal alcázar form.

Among the many house-types from Oviedo to Saragossa, the palatial dwellings of an Italianate block design (called *aglomerado* by Lampérez) may be noted. An imposing central stair takes the place of a *patio*. The Arce Palace in Villacarriedo (Santander, 1718–22), allegedly on plans by Cosimo Fontanelli, is the Atlantic equivalent of the Dos Aguas Palace in Valencia.

Galicia

Santiago de Compostela remained the artistic capital. Its style was imitated in remote villages during the Cistercian Renaissance of the eighteenth century, when houses like Celanova, Osera, Monfero, and Sobrado were rebuilt. The nave of the Sobrado church (completed 1707–10) shows the characteristic mixture of Albertian proportions with fashionable ornamental novelties.

In Santiago, Fernando de Casas y Novoa (active 1711–d. 1794) and Simón Rodríguez (active 1703–d. 1751) were pre-eminent. Casas's earliest known work, the cloister of Lugo Cathedral (1711–14), resembles late medieval cloisters by its high, open, one-storeyed elevation, decorated in the manner of Domingo de Andrade (p. 28) as a grandiose and cheerful enclosure of light and air.[64]

Casas's great work is the main façade of Santiago Cathedral, called the Obradoiro (Plate 25). The central panel, or Espejo (1738–49), continues the style of Andrade. It serves as a glass screen to protect the Pórtico de la Gloria, and to admit the greatest possible light to the twelfth-century nave and tribunes, through the glass tympanum, the tall nave and aisle windows, and the windows at tribune level. Casas supported these immense areas of glass by window frames inside ampler frames rising two storeys beneath the great arch of the upper façade. Casas was here a forerunner of the eclectic architects of the nineteenth century in his attempt to combine vast scale with total ornament, and classic orders with medieval structure.

Simón Rodríguez designed San Francisco at Santiago in 1741. The interiors show his hand, but the façade was changed to a Neo-Classical taste by others before 1785. The strangest of all Galician façades is the gate-house of Santa Clara in Santiago, reasonably attributed to Rodríguez and *c.* 1750. As everywhere in the city, the building competes with all its neighbours for the pilgrim's attention. Rodríguez treated it as a retable-façade (Plate 26B), with heavy but brief horizontals of a projection increasing with every rise in height. In the upper silhouette, the cylinders of stone resting precariously upon their narrow pedestals are like an emblem of the architects under Rodríguez's influence. For example, Clemente Fernández Sarela (*c.* 1716–65) used cylinders at the bearing point between entablature and capital,[65] as in the Casa del Cabildo (1758). In this house, built to adorn the square facing the south portal of the cathedral, the varying rhythms of windows, transoms, balconies, and French doors rise to an entablature separated from its supports by stone cylinders set on edge.

Official academic architects first invaded Galicia in the 1760s. Julián Sánchez Bort (1725–84) [66] implanted the art of Ventura Rodríguez with his façade for Lugo Cathedral (begun 1769). In 1767 Charles Lemaur, a French military engineer (d. 1785), began the Rajoy Palace to serve as a seminary, choir school, and consistory. Like every major building in Santiago, it relates by design to the city as a whole. From the west, its mass is like a platform to the cathedral.

The *pazos* or country mansions of the Gallegan countryside, like the spoken vernacular itself, are closer to Portuguese traditions than to the housing of the rest of Spain. Their architecture is never pretentious.[67] The verdant littoral landscape forces even the most ambitious dwelling into subordination. Oca, near Estrada in Pontevedra, is an example, finished in 1746 on a late fifteenth-century nucleus.

CHAPTER 4

MIDDLE AMERICA

THE CARIBBEAN

THE transatlantic expansion of Spanish architecture began in the Antilles and along the coastlines of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. In the sixteenth century Plateresque architects dominated the style of the region. From 1600 to 1750 military engineers on royal service controlled the development. After 1760 the present appearance of the island and the Caribbean cities is the work of designers who extended the style of Jerez and the port cities surrounding the Bay of Cadiz.

The Island Colonies

The first colony was on the island of Hispaniola, where the new city of Santo Domingo on the banks of the Ozama river served as the centre of the empire in America until about 1550.[1] The creation of new governmental centres on the Mexican mainland, in Central America, and in South America, soon drained away the importance of the settlement founded by Bartolomé Columbus in 1496, but not before Santo Domingo had acquired the appearance of a Spanish city, with an approximate gridiron layout, with a rib-vaulted, Late Gothic cathedral, and with Plateresque palaces and doorways.

More than any city in America, Santo Domingo (now Ciudad Trujillo) was an extension of Peninsular architectural style. Its principal buildings are the work of Castilian and Sevillian designers. The city owed nothing to an antecedent native tradition. Everyone concerned with its architectural form came directly from Europe. It was the work of emigrants and transients, unlike the mainland centres of colonization, where native labour and creole designers born in America of European parentage initiated local traditions that rapidly diverged from Peninsular models.

The architectural history of Santo Domingo began in 1502, when Ovando moved the city across the Ozama river to its present location. The earliest surviving dated work of architecture is the Palace of Diego Columbus,[2] built soon after 1510, and traditionally known as the Casa del Almirante. Its plan is a rectangle, a little more than three times as long as it is wide, with the long axis running north and south (Figure 27). The two-storeyed structure has arcaded loggias on both floors, looking eastward over the river, and westward over the city. The main central chamber on the piano nobile had indirect lighting from the west loggia, and direct lighting by clerestory windows at the level of the ceiling. Of the two inner partitions, the western one rose highest, to support the shed roofs sloping away to east and west. The two staircases reflect merging Gothic and Renaissance traditions. The south-east stair is a medieval spiral attached to a re-entrant corner of the plan; the north-west stair, with two landings, rises on three sides of a

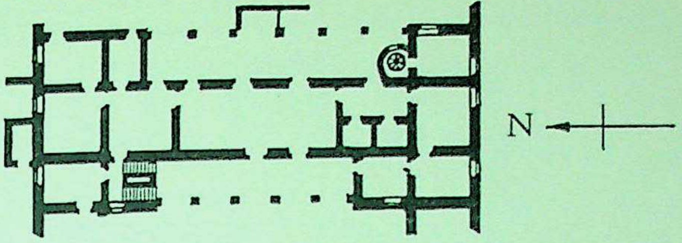


Figure 27. Santo Domingo, Palace of Diego Columbus. Plan (1770) of building begun after 1510

cubical enclosure, as in the newly invented system at San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, where the first stair of this type in Europe [3] was finished in 1504. In every respect the Casa del Almirante is abreast of the Peninsular developments of its time, and in some details, such as the double loggia on both sides of the long block, it is ahead. The arcaded façade of the Saldañuela Palace at Sarracin near Burgos [4] is the only comparable domestic loggia of the date in Spain, but it was built a decade later. Perhaps the Casa del Almirante was enlarged and modified after 1520, to bring it into line with Spanish fashions, and to make its plan more comfortable. Elsewhere in America, only the Cortés Palace built after 1530 at Cuernavaca is comparable to this edifice, which the conqueror of Mexico surely knew well during his stay in Santo Domingo.[5]

Another island link between Spanish prototypes and Mexican derivations is the Hospital of San Nicolás, founded before 1509 and completed *c.* 1549. Like the Isabelline hospitals at Toledo, Santiago, and Granada, the island hospital had sick-rooms on two floors, and like them, it was probably planned to have four wings on a cruciform plan converging upon a rib-vaulted communal chapel. This plan recurs in the Hospital de la Concepción y de Jesús, founded by Cortés in Mexico City in 1524.

The cathedral is the earliest of the American sixteenth-century cathedrals. Its forms derive from Late Gothic as well as Renaissance vocabularies, like those of the Plateresque aesthetic under Charles V. Work began in 1512; the first stone was laid in 1521/3; the north door is dated 1527; and the edifice was consecrated in 1541.

Like so many Spanish cathedrals, from Toledo to Granada, the plan (Figure 28) is of duple or double-square proportion, with appended chevet and lateral chapels.[6] But the complicated proportioning of Segovia Cathedral, begun in 1525, is lacking in America, where the bays are all square. At Segovia, chapels, aisles, and nave were brought into sesquialter relationship in the ratios 2 : 3 : 4 : 3 : 2 on a bay 3 units deep. In Santo Domingo the basic unit is the square aisle bay, doubled in the nave, where two bays consist of four aisle units when considered in plan. The ribbing of the nave therefore consists of criss-crossing ogives intersected at every column by transverse ribs, as in the presbytery at Batalha in Portugal, before its early fifteenth-century remodelling. At Santo Domingo the purpose is evidently utilitarian: to simplify the problems of construction for transient labourers of unequal training.

The tendency to simplify re-appears in the choice of a hall-church [7] formula for the tent-like enclosure of a nave and aisles beneath a canopy of rib-vaults all at one level (Plate 27A). The closest parallel in the large Spanish groups of hall churches is the

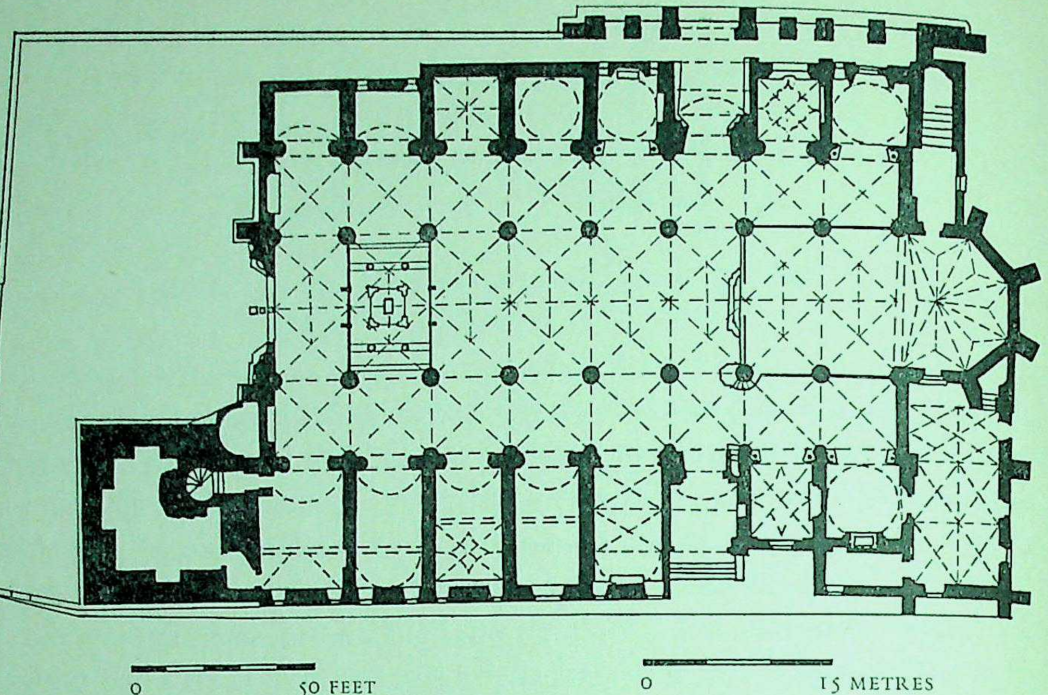


Figure 28. Santo Domingo Cathedral, 1512–41. Plan

Colegiata at Berlanga (1526–30) by Juan de Rasines, where the vaults likewise rise from cylindrical shafts.

The north doorway of 1527 and the west portal of about 1540 are in different ornamental languages, one Gothic, the other Plateresque. The north portal is Isabelline, a collection of different linear rhythms – flat arch, pointed arch-rims, and an ogee arch framing them all.[8] The west façade forsakes these many varieties of arch form, to re-assert the ancient relation between load and support inherent in classical orders. The portal occupies at least four distinct planes: the buttress faces; the paired columns; the arch-rim set at an angle; and the plane of the portal proper. The virtuoso stone-cutting in the arch-rim proper is characteristic of Spanish stereotomy of *c.* 1535; an example is the sacristy doorway of the Salvador church in Ubeda.

The language of the time referred to these different ornamental manners as *moderno* and *romano*; their occurrence together within a ten-year span in Santo Domingo probably reflects the activity of two different generations – the older still rooted in gothicizing practice, and the younger, of men born after 1500, committed to Italianate forms of classical origin.

The designers of most buildings are still unidentified, although the names of many architects and craftsmen on the island in these years are preserved.[9] One group, which contracted in Seville for work in America, sailed in 1510; another sailed in 1512. Most of them returned soon after, or drifted to other occupations. The most tangible of these shadowy early architects is Rodrigo Gil (Rosillo) de Liendo, of Santander, whom the Mercedarians brought from Valladolid in 1525.[10] His work for them, begun in 1528, and his design for San Francisco (begun before 1547, vaulted 1556) have been ruined or rebuilt so much that it is difficult to ascertain his style. In both churches he was partial to massive cruciform piers in the naves. Rodrigo de Liendo participated in the construction of the cathedral, but another architect, Luis de Moya,[11] was *maestro mayor* in 1531. We have no knowledge of the real author of the plans.

It is likely that some of the designers and craftsmen who made the cathedral ornaments in Santo Domingo also made the façade of the Montejo house (Plate 27B) in Mérida (Yucatan), after 1540.[12] The style of this doorway is Granadine, and it stems from the circle of Diego de Siloe in the strong tectonic framing; in the varieties and degrees of plastic articulation; and in the energetic chiaroscuro of the surfaces. Its affinities are with Santo Domingo and with Andalusia, but not with Mexico or Yucatan under conventual rule (see p. 70), where there is nothing to compare with it.

Transient and resident Europeans monopolized the architectural enterprise of the islands and coastal cities all through the sixteenth century. Indeed, the extinction of the native populations and their replacement with Negroes made this dependence on Peninsular architects a continuing trait of island life, in distinction to the mainland, where creoles, mestizos, and Indians soon emerged as designers, foremen, and artisans.

The Fortress Age (1600–1760)

By 1556 Santo Domingo had lost her position as the main port for the colonization of America. These seas, where the Gulf Stream originates, all share the same ambient of warm and humid air, of violent atmospheric disturbances, and of heavy tropical vegetation. The innumerable island harbours, the rich coastal cities, and the heavy seaborne traffic of American treasure bound for Spanish ports made the Caribbean a magnet for North European freebooters and pirates. Their incursions soon transformed the strategic situation of the Antilles and the surrounding littoral, both in the Caribbean and in the Gulf of Mexico. Havana, on the north shore of Cuba, offered the most defensible harbour in the Antilles, together with a large island economy to support the defence of Spanish sea lanes. The sack of Santo Domingo in 1586 by Sir Francis Drake finally established Havana as the principal port of America.

The defence of Havana required fortifications on the adjoining peninsulas of Florida and Yucatan. The mainland port of Vera Cruz was one terminus for the convoys from Havana, needing massive defences for the protection of the shipments from the Mexican mines. In Central America, Portobelo and Old Panama were essential to the overland traffic on the Isthmus bound for the west coast of South America. All northern South America, finally, was guarded by the elaborate military installations at Cartagena de Indias. This vast plan of fortification, including the Straits of Magellan, was executed by an Italian engineer, Bautista Antonelli, beginning in 1581.[13] The contest between the pirates and the engineers continued until long after Antonelli's death (1616); indeed, the fortifications were enlarged again and again during the Colonial era.

These two conditions mark the architecture of the Gulf and Caribbean settlements with a regional individuality and unity that set them apart from all the other regions of the Colonial world. As their vulnerable position led to a hypertrophy of the defensive tissues, the normal development of other kinds of architecture was inhibited. The island

and coastal cities became immense masonry carapaces, sheltering the fragmentary society of barracks and commercial warehouses, often without other architecture than huts and shelters. In the second place, the design of the fortifications required specialists trained in Europe, so that the Gulf and Caribbean region rarely produced native groups of architects. The designers of Havana, Vera Cruz, Portobelo, Cartagena, Campeche, and St Augustine were Europeans rather than Americans, and they were professional military engineers rather than architects.

The nature of the architectural style of the Gulf and Caribbean settlements during the sixteenth century is exemplified by the cathedral at Mérida in Yucatan (first stone 1563; vaults closed in 1574–98, and the decoration completed in 1599).[14] It is an aisled hall church of duple proportion in plan (Figure 29), like the cathedral of Santo Domingo, and devoid of any previous connexion with the Mexican highland, where the only edifice of this type is the cathedral of Guadalajara (1571–1618). Its principal builders' earlier connexions were with the fortifications of Havana (Pedro de Aulestia in 1571–2 and Juan Miguel de Agüero in 1586–98). Its designer is unknown, but he improved upon the square bays of Santo Domingo (Figure 28) with a nave bay of $\sqrt{2}$ proportions, of width equal to the diagonal of the square aisle bay. The vaults have interlacing grid-ribs to resemble classical coffering rather than the cross-ribs of Gothic ancestry in Santo Domingo. The handkerchief-vaults rise from the same cylindrical supports as in Santo Domingo.

The main façade betrays the hand of a military engineer in the abrupt geometry of towers and curtain-wall flanking a tall arched form. The contrast between the portal ornament and the cliff-like façade wall is blunt. The façade itself is like an entrance to a walled city. The Italianate portals have the scale of indoor detailing.[15]

For a century and a half, from about 1600 to 1760, new buildings other than military installations were rare on the Caribbean shores. In Cuba and on the north coast of America colonists erected churches of aisled plan with wooden roofs, like Cartagena Cathedral (1575–85), and San Francisco at Caracas,[16] designed in 1593 with bays proportioned as in Mérida Cathedral. The cathedral plan of Cartagena was widely imitated, at Santa Marta Cathedral in 1647, at Santa Ana at Panama, and in Caracas Cathedral (1664–74). One other recurrent trait of church design is notable: the avoidance of giant orders in favour of façades of many storeys and compartments is uniform, from Panama to Caracas and Havana.[17] Panama Cathedral, rebuilt in 1749 from older materials, is an example; another is the façade of ten square compartments outlined by half-columns and corded entablatures at San Francisco at Tocuyo, built after 1776.

The Caribbean Style after 1760

Cadiz displaced Seville as the main port for American shipping in 1717. The shift was reflected in the new prosperity of the Caribbean region after 1760, when architects from the bay region of Cadiz began to arrive. Havana was the principal centre of this late Colonial florescence of architecture, with traditional characteristics of its own. Coved wooden *mudéjar* ceilings, with scroll brackets beneath every transverse beam, appeared in the seventeenth century, and continued far into the nineteenth.[18] Frequently the naves of Cuban churches are spanned by transverse arches, with coved *artesonados* roofing each bay. The invention of this type has been assigned to Alejandro Hernández at the parish church of Guanabacoa (1714–21) across the bay from Havana. In the design of church towers, a distinctive trait of the Cuban style is the use of pyramidal masonry spires with imposing arched dormers projecting from the four faces. An early example (*c.* 1750) is the Merced Tower at Camagüey.

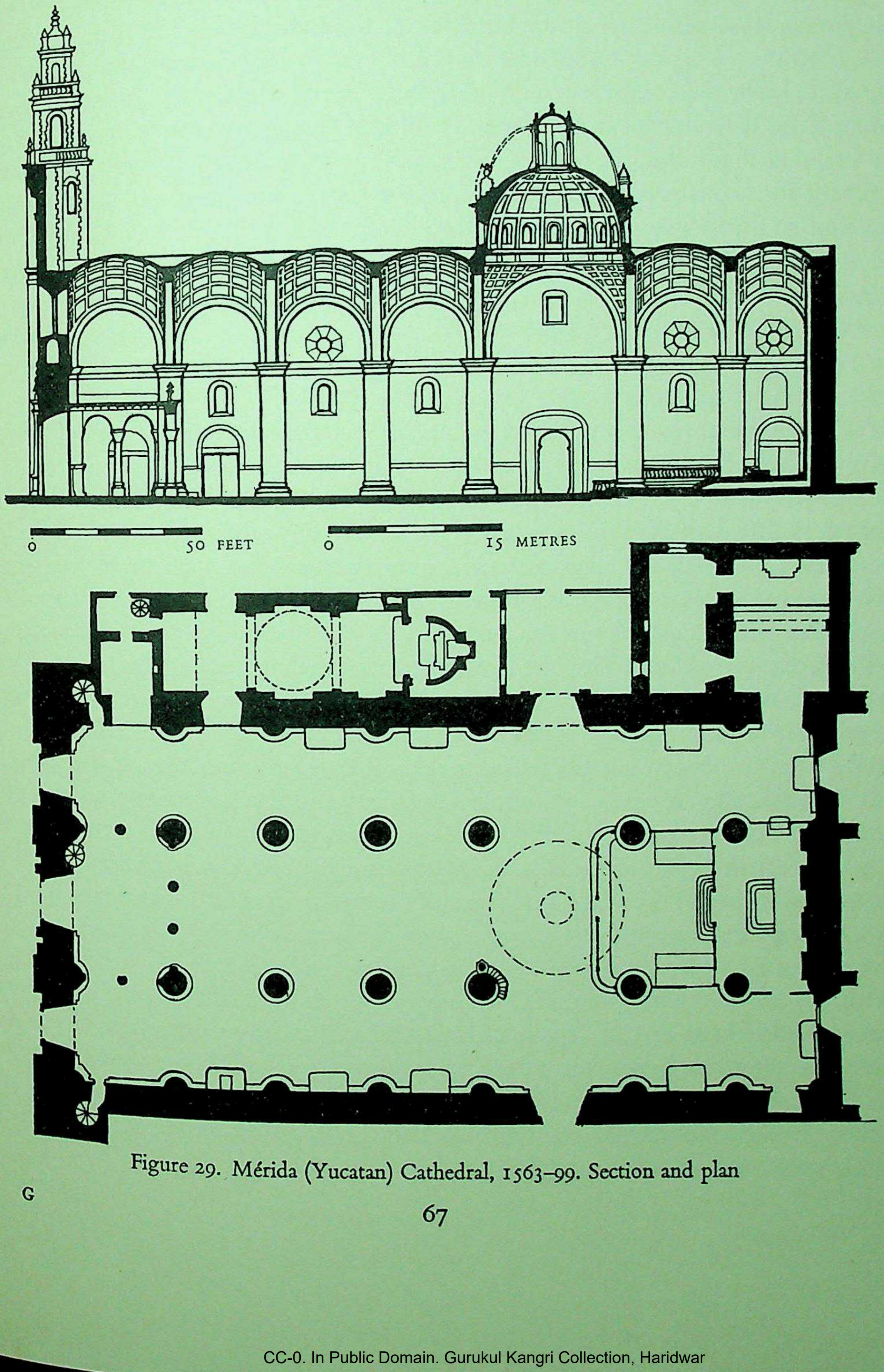


Figure 29. Mérida (Yucatan) Cathedral, 1563–99. Section and plan

The new cathedral of Havana, begun in 1748, was the first Cuban edifice to show the effects of renewed contact with the Peninsular style. Its author is unknown, but the participation of Pedro de Medina of Cadiz and of a Havana architect, Fernández Trevejos, has been established. Medina came direct from Cadiz, in 1763, to assist in the enlargement of the fortifications, and he remained at Havana until his death in 1796.

Like that of Mérida Cathedral, the Havana façade (Plate 28A) reveals a conflict between different architectural schemes. The background is Vignolan, and the surface is Borrominesque. The centre portion of two storeys flanked by lateral volutes over the aisle portals survives from the first intention of the Jesuits, who began the church in 1748. Later on, perhaps when Medina arrived, curved wall portions flanking the central door were built, and columns were set diagonally at the edges of the curved wall. The ground-floor entablature curvets at each break in asymmetrical Rococo profiles. These join in a central flourish of broken curve spirals over the main doorway. In the upper storey the Rococo curves disappear. Complicated cornice breaks correspond to the continuations of the four diagonal columns through the pediment.

The nave has an imitation wooden rib-vault, with imposts and bosses in the Rococo style. The pilasters of nave arcades and wall faces have undulant surfaces continuing into the soffits and entablature breaks. The only Spanish parallel for this treatment occurs at San Pedro in Peñaflor (prov. Seville), probably by José Echamorro, who reinforced A. M. de Figueroa's work in 1794–1802.[19]

Two more buildings are attributed to Medina and Trevejos, on the strength of their ornament, which is generally comparable to that of the cathedral façade: the Casa de Correos (now Supreme Court) of 1770–92, and the Casa de Gobierno of 1776–92 (Plate 28B). The doorways and window frames, as in the urban palaces of Jerez, adorn structures of Neo-Classical severity. As in the region from Jerez to Cadiz, these buildings have a mezzanine storey between ground floor and principal floor. The doorways, of which many more examples in this period adorn the houses of Havana, repeat those of the bay region of Cadiz. Thus the late eighteenth-century style of Havana can be regardedas an American extension of the school of such Spanish masters as Vicente Acero, Diego Díaz, and Antonio Matías de Figueroa, improved in the splendid island materials.

Along the Caribbean coasts of Venezuela and Colombia variants of the same late Colonial efflorescence, based upon the style of Jerez and the Cadiz port cities, are abundant. Arches of lobed and reversing-curve profiles in Venezuela are more diverse than those of the Peninsula or Havana. In the houses panelled balconies in Venezuelan coastal towns recall those of Tenerife, as tokens of the strong current of immigration from the Canaries.[20] Farther west, at Cartagena, the palatial urban houses, like those of Havana, have mezzanine storeys and open balconies running the full length of the street façade.

It is not easy to identify traits which separate the houses of Caracas from those of Cartagena, or those of Coro from Central Cuba. Each town of course has its own habits, arising from happy inventions and adaptations, but the vernacular is fundamentally the same in the islands and on the littoral of the Caribbean region, based upon the same historic sources, and combined according to the same requirements of climate, environment, and economic activity.[21]

MEXICO

The Colonization (1521–70)

Only the technological conquests of our own century can suggest the scale and rate of that expansion of Renaissance civilization which was set in motion by the conquest of Mexico in 1519–20. By 1541 Toribio de Benavente Motolinia, when writing the *Historia de los Indios de Nueva España*, could review the history of the spiritual conquest [22] of the Mexican Indian peoples as an accomplished fact.

The brief ascendancy of northern Humanists from the circle of Erasmus at the court of Charles V during the 1520s was one favouring circumstance. Small groups of reforming mendicant friars, sent to America during the same decade, were the missionaries who founded new towns. Hundreds of civilian colonists, attracted by grants of Indian labour (*encomienda*), spread out as the bearers of new economic life. In less than one generation, through the efforts of men animated by the Humanist doctrines of Renaissance sociology, Mexico became a Christian colonial state under the Spanish Crown. Occasional horrible abuses mar the record, but they do not dim the brilliance of an early colonial society that sustained seats of learning for the sons of Indian nobles, that sought to create an Indian clergy, and that achieved the printing of doctrinal texts in the native languages of Mexico.

Because of their own long tradition of town life, the Spanish colonists first turned their attention to the building of new cities to replace the inadequate or ruined Indian settlements. Many advantages recommended the general adoption of the gridiron plan. It was easy to lay out; it was known to Indian builders in such pre-Conquest cities as Tenochtitlan and others described by Motolinia; [23] it had the authority of ancient precedent, both in Vitruvius and in Roman *castrum* design, and it was a fashionable topic in the Renaissance literature of architecture, e.g. in Alberti and Filarete, although no important examples were actually built in Renaissance Europe before 1600. In Mexico only the mining settlements divagate irregularly because the shafts and tunnels usually entered the earth in mountainous surroundings. On level farming land, great cities such as Mexico and Puebla, as well as the old Indian cities like Cholula and the new settlements from the Pacific to the Atlantic, from the central plateaus to the lowland coasts of Tehuantepec; all were laid out upon a regular grid of rectilinear streets and rectangular blocks. In Latin America the Mexican precedent was followed everywhere except in Brazil, where medieval Portuguese habits of irregular urban design prevailed. A telling Mexican document is the plan of Cholula, datable 1580. This is by an Indian draughtsman, and shows the chequerboard blocks, the pre-Conquest pyramidal platforms, and the *plaza mayor*, surrounded by public buildings and the Franciscan establishment. The legends in Náhuatl language describe the buildings and the roads.

The church and its dependencies were usually the first to be built, with lodging for the friars and a temporary chapel. The first congregations were enormous, and special dispositions were contrived to accommodate them. A large walled courtyard served as an outdoor nave, with square oratories called *posas* at the four corners. Facing the entrance a vaulted chapel, opening upon the courtyard with an arcaded façade, housed the Sacrament. The congregation gathered beneath open skies in the courtyard to receive instruction and to witness the services. The open chapel often survives alongside the later church, built when the artisans of the town had finished the most urgent tasks of housing the people and providing the water supply. The varieties of the open chapel are many. At Cholula it probably began as a stoa, enlarged repeatedly in depth until its plan resembled that of a mosque. Other open chapels are like theatre stages, with a proscenium and with diagonal side walls funnelling the attention of the crowd upon the liturgy. The unfinished chapel at Tlalmanalco is of this kind, with Plateresque reliefs on medieval supports, by Indian sculptors.

Each of the Mendicant Orders soon marked out its own territories, and devised its own solutions to the many problems of colonization. All three Orders, Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian, maintained houses in the capital. The Franciscans, who were the first to arrive in 1524, occupied the central and western provinces. The Dominicans after 1526 secured a number of settlements to the south of Mexico City, connecting with the province of Oaxaca, where they were in sole control. The Augustinians, finally, after 1533 evangelized the mountainous regions to the north-west of Mexico City, and they spread out in the western provinces to share the burden of colonization with the Franciscans in Michoacán. This dispersal follows the distribution throughout Mexico of the dense centres of native population, already accustomed to urban life in pre-Conquest history.

Each missionary foundation brought with it a school. In western Mexico the Franciscans were guided by ordinances framed on the model of Thomas More's *Utopia*; and throughout New Spain the earliest printed manual of doctrine, the *Breve Doctrina*, printed at Mexico in 1541, was a digest by Bishop Zumárraga of two colloquies by Erasmus, the *Paraclesis* and the *Enchiridion*. Thus humanist doctrines reached the Indians both through catechetical exercises and in the ordinances governing the communities.

Franciscan buildings, such as Huejotzingo, Tepeaca (Figure 30), Tlaxcala, and many other imposing churches throughout the states of Puebla and Tlaxcala, suggest that when labour and skill were abundant the Franciscans were not opposed in principle to lavish design. But their mission more often was in the peripheral provinces, where only the poorest building was feasible. The studious Augustinians were fond of ornate façades in Plateresque style (Plate 29A), and of didactic wall-paintings. The Dominicans inclined to elaborate designs in massive construction, especially in Oaxaca (Plate 32B), where frequent earthquakes induced the builders to thicken the walls of churches and friaries. The Dominicans tended to live in retreat, unlike the other two Orders, whose mission among the Indians was their prime concern.

All Mendicant builders were reduced to the simplest plans until their Indian labourers were trained. The first cathedral of Mexico was an aisled rectangle with wooden supports and flat roof, completed by 1532. In the Indian towns, open chapels of impermanent materials were the first churches. One of these, at Tlaxcala, has the earliest rib-vaults still standing in Mexico, built before 1539; the rib profiles are like those of the mid twelfth century in northern France, and the disposition of the ribs betrays an amateur design, without real comprehension of rib-vaulting technique. During the first decades of missionary activity, the friars also built simple rectories with unassuming cloisters; an example is the early barrel-vaulted Augustinian cloister of rubble masonry at Acolman, built in the 1540s. By 1550, however, native labourers had mastered the complicated techniques of European construction, and the friars could proceed with the design of rib-vaulted naves and cloister walks.

These mid-century churches (Huejotzingo, Acolman) usually have aisleless rib-vaulted naves with flat or polygonal chevets and rib-vaulted choir-loft balconies. Transepts are exceptional, as at Yuririapúndaro in Michoacán. Some Dominican and Franciscan churches (Oaxtepec, Tepeaca) have shallow arcosolia chapels in the thickness of the nave walls, in a scheme recalling the country churches around Granada designed by Diego de Siloe in the 1540s.[24] The Mexican churches of this type and the designs by Diego de Siloe are both simplifications of Isabelline churches of the type of El Parral (Segovia).

True cryptocollateral churches in Mexico were built only by Dominicans, as at Mexico City and Oaxaca (begun 1575). Aisled, arcaded, wooden-roofed churches very rarely appear in Franciscan and Dominican towns (Tecali, 1569; Cuilapan, 1555). This Italianate formula relates to wooden-roofed Andalusian antecedents. An example is Santa María at Antequera [25] (prov. of Malaga, completed 1550), which reflects the art of Diego de Siloe. In the cloisters, arcades on columns were general after 1550. At Acolman a counterpoint rhythm of doubled bays surmounted by triple arcades in the second storey is executed in beautifully finished masonry (Plate 29A). The beaded and foliated capitals are adjusted in scale and depth of relief to the violent brilliance of the highland light. As the Indian builders became more skilful, cloisters were built with rib-vaulted walks, supported upon composite piers with heavy wall buttressing between the bays, as at the cloisters of Actopan or Cuilapan. Open-centre staircases of a type invented earlier in the century in Spain were common in Mexico after 1550: splendid examples are at Actopan and Cuilapan; at Yuririapúndaro the giant staircase with three landings fills half the east range of the cloister.

The massing of the mid-century churches suggests military architecture. The bare surfaces of massive wall were a necessary result of untrained labour and of amateur design. Furthermore, the friars needed a refuge, both for themselves, as outnumbered strangers surrounded by potentially hostile Indians, and for their villagers, who were exposed, especially on the western and northern frontiers, to the attacks of nomad Chichimec tribes after 1550. The most expressive example of the Mexican fortress church is the Franciscan house at Tepeaca (Puebla), built between 1543 and 1580 (Figure 30). It has a double *chemin de ronde*, one at window level, and another at the rim of the vaults, where crenellated walks lead from one sentry-post to another. Massive *porte-à-faux* buttresses on the cloister side suggest that these defences were more pictorial than practical, and that the fortress motifs, which Tepeaca shared with many other churches of the period (Huejotzingo, Tula, Cholula), were devised to decorate these otherwise barren elevations.

The other elements of decoration are of eclectic character: gothicizing forms (rose windows, Yecapixtla), *mudéjar* themes (ceiling, San Francisco at Tlaxcala), Manueline reminiscences (side door, Huejotzingo), and Plateresque derivations (Tlalmanalco, open chapel) [26] often of great refinement showing close supervision by sculptors with Peninsular training.

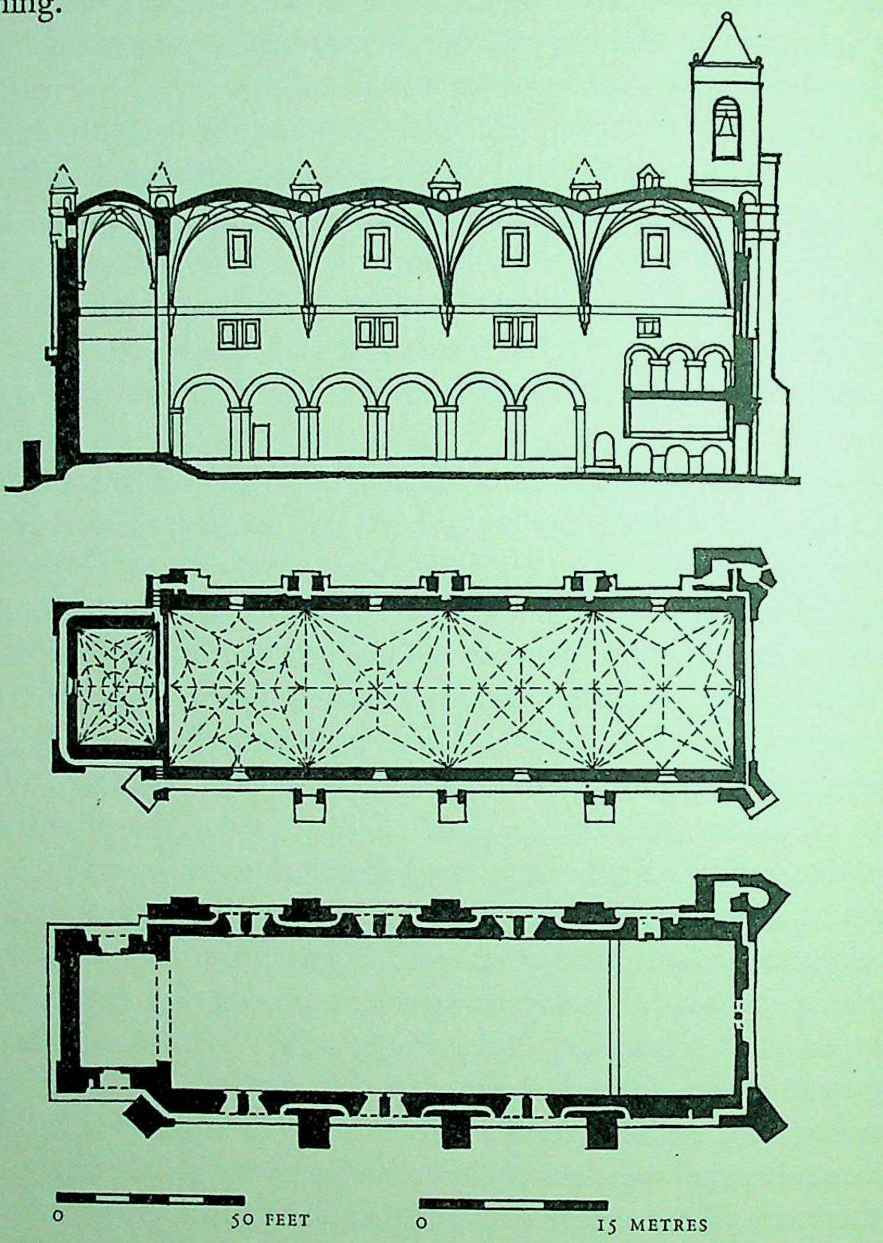


Figure 30. Tepeaca, Franciscan church, 1543–80. Section and plans

The main portal at Acolman, dated 1560, is surely by a master of Peninsular origin. Its candelabra frame subsequently reappears in other Augustinian churches of Michoacán. At Yuririapúndaro, *c.* 1566, the close-knit triumphal-arch system unfolds in strap-work and in more emphatic and repetitious plastic accents. At Cuitzeo the motif of the Acolman façade returns once more with even more protuberant relief to modulate the harsh light. The work is signed FR: IO: METL: ME: FECIT. The Indian name (Francisco Juan Metl) testifies to the proud participation of native artisans in the most important commissions of the period.

By 1570 the golden age of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain was over. The secular clergy gradually replaced the friars, whose choice henceforth lay between monastic retreat and new frontier conversions, as in New Mexico, where the Franciscans continued and repeated their Mexican work during the seventeenth century. After 1570, therefore, Mendicant architecture differs in quality, and it is less abundant than in the preceding half-century. Stereotyped ornamental programmes became common, as in the classicizing doorways characterized by diamond ornaments which secured the greatest chiaroscuro for the least expense of effort in design and execution (e.g. Tula). These coffered and diamond-decorated portals have precedents in Spain: a well-known example is the Galarza house in Cáceres (Extremadura), dated 1589 and belonging to the group of Covarrubias's main door of 1546 at the Alcázar in Toledo.

The parallel is important, for these diamond-decorated doorways in Mexico after 1570 are instructive examples of the stereotyping that has been called 'native influence' in Mexican architectural ornament. We shall encounter this process of stereotyping again in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American architecture. It always runs closely parallel to coeval events in Spain, and it should not be confused with the persistence of 'Indian' or 'mestizo'[27] stylistic traditions. It is a process like that of excessive copying, whereby the original design loses articulation, hierarchy, variation, and individuality, in increasingly schematic stylizations. It has nothing to do with racial symbolism; it occurs independently of race and class, wherever a given form is required to serve many needs by frequent repetition.

The Cathedral Age (1570–1650)

After 1550 the transition from missionary beginnings to fully developed Colonial architecture is best seen in the building-history of the cathedrals of New Spain,[28] when Peninsular masters confronted a double difficulty, first in adapting their designs to the new environment, and second in conforming to the rapid changes of style in Spain. The American cathedral-builders all favoured the hall-church design until after 1585,[29] beginning with Santo Domingo (Figure 28), and including Mérida (Figure 29), Guadalajara (Figure 31), and the Peruvian cathedrals at Lima and Cuzco (Figure 32). This seventeenth-century prolongation of the old North European formula has the Seo at Saragossa and the cathedral of Seville as its Spanish prototypes. Mérida Cathedral was actually built earlier (1562–99) than any Mexican cathedral, and its plan and structure stem from the same sources as the cathedral of Santo Domingo (p. 63).

Although work on early cathedral designs began at Puebla in 1555/8 and in Mexico in 1563, these were discarded after 1585 in favour of plans of centralizing tendency and elevations of basilican type.[30] Therefore the earliest Mexican cathedral building after Mérida is Guadalajara, begun 1571 and completed in 1618 on the plans of 1571. The plan is not quite duple in proportion (roughly 7 : 16 in the nave), with six square, rib-vaulted nave bays, flanked by aisles of equal height on oblong bays narrower than the main vessel (Figure 31). The façade widens by square towers protruding beyond the nave envelope.[31] The sanctuary likewise protrudes as a square domed bay lengthening the

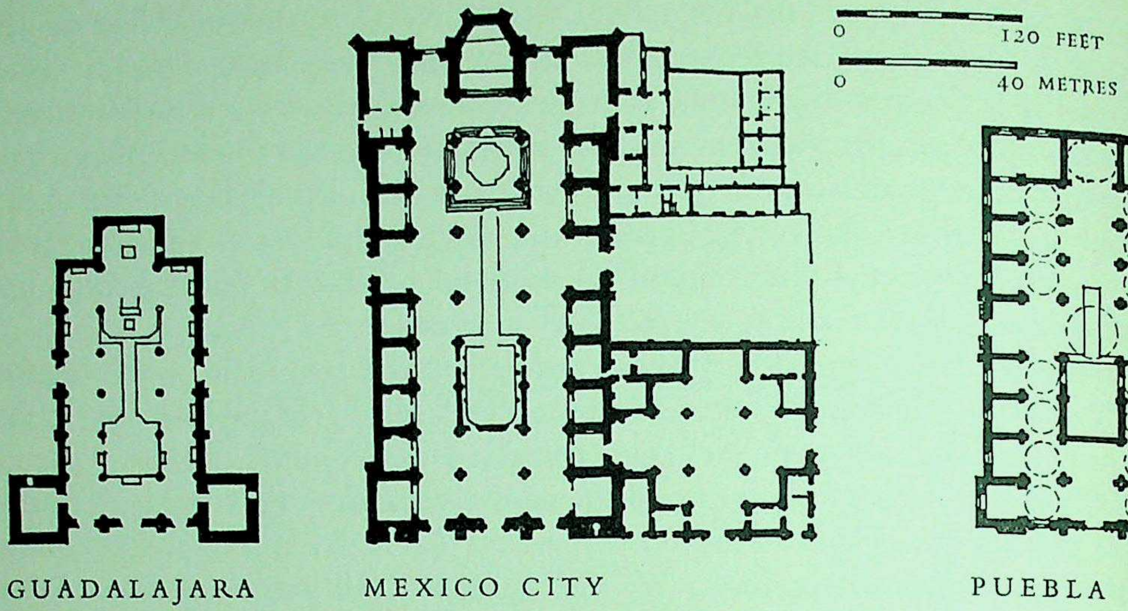


Figure 31. Guadalajara Cathedral, 1571–1618 – Mexico City Cathedral, begun 1563 – Puebla Cathedral, begun 1555–8. Plans

main vessel. The interior elevations show knowledge of the design by Diego de Vergara for Malaga Cathedral, begun in 1550 and completed in the chevet by 1564. Directly derived from Malaga is the fenestration of the lunettes, with rectangular windows flanked by oculi. Also related to Malaga are the composite supports, consisting of Doric half-columns applied to a square pier, with fully developed curved entablatures [32] at the springing of the gothicizing rib-bundles.

The building history of the sister cathedrals (Figure 31) of Mexico and Puebla (Plate 30A) is incompletely known, but the main relationships stand out clearly. At Mexico the primitive, flat-roofed structure with aisles was maintained until after 1596, while the new edifice arose just to the north. This new building, begun in 1563, originally followed a plan based upon Vandelvira's Jaén Cathedral design of 1546, with hall-church elevations upon a rectangular plan with wide, flat chevet (Figure 5). The eastern chapels were up, and the main supports had been begun when Claudio de Arciniega [33] was named *maestro mayor* in 1584. A document of 1619 ascribes to him the new plans on which the cathedral interior was brought to completion in 1667.

The break between the two campaigns seems to appear in the vaulting scheme. The rib-vaulted bays of the northern periphery belong to the original design of 1563, while the saucer-vaulted aisles (built after 1613) and the main vessels correspond to Arciniega's design of after 1584. The addition of a polygonal sanctuary can be supposed part of the reform by Arciniega; for it establishes the centre of the crossing dome as the actual centre of the cathedral, equidistant from the façade and end walls, in a centralizing tendency for which the model is the incomplete cathedral by Juan de Herrera at Valladolid.[34] Arciniega may have intended a four-tower scheme, like that of Valladolid. The thickened walls of the northern corners of the cathedral have been taken by Angulo to reflect this intention. Arciniega's main change, however, was from the hall-church scheme to a double-clerestory basilican elevation, as at Valladolid.

All these changes – the central focus for the rectangular envelope, the four corner towers, and the double clerestory elevations – seem to have been made at Puebla earlier than at Mexico, and with more coherent results.[35] The only evidence at Puebla Cathedral of the radical changes after 1585 appears in the aisle supports (Plate 30A). A block of entablature crowns the Tuscan piers, as at Guadalajara Cathedral (Plate 30B), and as the principal vestige of the original hall-church scheme. The entablature disappears in the main vessel, where the fluting continues above the Tuscan shafts into the transverse arches interrupted only by the nave capitals.

The plan of Puebla Cathedral (Figure 31) reveals direct derivation from Herrera's design for Valladolid. No document testifies to Arciniega's authorship of the Puebla plans. But the relationships just outlined permit the following reconstruction of events in Mexico and Puebla, depending on the reasonable assumption that the American designers did not anticipate Herrera in the scheme for Valladolid. About 1585 the foundations and the bounding walls at Mexico were far enough advanced to retain the impress of the original model of Jaén Cathedral. At the same date at Puebla so much less had been built that the more recent model of Valladolid could be faithfully duplicated even in the plan. The subsequent history of both cathedrals is uneventful. Rapid advances at Mexico in 1613–15, with the closing of eight vaults on the double clerestory elevation, were followed at Puebla by completion of the vaults in 1649 under Bishop Palafox.

Of the sister cathedrals it is therefore right to say that their design is the American continuation of the school of Juan de Herrera. But like Salamanca Cathedral, where the flat chevet of central tendency also reflects the powerful influence of Valladolid Cathedral, the Mexican edifices retain many traces of designs earlier than 1584, notably in the continuous rib-like treatments of nave pillar and transverse arch (Plate 30A). This gothicizing residue gives the American cathedrals a delicacy of structure and an abundance of light at many levels and in many planes that is prohibited by the Roman massiveness of Herrera's elevations at Valladolid.

Concurrently with the severe cathedral style of the first half of the seventeenth century, the architects of Mexico also were quick to develop the possibilities of a geometric ornament emancipated from academic rule (the Merced church and cloister of 1634–54 in Mexico City; the cloister of San Francisco, *c.* 1650, also in the capital; and the Merced at Oaxaca, begun in 1633). On any tectonic form, such as a pilaster or a soffit, the surface is resolved into small rectangular compartments, like rustication, but more insistently patterned. In Mexico these surfaces were prepared by the diamond- and facet-patterned arch-rims of the late sixteenth century. But they also derived from Alonso Carbonell's panelled surfaces (p. 23) at the Buen Retiro Palace of 1631–2. At the Merced cloister in Mexico (Plate 29B) the arch soffits of the upper storey are sawtooth profiles made of diamond-points, and on the ground floor the arch faces are divided into square panels that occupy the positions of voussoir blocks without functioning as voussoirs either for the eye or the mind.

The influence of the royal palaces of Spain is also evident in the H-shaped staircase between two courts (as at the Madrid Alcázar of 1619–27 by Juan Gómez de Mora) in the Hospital de Jesús in Mexico City. The ramps rising from each court converge, then diverge at a second landing to rise to the upper level as separate flights.

Domes were slow to be adopted in New Spain.[36] The earliest securely dated example is J. M. de Agüero's crossing at Mérida Cathedral, dated 1598 (Figure 29). Like the rest of Mérida Cathedral, this dome owes nothing to Mexico. Its cylindrical drum and its spherical shape, both inside and outside, set it apart not only from Mexico but from Spanish practice as well, where octagonal exteriors were the rule. On the Mexican highland, the earliest true dome, that over the crossing of Puebla Cathedral, was designed by Pedro García Ferrer in the 1640s. The octagonal drum is correctly adorned with Ionic pilasters and Bramantine window frames in alternating faces, surmounted by a spherical dome revetted in glazed tiles. Two tiers of flying scroll-buttresses (recalling Diego de Siloe) soften the passages from the dome to the drum and the cubical mass of the crossing. The importance of Puebla in the history of the dome is proved by the presence of thirty-six domes in a plan of the city made in 1680. A plan of Mexico City of *c.* 1730 shows only five.[37]

Northern and Southern Styles (1650–1730)

The period between 1650 and 1730 is marked in New Spain by remarkable fidelity to certain main directions of Peninsular architecture. The region from Mexico City northward to the mining cities and westward to Guadalajara is uniform in the use of retable-façades with academic membering and polygonal arches.[38] The disruption of the entablatures, pediments, and supporting members was slower than in Spain. The proliferation of foliated ornament, on the other hand, tended to cover all surfaces. Examples are Arrieta's Profesa façade in Mexico City (1714–20) with spandrels and pedestals invaded by stony flora, and Santa Mónica, Guadalajara (1720–33). The totally foliated façade (Plate 31A) of Zacatecas Cathedral (dedicated in 1752) is the end of the development, preceded by the main façade of Chihuahua Cathedral (1738–41), with triple columns in two storeys flanking the doorway and oculus, as if in anticipation of the intercolumnar *estípites* of the mid century. The surface is like heavy embroidery, as in Andean planiform façades (p. 96).

A second region, from Puebla southward, including Oaxaca and extending into Guatemala, displays polychrome surfaces, reticulated decoration, and plastic variety in the façade massing. Thus Mexico City and Puebla de los Angeles, less than one hundred miles apart, are the capitals of distinct architectural provinces, the one fanning northward from Mexico, the other radiating southward from Puebla.

Until about 1650 these regions shared approximately the same system of structural and ornamental forms. After 1650 they rapidly diverged, with two distinct modes of architectural design. The northern region adhered to those Hispanic precedents established by Juan Gómez de Mora, which continued in the retable-façade designs of the seventeenth century. The southern region subscribed to the foliated decoration of Crescenzi and the panelled enrichments of the Italianate stuccoists of Andalusia. In respect of Spanish precedent, the northern region is more conservative, and the southern region is the more advanced in departing from Renaissance traditions.

A telling example of the 'northern' variant of the Mexican style is the Guadalupe basilica on the Tepeyac hill north of Mexico City (Plate 31B), built by Pedro de Arrieta[39] between 1695 and 1709. It commemorates the apparition of the Virgin to an Indian, Juan Diego, and it houses the *tilma* or coarse mantle upon which her painted lineaments appear. The building is aisled, with compound supports and clerestory windows in the main vessel, deriving from the cathedral of Mexico City. The plan is centrally organized, as in the cathedral, with the crossing dome equidistant from the sanctuary and from the main portal. The exterior massing, upon the plan of 5 : 3 proportions, is designed to fill the eye from every angle of approach. The two-storeyed elevations are crowned by the crossing dome, and accentuated at the corners by octagonal bell-towers.[40]

The most distinctive trait of 'northern' Mexican architecture from 1650 to about 1750 is the preference for angular and polygonal forms. Among these polygonal shapes, the octagon is generally the favourite, in domes, in arches, in window frames, and in tower plans. Thus, at the Guadalupe basilica, whenever possible octagonal forms displace curved ones.

The main portal, as in most Mexican façades of the period, is primarily didactic, with coupled columns framing three reliefs, describing the apparitions, on the upper storey. The entablatures break only in plan. In the elevation their horizontality is intact. The prominent pictorial relief dominates the entire façade. All other forms serve to enhance the setting of the narrative matter in this survival of didactic portal-sculpture, which recalls Gothic prototypes throughout Europe.

From Puebla southward to Guatemala the accent is different. The north transept façade of Puebla Cathedral (1690) by Carlos García de Durango[41] bears no trace of polygonal window or niche frames. On the contrary, the architects of Puebla preferred multiple-curve arches,[42] such as trilobed doorways (e.g. Capuchinas, Puebla, 1703, or the Merced at Atlixco, *c.* 1700) and ornate window frames. At Puebla and Oaxaca these differ from the severe rectilinear and angular forms of the north, much as Andalusian ornament differs from Castilian. The only trace of the northern concern with octagonal plans appears in the domes. The octagonal shape of the drum and the flattening of the spherical surfaces of the pendentives into planar triangles probably allowed a simpler construction.

At Puebla didactic reliefs were replaced by stellar windows and by windows of other ornate shapes, which compete with the polychrome-tiled decoration of the rest of the façade. Farther south, at Oaxaca, the didactic reliefs reappear, sometimes with an octagonal window, as at San Felipe Neri (*c.* 1720–30?) or San Agustín (finished 1722), reasserting the metropolitan influence of Mexico City.

The interiors of the churches of Oaxaca and their façades relate them more closely to Puebla and to Central America than to Mexico City. Thus the Soledad façade at Oaxaca (1689) is protuberant, in a thickening of the mass which is like seismic scar tissue, and this treatment belongs to the Guatemalan sphere of influence more than to that of the Mexican plateau. The interiors of the Oaxaca churches after 1650 continue the ornate stucco-work initiated at Puebla in the Rosario Chapel of Santo Domingo (1650–90).

This tradition owes its origins to two different Peninsular sources: the chapel of San Isidro in San Andrés at Madrid (1642–69), and the Italianate stucco-workers of Lower Andalusia. The Rosario Chapel at Puebla (Plate 32A) derives more directly from the Madrid prototype than from Andalusian models, especially in the Baroque lighting-scheme and the profusely foliated surfaces. The large *rinceaux* framing the inner entrance recall the system introduced by Crescenzi in the Escorial Pantheon (1617–54) and elaborated in Madrid by Blondel the stuccoist (p. 23). At Oaxaca (Plate 32B) the nave stuccoes of Santo Domingo (1657) bring to mind the compartmented stucco surfaces of the Cartuja nave at Granada.[43] Common to the stucco vaults of Oaxaca and Puebla are strap-work motifs derived from Netherlandish sources, probably through prints and drawings.

The 'southern' school of stucco decorations, from Puebla through Oaxaca to Central America, is of composite origin, drawing upon Castilian, Andalusian, Italian, and Netherlands sources, with a marked tendency towards the folkloristic stereotyping and flattening of design which is generally misconstrued as an American Indian contribution. The stucco ornaments of the Rosario Chapel of Santo Domingo in Puebla and the Victoria *camarín* in Malaga are comparable, without our having to invoke 'pre-Conquest American admixtures'.

Nor is it necessary to look for archaeological precedent for the polychrome, glazed-tile exteriors of the Puebla churches. The Andalusian and Portuguese antecedents are evident, both in respect of ceramic technique and of the style of design by coloured surfaces. In Andalusia these polychrome revetments were restricted to exterior bands and intermittent patches of decoration. In the region surrounding Puebla, revetment with coloured tiles became a style of total exterior decoration. The façade of Santa Maria Tonantzintla is an early example (*c.* 1700). A distant reflection of the brilliance of the Puebla façades appears in the painted stucco decorations of Guatemalan church façades after 1650 (e.g. the Merced in Antigua, after 1665 (?), p. 83).

The only area where pre-Conquest traditions of structure and decoration survived in Colonial architectural practice is New Mexico, along the upper Rio Grande, among tribes of Pueblo or 'village Indian' civilization. Discovered in 1540, the territory was colonized after the opening of the seventeenth century. Many Colonial churches, built under Franciscan direction, are still in use, notably at Acoma (Plate 33A) and at Zia.[44] Typical of the entire family is the mission at Laguna pueblo. No arches and no domes were used in this architecture of sun-dried clay, because of the resistance of the Indians to learning European techniques of construction. Yet the friars succeeded in achieving Baroque light effects by introducing a transverse window, spanning the nave at the chancel, between the roof-levels of the nave and sanctuary. Wall-paintings of native style and symbolism decorate the interiors (e.g. at San Felipe). At Laguna the painted decoration of the main altar simulates the scrolls and foliage of the carvers of New Spain. The artisans must surely have been Indians, but they did not confuse European forms with their own ceremonial paintings. The two systems remained distinct, without interpenetration. The European forms underwent only the familiar process of repetitious flattening common to many regions of provincial art.

Ultrabaroque and Neo-Classical (1730–1800)

A thorough transformation between 1730 and 1740 rapidly altered the artistic geography of New Spain. The capital abandoned the static ornamental mode of seventeenth-century design.[45] Its architects, under Spanish leadership, elaborated a new style based upon ascending movements and coherent design among all the parts. Polychromy, a new mode of membering, and the *estípite* [46] were the principal elements in this stylistic reform. It spread rapidly to the northern mining cities and soon dominated the repertory of the southern school, so that by 1780 all regions of New Spain showed the influence of the capital, modulated by regional habits.

Jerónimo Balbás, who designed and built the Sagrario retable at Seville, was probably the earliest agent of this stylistic reform. In Mexico Cathedral he designed the altar in the Capilla de los Reyes (1718–37): this monument was the first to acquaint Mexicans with the Rococo tendencies of Andalusian style under the Bourbons. Its colossal scale of aspiring motion by supports of dissolved contour (*estípites*) soon spread to the exterior surfaces of church and civil architecture. The style reigned unchallenged, from the Rio Grande to Panama, until about 1780, when the more traditional forms of academic membering returned to favour under the Neo-Classical taste.

The transformation of the style of the civic buildings of Mexico City must be attributed to the unknown designers of the Ayuntamiento of 1720–4 and of the Aduana, built in 1731. Both façades, of red pumice (*tezontle*) with white limestone (*chiluca*) trim, are unified by the window frames. Their upright members are extended to form false transoms, as in the drum of Pedro Ribera's Hospicio in Madrid.[47] These compartments animate the monotony of the long horizontal lines by their vertical movement, much like the *estípites* in the portals and altars of the same period.

Soon after, two more civic buildings of radically new style and great beauty were erected in Mexico City. The first, begun in 1734 (completed 1753) by Pedro Bueno, is the Vizcaínas, a school for poor girls occupying an entire block (Plate 33B). Shops line the ground floor on three sides. The main façade includes the chapel of the establishment,[48] with *tezontle* walls and *chiluca* trim. The vertical membering of giant pilasters frames huge square window frames, skewered upon intermediate vertical mouldings. A high base moulding, and a parapet of catenary curves between pyramidal finials, unite the system horizontally. Near both ends of the main façade are doorway panels of unprecedented form. The jambs and lintel mark out a square area, framing the conventional doorway of sesquialter proportion.

The Jesuit Colegio de San Ildefonso, finished about 1740 to designs by Cristóbal de Escobar y Llamas, likewise has square window frames in the upper storeys. The mezzanine beneath the horizontal façade moulding repeats an arrangement seen in the Aduana, and the vertical membering is therefore less marked than at the Vizcaínas. The main portal (1712–18) uses *estípites* [49] upon a conventional seventeenth-century armature in two storeys with a didactic relief in the third storey. The entire edifice is less dramatically novel and in many respects more conventional than the Vizcaínas.

The new aesthetic of vigorous vertical movement reached its earliest complete expression in the parish church, dedicated to SS. Sebastian and Prisca (Plate 34A), at the mining town of Taxco, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco. The design of 1748 has been ascribed to Diego Durán Berruecos, a Spaniard enrolled in Mexico City as an architect in 1753.[50] The elevations all compose a unified silhouette which dominates the mountainous approaches to Taxco. Many older Mexican habits recur: the paired Solomonic columns of the upper façade; the didactic relief over the door; the ornate rustication of the nave pilasters; the polygonal arch of the lateral doorway; and the coloured tile designs of the dome.

New is the vertical thrust of all parts, especially in the proportions of nave and façade, where a double-square system is dominant. The tower height, for example, is twice the over-all width of the main façade; and the central panel is likewise twice as high as it is wide. The double-square proportion repeats again in the transverse section of the nave. Exterior *estípites* appear only at the belfry corners and in the intercolumniations of the main portal. They contrast with the cylindrical shafts of the adjacent fluted columns.

Many details evoke Andalusian antecedents. The concavely curved spires resemble Jaime Bort's unrealized design of 1741 for the tower of Murcia Cathedral. The ornate belfries on denuded tower shafts come from Ecija. Andalusian and Mexican traditions join at Taxco in a harmonious resolution that was a model for later designers, as at the Valenciana in Guanajuato and the Santuario de Ocotlan near Tlaxcala.[51]

Almost exactly contemporary with the Taxco church, the cathedral Sagrario of 1749 in Mexico City (Plate 36) by Lorenzo Rodríguez (*c.* 1704–74) defines a less eclectic and more progressive version of the new style. Manuel Toussaint has used the generic name 'ultrabaroque' to designate both its transatlantic nature and its extreme aesthetic position.[52] Rodríguez was the son and pupil of the chief architect for the bishopric of Guadix. Moving to Cadiz, he was a master mason at the cathedral, and he came to Mexico in 1731 or earlier, to work first as a carpenter at the Mint. Thus his earliest associations were with the circle of Vicente Acero at Guadix and Cadiz, but his Mexican style departed from Acero's curvilinear plans. The Sagrario, like Hurtado's equivalent Granada design of 1704, has a cruciform central plan (Figure 31), repeating the interior elevations of the adjacent cathedral nave. The two exterior façades mark the triumph of the *estípite* as a system in Mexico. Rodríguez realized that the dissolution of the contour of the shaft of the regular orders and the tapered re-organization in a vertical sequence of geometric solids permitted unexpected liberties. The support was thereby emancipated from load-bearing functions, and it became an element of spatial rhythm, much as a musical tone, liberated from verbal functions, is a bearer of rhythms in time.

On the Sagrario façades, completed in 1768, Rodríguez developed a double rhythm in two planes, with the *estípites* in the front plane and intercolumnar *estípites* in the rear. The latter are reflected in architrave breaks, but not in the cornices or pedestals. Flanking the façade panels, Rodríguez stretched a curtain of *tezontle*, falling away at both sides to corner entrances, and forming an interplay of planes at the south-east corner, where successive geometric solids rise pyramidally from the street in projecting and re-entrant angles.[53]

The mining territory of Guanajuato, north-west of the capital, has long been recognized as an extension of the school of Lorenzo Rodríguez. At the Compañía (1746–65) by Fray José de la Cruz and Felipe de Ureña, the linear elaboration relates to the façade of the Balvanera Chapel in Mexico City. The Valenciana façade (1765–88; Plate 34B) displays a development transcending Rodríguez's achievement. The intercolumnar *estípites* become dominant, so that the suggestion of a void in the pilaster-niches takes precedence over the elongated and emaciated *estípites* on either side. The proportional relations repeat those of the *parroquia* at Tasco, with a vertical double square in the portal panel, and towers planned to be twice as high as the lower square block of façade and tower bases. The ultimate expansion of Rodríguez's school, via Aguascalientes (Guadalupe church, 1767–89), is in Texas, at the mission of San José de Aguayo near San Antonio (1768–77).

By 1770, when the northern and western provinces were still busily commissioning altars and façades of *estípites*, the metropolis as usual had exhausted the fashion and passed on to newer things. The designer who broke the spell was a creole, born in New Spain at Guadalupe about 1740 – Francisco Antonio Guerrero y Torres (d. 1792). The works certainly by him, and those attributed to him, are unlike earlier Mexican practice. The churches have unconventional plans and columnar portals. The houses display a new linear ornament reminiscent of Diego Antonio Díaz.

The Valparaíso House of 1769 already shows his fully developed style (Plate 37A). The two street façades present different off-centre rhythms merging in the tower. The windows all have jambs extended so as to connect with windows above, to stress the verticals, and to form false transoms, as in the principal storey of the Aduana of 1731.[54] Guerrero also outlined the edges and frames of the façade by undulant torus mouldings, in a manner prepared first by the undulant pilasters at San Juan de Dios in Mexico City (1729), and later by Lorenzo Rodríguez's lacy window profiles at the Conde de Xala House in the capital (1764, in collaboration with Antonio Rodríguez de Soria). The *patio*, of immense arches intersecting at the corners, and the windows with concave sills recall the boldest experiments of Catalan stone-cutting, and they prefigure the freedom of Art Nouveau.

The Pocito Chapel of 1779 (Plate 35) uses Serlio's plan of a Roman temple. Guerrero converted the tetrastyle portico into a circular vestibule housing the well where the Virgin appeared. He changed Serlio's round chamber into a broad oval with lateral entrances on the cross-axis. An octagonal sacristy replaces the hexagonal Roman chamber. All three elements are domed. The glazed-tile covering [55] of Puebla type includes the drums and parapets for the first time. Polygonal arches re-appear, beneath a sixteen-sided drum, in a return to seventeenth-century precedents which is important in the style of Guerrero. Another archaism, or, if one prefers, another prefiguration of Neo-Classical form, appears in Guerrero's use of the two-storey, three-part façade with conventional half-columns and approximately correct entablatures. Another revival of seventeenth-century design appears in the densely foliated fields between the columns. Framing the panels of red *tezontle* are bands of rectangular meander.

The curvilinear plan of the Pocito is rare in Mexico, and preceded only by Luis Diez

Navarro's Santa Brígida of 1740–4 (destroyed) with opposing apses. The attribution to Guerrero of the Enseñanza church in Mexico (1772–8) seems reasonable; the elongated octagon plan, the façade panel of paired columns, and the preference for octagonal and broken-curve window frames all testify to the powerful talent that later produced the Pocito.

Among many distinctive provincial schools of the last decades of the eighteenth century, Querétaro and its region in the Bajío of north Central Mexico require special mention.[56] As usual in Mexican church architecture, no remarkable innovations appear either in plan or structure. The retablos designed *c.* 1765–*c.* 1792 by Gudiño and Ignacio Mariano de las Casas (born 1720) abandoned the *estípite*. But instead of reverting to the traditional tectonic system, like Guerrero y Torres, these ornamentalists combined rocaille, abstract pattern, and textured surfaces. Their work, which derives from Sevillian models and from European pattern books of the mid century, is best studied in the convent churches of Santa Rosa and Santa Clara in Querétaro.[57] In domestic architecture, Querétaro elaborated upon the broken-curve arcades of Andalusia, as in the Agustín González House, where the arcades are like twisted ribbons streaming upon the wind.

The close of the eighteenth century, in the solemn chords of Neo-Classical puritanism, is carried by Manuel Tolsá (born at Enguera near Valencia in 1757; d. Mexico 1816) and by the creole architects Francisco Eduardo Tresguerras (Celaya 1759–1833) and José Damián Ortiz de Castro, born at Coatepec in Veracruz. Tolsá arrived in Mexico in 1791;[58] his principal design is the Escuela de la Minería. The staircase of converging ramps is the most grandiose Colonial structure of its kind in America.

Tresguerras's great work is the Carmen church at Celaya (1803–7), based upon his study of prints of European works. The Carmen, with its entrance tower and the coupled columns of the drum, shows knowledge of the work of Soufflot and Vanvitelli. The coherent grouping of the exterior buttresses, on the other hand, honours the precedent of SS. Sebastian and Prisca in Taxco.

Ortiz de Castro, finally, built the bell-shaped finials of the towers of the cathedral of Mexico in 1786–93.[59] They are the most impressive American tribute to Ventura Rodríguez, whose recent towers of Pamplona Cathedral they copy.

On the mission frontier, from San Diego to San Francisco in upper California, large churches of Neo-Classical style arose. Their study passes beyond the chronological limits of this volume, since so little of them antedates 1800. The most important relic of the eighteenth-century style is the side door (1794) of San Carlos in Monterrey, with a broken-curve trilobed arch and a lambrequin cornice.[60]

CENTRAL AMERICA[61]

The first experiences which Spanish colonists had of great earthquakes were in Guatemala. The early capital at Ciudad Vieja was destroyed in 1541. The next settlement at Antigua was scourged by major earthquakes in 1590, 1689, 1717, 1751, and 1773. The response was to build more massive structures of lower proportions. On the arid Peruvian coast, the same menace was met at Lima by light and elastic constructions of plastered reeds on wooden frames (*quincha*). In the Guatemala highlands, however, the heavy rainfall made masonry indispensable. Hence Central American buildings became thicker, heavier, lower, and flatter, as if growing scar tissue after each disaster. As the proportions became more ungainly, ornamental effects of greater animation were invented. This Central American style of ponderous mass relieved by lively decoration extends from Oaxaca in Mexico to the Isthmus of Panama, where it joins another style of massive effects in the immense masonry shells of the Caribbean coastal fortresses.

Remnants of construction prior to 1650 are rare. Rib-vaulted chambers of *c.* 1575 survive in the ruins of San Francisco at Antigua. At Chiapa de Corzo the public fountain of 1562, with an octagonal vaulted canopy of brick supported by flying buttresses,[62] belongs to the Mexican family more than to Central America, although when built it stood in the territory of the Audiencia of Guatemala. An idea of the elegance of Guatemalan design before 1650 is seen in the façade of the church at Rabinal. Coupled and rusticated pilasters scan a tripartite façade of two storeys. Curved volutes bind the upper storey to the lower side-panels, and aedicules arched on all four faces surmount the coupled-pilaster divisions. As in San Francisco at Quito, the design recalls those in Italian Mannerist treatises.

At Antigua, traces of this style survived the eighteenth-century rebuilding of the façade of the hospital church of San Pedro, built in 1654–65. The triumphal-arch system of the cathedral façade [63] (1669–90, by José de Porres), and the façade of Santa Teresa (1683–7, attributed to José de Porres) likewise bring to mind the Granadine version of Italian Mannerism, such as the Chancillería façade of 1587. Thus Quito and Guatemala started from the same base.[64] But that which Quito was able to preserve as a tradition of design close to Italian and Granadine parallels, Guatemala was soon forced to change in order to meet the seismic threat.

Not only were the walls thickened and the heights lowered, but the surfaces were invaded by the same profuse ornament of interlacing stucco tendrils that we have seen in Puebla and Oaxaca after 1650. It is an ornament of Hispanic origin (p. 23), perhaps implanted at Antigua by Puebla craftsmen. The principal example (Plate 38) is the Merced façade (last third of the seventeenth century). On the façade of San Francisco (contracted for in 1675) spiral columns appear. The niche over the door acquires special prominence, as in Jerez churches of the same period. The designers also took advantage of the great wall thickness to develop the embrasures of doors and windows as diagonal planes for ornamental display. In the Merced cloister, the vaulted walks resemble Maya corbelled roofs, but their true arch construction is of European origin.

The first third of the eighteenth century is characterized by a renewed study of the plastic organization of massive walls. Santa Cruz (1727–31) [65] and the Carmen church (1728), both at Antigua, achieve it. At Santa Cruz little pediments link the twin columns; the pulvinated friezes stress load; and the wall opens to reveal many planes in its thickness. On the Carmen façade these solutions were carried much farther, with full-round brick columns in two planes, and with a system of contained and embracing rhythms, suggested in the pediment portions. The ogee curves of the doorway, repeating in the upper portions, give the central façade an ascending motion like that of the retable-façades of the preceding half-century in Peru and Spain.

The pilgrimage sanctuary (1735–85) at Esquipulas near the Honduras border is the most impressive building of the period in Guatemala (Plate 39). The plan with four corner towers is derived from Valladolid Cathedral and from the Pilar in Saragossa. The projecting apse beneath a half-dome is unique in Central America. Both the interior and exterior surfaces show the unknown architect's concern with vigorous plastic effects. As in the Peruvian façades of the same period, the towers dominate the central façade panel, where two storeys of giant columns mark an ascending rhythm different from that of the tower stages. In the towers the solid pier in the belfry arcade rests over a void in the stage below, and in the top octagon the window is over the pier of the belfry, in violation of academic convention. Strong cornice-mouldings tie the towers into the lateral elevations. The great projection of these cornices makes the second stage of each tower look larger in plan than the bottom stage, as in Ecija in Andalusia.

The *estípite* façades of Mexico were not popular in Guatemala. The closest approach to the unstable *estípite* contour is a peculiar baluster of opposed palmettes connected by the bases at the centre of the shaft. Examples are at Santa Clara (1734) at Antigua, at San Francisco at Ciudad Vieja, at Chiquimula, and at the Dolores church (1732–1815) of Tegucigalpa in Honduras. The silhouette of the doubled palmette in this last example becomes an undulant contour of many scallops, in which the interference of another ornamental variety can be detected. This other variety is the 'beaded' pilaster[66] – a shaft treated as the vertical accumulation of many horizontal units. It is as if the helical twists of the Solomonic column had been turned into flattened beads. The visual effect is like that of the rusticated in-and-out masonry of the fantastic columns by Serlio, Dietterlin, and Ricci.

The third quarter of the eighteenth century was dominated at Antigua by the work of José Manuel Ramírez (born 1703), who was the son and the father of architects of mestizo race. The chief work of J. M. Ramírez is the University of Antigua, rebuilt in 1763, with a cloister of broken-curve arches (Plate 37B). The street façade distantly recalls the Vizcaínas of Mexico by its large octagonal windows. An abundance of *pointillé* effects arises from the use of the 'beaded' pilaster. In Ramírez's gifted hands the heavy massing of the Antigua tradition was turned into an asset. At San José el Viejo (inaugurated 1762) he resolutely converted the ugly tower masses of the older tradition into secondary forms dominated by the retable-façade. Another handsome example of Ramírez's style, although it is not certain that it is by him, is the church of Santa Rosa (after 1762).

In 1773, discouraged by one more devastating earthquake, the inhabitants of Antigua transferred the capital to a new site near the ruins of Kaminaljuyu, where Mexican and Maya civilizations had intermingled since before the time of Christ. Guatemala City rose in 1776 on a grid plan by Luis Diez de Navarro of Mexico, who had been in Guatemala since 1741. The plans for the cathedral (1785–1815) have been ascribed to an assistant of Sabatini, Antonio Bernasconi, who earlier had designed the San Roque district (1781) in Sigüenza (Spain).[67] The double-aisled church with retrochoir shows the school of Sabatini in the façade of giant pilasters and columns. The Merced, still unfinished, also asserts the close connexion of the new city with the art of the court at Madrid, but its style is closer to Ventura Rodríguez than to Sabatini, especially in the belfry arches, garlanded spandrels, curved pediment, and overdoor ornaments. Both the Merced and the cathedral mark the complete return of Guatemalan design to Peninsular models. Neither betrays any trace of the colourful provincial traditions of Colonial architecture. The accent is metropolitan and unspecific. It resumes the careful academic tones of the early colony in Central America.

CHAPTER 5

SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

THE Republican geography of modern Latin America does not correspond to the stylistic geography of Colonial architecture, for the Republican States are much smaller than the Colonial stylistic provinces. Cultural geography, following the main physical divisions of the continent, more closely corresponds to architectural history. In South America we have already touched upon the Caribbean littoral. The rest of the continent falls into four main regions: the northern Andes (Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela), the central Andes (Peru, Bolivia), southern South America (Chile and north-west Argentina), and Brazil.

Andean architecture displays the same separation into highland styles and coastal styles as the pre-Conquest archaeology of western South America. A fundamental difference in building materials underlies this stylistic division. Adobe clay and reeds are the coastal elements. Stone and fired brick are the abundant materials of the highlands. Hence the coastal churches and cloisters have piers, in contrast to the slender stone columns of highland cities. Hence also the coastal development of *quincha* [1] roofing with plaster-coated webs of bundled and matted reeds on timber frames or brick ribs, light and elastic enough to survive the dreadfully frequent earthquakes. Instead of the Central American accretion of heavier and heavier masonry to meet the seismic threat, the builders of the west coast of South America contrived an almost weightless architecture of theatrical effects. They were favoured by the rainless, temperate climate, and by the seaborne commerce that brought tropical woods from Central America to the arid, treeless coast of Peru. In the highlands, abundant and immediately accessible supplies of fine stone always favoured the perpetuation of the stone-cutter's craft. Patterns of ornament deriving from textile and woodworking designs are common in provincial highland architecture, as they had been in the pre-Conquest architecture of the same regions, e.g. at Chavin or Tiahuanaco.[2]

Throughout the Andean area after 1650 the Spanish duality prevails between hierarchic organization and all-over pattern; between intricately ordered rhythms and repetitious prolixity of ornament. In Mexico we have examined the same contrast – manifested in the northern and southern regions, and exemplified by the Guadalupe basilica (Plate 31B) and the Rosario Chapel at Puebla (Plate 32A). In Mexico the sixteenth century had already witnessed a divergence between Spanish transfers and regional adaptations. This is absent in western South America until about 1650, when the Hispanic alternative between rich surface and rhythmic complexity appeared in the contrast of metropolitan and provincial styles in the Andean region.

The coast generally followed the Baroque modes of spatial organization. The highland regions between Cajamarca and Sucre habitually preferred rich and redundant flat surfaces of textile character. Notable exceptions confirm the rule. The year 1650 nevertheless marks the great divide in the Colonial architectural style. Before that date faithful adherence to Spanish sixteenth-century fashions was general from Bogotá to Potosí and Santiago. After 1650, central Andean architecture falls into metropolitan and provincial styles, of which the history continues through a Rococo phase, beginning about 1740, into the nineteenth century.

THE NORTHERN ANDES: QUITO AND NEW GRANADA

The Franciscan house at Quito (Plate 40A) is the most important edifice of the sixteenth century in South America, in size, in influence, and in quality. If it were not standing now, we should have to reconstruct it from texts and images, much as the abbey of Cluny has been reconstructed in the minds of students of the Middle Ages. Its diamond-faceted portal was imitated at San Francisco in Tunja about 1610, and its transept crossing *artesonado* was copied at San Francisco in Sucre (Bolivia) about 1581.

Like the great Franciscan missions in Mexico, the establishment in Quito was committed to the spiritual conquest of the Indian peoples, under the same Humanist *philosophia Christi* that governed the Mexican conversions. In Peru the civil wars between Europeans and between Indians delayed the work of colonization until about 1570, when the Counter-Reformation dominated European thought. Hence the Peruvian colonization differs from that of Mexico and Quito as the Counter-Reformation differs from the Humanism of the court of Charles V *c.* 1530.

San Francisco at Quito was founded in 1535 upon the grounds of the palace of Huayna Capac. The earliest construction was directed by a Fleming, Fray Jodoco Ricke. As a teacher of the Indians, he was the counterpart in the Andes of Fray Pedro de Gante, the Flemish Franciscan apostle in Mexico. The aisled church with its clerestory was in construction by 1564, and completed about 1575. The main cloister, which is of Andalusian derivation, rose about 1573–81. The entire edifice probably follows plans prepared before 1553 by Ricke and his companions, although the façade (Plate 40A) includes forms which cannot be dated earlier than 1580.

No American façade of the sixteenth century is more Italianate. There is little in Spain to compare with it. At Quito the accumulation of Italian forms is Flemish in profusion. The façade staircase comes from Serlio's woodcut of Bramante's *nicchione*.[3] The Doric entablature of the ground storey has massive brackets; in the Ionic order the entablature breaks continue into the curved pediment. The aisled interior is equally variegated: the choir balcony strides two short bays into the nave, and the nave proper consists of three bays opening upon an implicit transept, roofed by cedar interlaces of *mudéjar* form.

The façade of San Francisco is the archetype for subsequent façades in western South America.[4] Its rigorous symmetry, its banded surfaces, and its *retablo* portal were imitated many times at Lima. Throughout South America façades are balanced, whereas in New Spain asymmetrical, one-tower façades are the rule until the mid eighteenth century. At Quito the portal of San Francisco was imitated again and again until the end of the seventeenth century. The main scheme, of paired columns flanking an arched doorway beneath a flat-arched entablature on heavy brackets, re-appears in the portal of San Agustín (1659–65), the Colegio de San Fernando (1691), and at the Guápulo church (1693). The same bookish tendency appears in the doorways taken from European prints,[5] e.g. the doorway of the Villasis Chapel in San Francisco (1659), based upon an engraving of Caprarola, and the portal of the Jesuit schools (after 1650), taken from a Michelangelo design for the Villa Grimani, as published by Patricio Caxés in the Vignola edition of 1593.

This close relationship to European models governs the architecture of Quito as a whole. The Dominican and Augustinian houses were both planned in 1581, probably by Francisco Becerra,[6] the itinerant Spaniard from Trujillo who designed cathedrals and churches in Mexico, Quito, and Peru from 1573 until his death in 1605. The plans for the nave of the Compañía (begun *c.* 1605, completed 1689) are thought to have been sent from Rome; certainly its appearance betrays little that is characteristically American.[7] The interior decoration (before 1750) recalls the Angustias church in Granada, and the eighteenth-century façade (Plate 40B; begun 1722, completed 1760–5 to designs by Leonhard Deubler) is like South Italian church façades of the same period. Cuenca is another of the cities of Ecuador where direct derivation from Peninsular models is evident. At the portal of the Carmen church the theme of paired twisted columns beneath an aedicule appears, which was the hallmark of J. B. Pérez in Valencia about 1680.

In retrospect, the Colonial architecture of the Audiencia of Quito seems a relatively pure transfer from European sources, blending different regional styles with high success: Italianate forms of bookish origin, *mudéjar* ceilings, Sevillian cloisters, Valencian façade motifs, Granadine interior surfaces – and in a later period, Apulian Baroque motifs at the Compañía façade. The special quality of Quito architecture is its high technical finish; again and again the artisanship is of metropolitan excellence.

The same properties in a different alloy recur in the architecture of New Granada (now Colombia). The dominant traditions of the Peninsula re-appear without adulteration, but in unexpected mixtures, partly by direct transmission from Spain, partly by relay from Quito,[8] whose influence is felt beyond Bogotá in a strength undiminished until the 'Carib air' of the littoral alters the vocabulary and syntax (p. 66).

Thus a sixteenth-century church like Santa Clara in Tunja (1571–4) repeats the pointed chancel arch of San Francisco in Quito. But in the seventeenth century Tuscan Mannerist forms abruptly appear at San Ignacio in Bogotá (1625–39), introduced by J. B. Coluccini of Lucca,[9] in the façade (Plate 41A) of contrasting large and small voids ordered by stripped pilasters among which the several levels of entablatures interweave. In the nave, over a *coursière* gallery at the entablature, as in San Martín Pinario at Santiago de Compostela, immense clerestory lunettes open the haunches of the barrel-vault.

Later in the century the Sagrario Chapel at Bogotá (1660–89) displays a haughty façade with perhaps the earliest exterior use of Solomonic columns in South America. The twin *espadaña* (belfry-wall) may also be the earliest surviving example in South America.[10] The Sagrario carefully avoids the plastic exuberance of coeval façades at Cuzco, Lima, and Arequipa; the tonic at Bogotá required flatter forms and less exterior display. The interiors, nevertheless, as in the Rosario Chapel at Tunja (Plate 41B; c. 1680–90), exhibit the same aesthetic of total surface decoration as was met in Mexico (Rosario Chapel, Puebla). The Peninsular antecedents are the same in both cases: the Tunja decorator, Fray Agustín Gutiérrez, was more ingenuous in the use of jigsaw appliqué and incrustation than his Mexican contemporary.

In the eighteenth century Popayán was the principal centre of architectural development in New Granada, with echoes of Central European and Piedmontese influence. The façade by Simon Schenherr, S.J., at San José has diagonally set concave pilasters. At San Francisco (1775–95), the façade by Antonio García ripples in broken silhouette curves like a Borrominesque church.

THE CENTRAL ANDES

The Early Colony (1550–1650)

Throughout Peru the Spanish Conquest of 1531/2 soon disintegrated into long civil wars. They continued until 1560–70, so that the full work of colonization began only in 1570, under Viceroy Toledo. These tardy beginnings, and the damages of many earthquakes, have made the traces of early Colonial architecture extremely rare.[11] A rib-vault of brick and stone in Santo Domingo, Lima, contracted for in 1547, still stands. The main cloisters of San Francisco and Santo Domingo at Cuzco, built about 1550, are extant, but much rebuilt, with capitals of Toledan style beneath arches with rectangular brick surrounds (*alfiz*) of Andalusian *mudéjar* derivation. At San Jerónimo and Urcos in the province of Cuzco are churches with balconied façades, probably of the last quarter of the century, which enliven the drab adobe walls with a play of light and shadow borrowed from the cloister elevations of sixteenth-century Cuzco (Plate 42A). A Franciscan cloister with pointed brick arches of about 1572–94 still stands at Chiclayo on the north coast. In Ayacucho five small chapels and churches built of adobe and stone between 1540 and 1570 can be studied. They are plain wooden-roofed structures. The portals of the Merced and of San Francisco (*c.* 1552–60) are probably by the same designer. They have arched doorways flanked by slender Corinthian columns, and relief sculpture in the spandrels. The sanctuary of Santa Clara (dedicated in 1568) is roofed with a gilded cedar interlace (*alfarje*) of Moorish geometry and Renaissance details. A group of adobe and stone churches in the Collao (a province of southern Peru bordering on Lake Titicaca) rose in the last third of the sixteenth century. Paucarcolla (1563) and the Asunción at Chucuito (begun 1590) have arched doorways flanked by paired pilasters beneath correctly proportioned triangular pediments.

In Alto Peru (now Bolivia), Sucre was the Spanish administrative centre and Potosí was the native capital and the mining centre of the region. Both have several sixteenth-century churches.[12] They are aisleless structures with *mudéjar* ceilings of geometric pattern in wood, approached by large walled courtyards where, just as in Mexico, the Indians gathered for instruction. San Lázaro at Sucre (in use 1544; atrium wall late seventeenth century) is an example of the type, which repeats the early churches in

Ayacucho. San Francisco at Sucre (1581) is a more lavish repetition of the same Andalusian type. At San Agustín at Sucre (1585–1620) the plan is cryptocollateral, with groin-vaults over the nave and rib-vaults over crossing and sanctuary.

The principal edifices of the period are the cathedrals of Lima, Cuzco (Figure 32), and Sucre. The first two were designed by Francisco Becerra (first plans 1582; new plans in 1598).[13] The ground plans and the supports of both still reveal Becerra's intention. The cathedral of Jaén (Figure 5) was his model, both in the rectangular plan and in the hall-church elevation, with nave and aisles of equal height. Cuzco Cathedral was finished in 1644–54. Lima Cathedral progressed more quickly, but in 1606 and 1609 the groin-vaults were damaged by earthquakes. New rib-vaults were built in 1613–22; these fell again in the earthquake of 1746, and were rebuilt in wood and stucco. Both interiors, despite many changes and repairs, faithfully reflect the austere Vignolan *estilo desornamentado* of Spain before 1585. The Ionic piers of Lima, and the Tuscan supports of Cuzco (Plate 42B), with their Siloesque entablature blocks beneath rib-vaults of equal height in nave and aisles, represent Spanish cathedral design after Jaén (1540) and prior to Herrera's reversion to clerestory elevations in the Escorial church (1586) and Valladolid Cathedral (*c.* 1585) – the reversion that transformed the elevations of Puebla and Mexico Cathedrals (Figure 31). In Bolivia, the cathedral of Sucre (1561–1600) is aisled, with rib-vaulted transept and sanctuary. The nave vaults and aisles, by José González Merguete, were built in 1683–92.

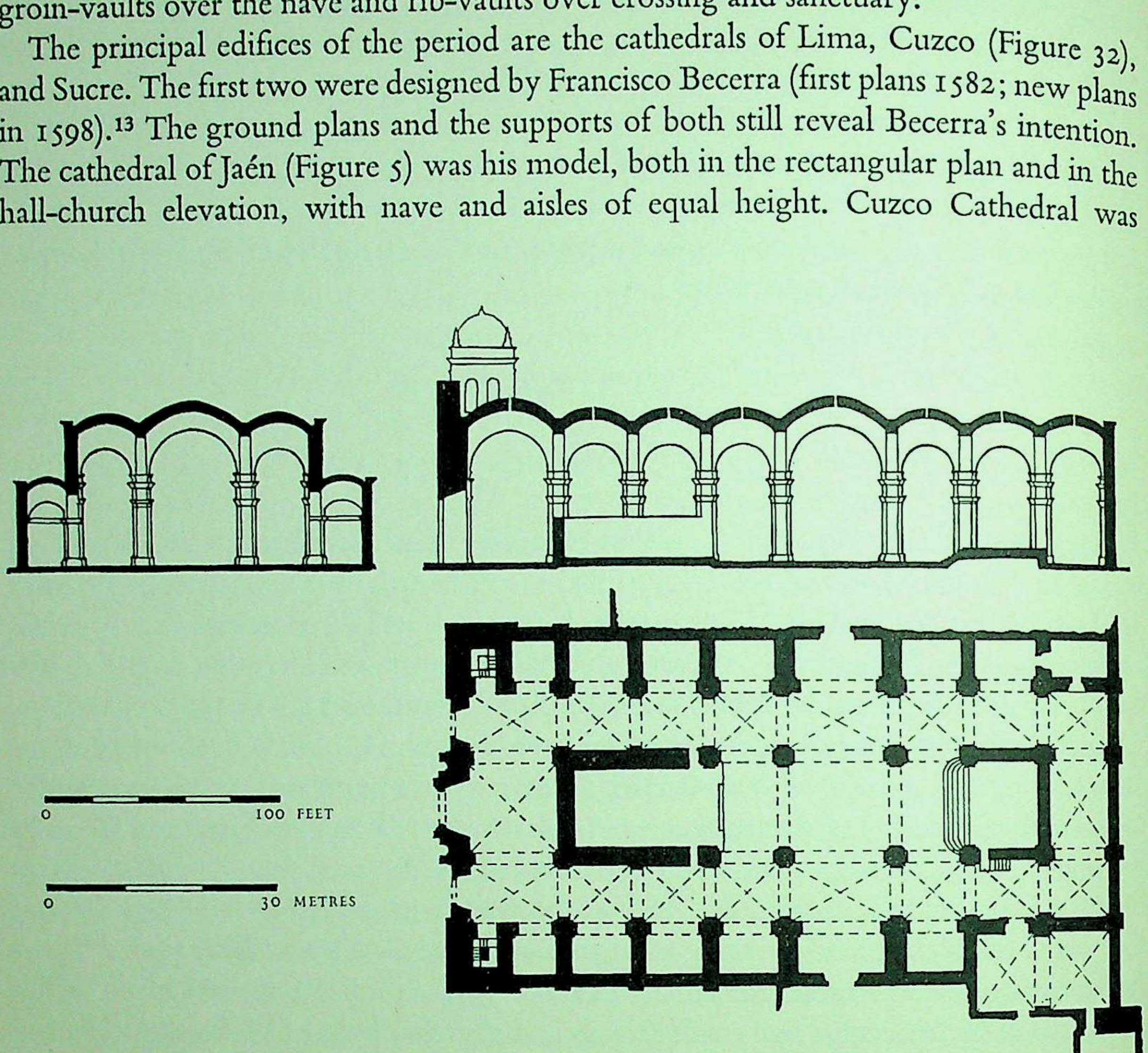


Figure 32. Francisco Becerra: Cuzco Cathedral, 1582–1654. Section and plan

Peruvian architecture after 1600 was uneventful until the mid century, when its forms were abruptly changed in a stylistic revolution emanating from Cuzco. On the north coast, at Saña and Guadalupe, brick churches with rib-vaults were built about 1617–19 by Blas de Orellana for the Augustinians, and both have been frequently compared with sixteenth-century Mexican works. The façade of the Jesuit church in Lima, San Pedro (1624–38 by the lay-brother Martín de Aizpitarte; rebuilt 1896 and 1949),[14] shows anaemic membering, many static compartments, and timid plastic expression as of about 1620. Similar poverty of plastic means is evident at this same time in the principal highland centres of Colonial architecture, at Ayacucho, Cuzco, Potosí, and Sucre. In Ayacucho the cathedral façade, patterned upon the broad, low effect of Cuzco Cathedral, was begun in 1632–6, with towers and dome rebuilt in 1669–72. It has three doorways of a hard and poor design of rusticated masonry. Other academic façades of the same period are San Juan de Dios in Cuzco (after 1617), the fine twin portals of Santa Catalina at Cuzco (begun 1651) and Santa Clara (1603–22), and the façades of San Agustín at Potosí (before 1650) and San Miguel at Sucre.

Cuzco and Lima (1650–1740)

The formation of a distinctive metropolitan style in the Central Andes can be dated exactly 1651 at Cuzco, after the great earthquake of 1650. The moral initiative for this splendid campaign of new building was taken by Alonso Ocón, Bishop of Cuzco from 1644 to 1652. The financial support for the extension of the new style throughout the southern highlands came from Manuel de Mollinedo, Bishop of Cuzco from 1673 to 1699.

The identity of the creator of the style is still unknown. Until the cathedral archives have been analysed, the most likely candidate for the honour is the Jesuit Juan Bautista Egidiano (born at Ghent in Flanders in 1596; entered the Society of Jesus at Seville in 1616; at Cuzco 1642 till his death in 1675), to whom the design of the Compañía was credited in a biography written in 1676.[15]

The power and beauty of the new Cuzco style received approval by imitation in the viceregal capital during the campaign of construction after the Lima earthquake of 1656 in such edifices as the Franciscan church (1657–74) and the Desamparados church (1669–72, destroyed 1937), both at Lima. At Cuzco proper a second wave of construction began under Bishop Mollinedo in 1673, extending throughout the bishopric and into the adjoining dioceses until 1700. The final and most lavish stage of the Peruvian Baroque style unfolds at Lima and along the coast during the years *c.* 1700–40. Thus we can identify four stages of Baroque development in the Central Andes: I, Cuzco 1651–69; II, Lima 1657–75; III, Cuzco 1673–1700; IV, Lima 1700–40. The stages are reminiscent of an antiphonal sequence, or regenerative circuit, the style gaining amplitude and power in the reciprocal competition of the coastal and highland capitals.

A parallel current of 1650–1740, to which we shall return later (p. 96), runs throughout the highland provinces of Peru and Bolivia, with its centres at Arequipa, Cajamarca, and Puno. This style is often called 'mestizo' (p. 361). The term is abusive to nearly everyone in the Andean region, to the mestizo people, whom it singles out, as well as to the creoles, Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes, whose many contributions it excludes. Hence it is preferable to discuss the style in question as 'provincial highland' architecture, in which the flat pattern and prolixity characteristic of provincial design everywhere in the world become dominant.[16]

I. The central portal of Cuzco Cathedral (1651–4) is the key monument (Plate 43A). Its projection between two side doors in a pre-1650 style (still in construction when the earthquake struck) clarifies the radical novelty of the retable-façade. The type depends on protrusion from the front plane of the building, achieved by layers of columns, and on vertical movement carried by ascending lines in columns and portions of pediment. A likely prototype in Spain is the design by Martin de Olinda of San Miguel de los Reyes (1632–44) near Valencia (Plate 9A and p. 24). The Peruvian innovation of 1651 is the conversion of the pediment from a tectonic into a dynamic form, from an element of load into an ascending flicker of light and shade; a conversion achieved by dwarfing the pediment, by multiplying it, by breaking its line, by augmenting its vertical angle, and by using it to connect both the close-set and the wide-set pairs of columns in a counterpoint of rapid and slow rhythms.

The Compañía church (1651–68) is the most complete monument of its period at Cuzco (Plates 43B and 44A). The nave plan recalls Isabelline churches of the late fifteenth century, such as San Juan de los Reyes at Toledo, with three cryptocollateral bays. The deep choir balcony is buttressed by the towers and by adjacent masses of solid masonry. Beneath the dome, which is the first of its type in the region, the crossing pillars present bevelled faces, as in the later Magdalena church of Granada (Figure 14; begun 1677). At entablature level in the nave (Plate 44A) and spanning the façade upright brackets make a *pointillé* flicker of light in the long horizontals under the *coursière* galleries.[17]

The trilobed curve of the main entablature of the façade between the towers is another startling innovation (Plate 43B): such invasions of the entablature by arched forms do not appear in Europe until Bernini's design for the nave of S. Maria del Popolo in Rome (1658), nor in Spain until Cano's façade of Granada Cathedral (1667). Both in the cathedral and at the Compañía the arch heads interrupt the entablatures: in Spain this occurs only after 1667 in the façade of Jaén Cathedral and in the nave arcades of Leonardo Figueroa's Salvador church (1696–1711) in Seville.

The towers of the Compañía are likewise most original: the domed octagon with square aedicules at the corners of the square belfry base is a novel solution, independently amplified much later in the Reloj Tower of 1680 at Santiago de Compostela. In the belfry the round-ended windows again have no precedent, and must be regarded as Cuzco inventions. Below the belfry the designer attempted a strange solution: in each tower shaft a doorway opens upon a shelf at half the height of the shaft, which is formed on the full triumphal-arch scheme. The purpose is clear: to tie the tower shafts into the façade as an integer, by anchoring the ends of the cusped trilobe centre in the towers. The effect is not altogether successful, for the eye reads these panels in the tower shafts as displaced and forlorn lateral doorways without possible access. Finally one anticipation of Spanish eighteenth-century forms at the Compañía requires mention: the intricate arch-head traceries above the central façade niches. They prefigure the overdoor traceries of D. A. Díaz in the first third of the eighteenth century in Andalusia (p. 34).

The Merced cloister of two storeys of rusticated piers and arcades (Plate 45) displays the exuberant plastic character of the Cuzco style in the columns surmounted by brackets, and engaged in pairs beneath the imposts of the upper arches. The open proportions and the golden colour of the stone make the cloister the happiest enclosure in the city. Two immense staircases rise on the western and eastern sides; the eastern one is early (before 1669), and its rusticated ramps rise in conventional 'imperial' fashion (p. 12). But the western stair (1692–6) is of the convergent type (p. 56), like the Terceros stairs at Seville (1690) and the stairs of the Valverde Palace at Ecija (1756).[18]

II. When the sixteenth-century church of San Francisco at Lima collapsed in 1656, the new edifice rose soon after on plans by a Portuguese, Constantino de Vasconcelos, assisted by Manuel de Escobar.[19] Vasconcelos died before 1671, and Escobar completed the work by 1674. The façade and towers (Plate 44B) are ascribed to 1669–74. The debt to the designer of the Compañía façade at Cuzco is apparent in a stately recapitulation of the principal motifs of the Cuzco portal: the curved crowning entablature; the colonettes on brackets; the round-ended gable window; the square aedicules like Chinese stone lanterns; the projecting vertical planes of columns; and the vertical movement carried by many varieties of pediment.

The Lima builders had a great advantage in the technique of cane and plaster walling on timber frames (*quincha*). It allowed massive plastic effects to be simulated at small cost, and it resisted the shaking of the earthquakes. The Lima architects also had the great advantage of being able to improve on the early and tentative designs of the Cuzco School. Thus the Lima towers are much more massive than those of Cuzco. The Lima towers contain the portal, instead of being pushed apart by its energetic trilobe arch as at Cuzco. The ponderous banded rustication, borrowed from Quito (Plate 40A), or from Wendel Dietterlin, makes the carving of the portal appear delicate, whereas at Cuzco the coarse carving has no contrast or context. The lateral anchoring of the portal in the upper-level 'doorways' of the towers at Cuzco is done away with in Lima, although an engraving of 1673 shows that it was the architect's original intention to repeat the Cuzco solution.

The Lima façade is today the most subtle and intricate of all façades of the period. Its combination of immense and minute scales, of military rustication and goldsmith's chasing, make an agreeable marriage of opposites, in which the retable-façade yields to the contours of the towers, without loss of its own central part in the concert of forms.

In the cloister elevations (1669–74 on a sixteenth-century ground plan) the ingenuous and monotonous proportions of the Cuzco Merced are discarded for a courtly upper storey of oval lunettes alternating with arches of diminished width on the axes of the wider ground-floor arcades (Plate 46A). This triple rhythm also appears in the cloister of San Agustín at Quito (1641–5), and in Lima at San Agustín in the main cloister rebuilt in 1684.[20]

III. The episcopate of Don Manuel de Mollinedo (1673–99) was the most active period in the history of the style. This remarkable prelate had been curate of the Almudena parish in his native Madrid. In his time in the diocese of Cuzco over fifty churches were built and finished, many at his expense.

Three churches in and near Cuzco are important monuments of the Cuzco style: the *parroquia* at San Sebastián, on the road from Cuzco to Urcos (retable-façade 1673–8; right tower 1664, by an Indian architect, Manuel de Sahuaraura; left tower 1799; aisles added to the nave in 1696); San Pedro at Cuzco (begun 1688 on plans by Juan Tomás Tuyru Tupac, an Indian sculptor who adapted the Compañía plan); and the Belén church at Cuzco (Plate 47; attributed to J. T. Tuyru Tupac, in construction 1696). The Indian race of the architects is of no special interest here, because the forms are European, adapted to or invented for Peruvian materials and techniques. The designs belong to the guiding metropolitan current in Andean architectural history, and they betray no trace of pre-Conquest habits or motifs.

The lesson of San Francisco in Lima shows in the Cuzco churches: the towers are sufficiently massive and coherent in design to contain the retable-façade. The portals in turn with their vigorous relief and vertical movement revert to the prototype of Cuzco Cathedral. Above the façades, the domed belfries with their twin apertures repeat the cathedral design. The towers of San Pedro follow the pattern of the octagonal drum beneath the tower dome, as in the Compañía towers and in the Merced tower of *c.* 1675. It is striking that the only other concession to the Compañía design is the round-ended window in the centre of the retable-façade of San Sebastián. Otherwise, the 'Mollinedo' churches revert to a more sober rectilinear design. This is especially evident at the Belén church (Plate 47), where the curved pediments of the 1650s are rejected in favour of a rectilinear spandrel frame, like that of a Moorish *alfiz*, surrounding a didactic relief (as in Mexico) of the Adoration. This form amplifies an early portal of the Cuzco style, the lateral door of San Francisco (1645–51/2).

Three village churches on the northern watershed of Lake Titicaca, at Lampa (1678–85), Ayaviri (begun after 1677; completed 1696),[21] and Asillo (1678–96), are provincial versions of the Cuzco style during the Mollinedo maecenate. Lampa is the most independent (Plate 48A), with an isolated tower of the Cuzco Cathedral type, and the main portal sheltered, as in many monuments of sixteenth-century Spain, beneath a framing arch. The organization of the façade derives from the Compañía at Cuzco, but the strong projection of planes towards the spectator is absent. Everything looks flatter. This process occurs wherever countrified designers repeat or copy the denser compositions of their metropolitan contemporaries; it is a process like the 'cursive slovening' which F. Boas [22] identified in 'primitive' graphic art. At Asillo the columns are bundled and taped with bands of rich ornament, and the portal crowds upon the unprepossessing towers that bound it. A more open treatment of the wall between bundles of columns, and a skilful use of double scale in column sizes upon a portal firmly contained by substantial towers, make Ayaviri the most metropolitan in style of the Collao churches. In Bolivia, finally, the lateral door of the cathedral at Sucre, *c.* 1693, is unmistakably derived from the Cuzco style, with projecting planes, open pediment, and tiered niches, producing the characteristic vertical centre.

IV. In the opening years of the eighteenth century the architectural style in Lima falls into two groups of opposite character. On the one hand are works of a succulent and intricate three-dimensional development, such as Santa Rosa de las Monjas (1704–8), the eastern doorways of the cathedral (1730–2), or the portal (Plate 49B) and *patio* of the Torre Tagle Palace (1735). On the other hand are two ornate church façades, the Merced (1697–1704), and San Agustín (1720), which Wethey recognizes 'as strangers who have penetrated within the walls of Lima'. Both façades are flat and evenly compartmented screens of Solomonic columns beneath broken-pediment cornices in the Cuzco style. These two façades are most commonly labelled 'Churrigueresque', but they are not related to work by the Spanish family. Closer parallels are with the style of José Vallés of Murcia, the architect of San Patricio at Lorca (1694–1710).[23]

Santa Rosa prepares the way for the more intimate and secular church interiors of the later eighteenth century. The wide, low proportioning of the nave, and interior surfaces freed from the overwhelming rustication of San Francisco or the Merced, permitted a fresh approach. The nave cornice projects in a strong break beneath each lunette window. Between the shallow chapels of curved plan are 'hanging pilasters', as in Santiago de Compostela and in Salamanca (see p. 78).

The final exploration of the plastic possibilities of the Cuzco style seems in Lima no longer to have any connexion with the highland capital. The sacristy doorway of San Francisco by Lucas Meléndez (1729) is an example: the reversing portions of broken-curve pediments protrude several feet at right angles to the plane of the arched doorway. Massive brackets behind the capitals of the columns support these immense fragments.[24] Even more protuberant are the flying cornices of the rear doorways of the cathedral, built in 1730–2, where the upper ends of the broken pediments seem to rest upon a second pair of corbels.

The main portal (Plate 49B) of the Torre Tagle Palace in Lima (1735) transfers these themes of religious architecture to secular use. Such intermingling of the genres and of indoor and outdoor effects now characterizes Lima design. The broken pediments in two storeys have the same succulence of shape and the same bold geometry as the sacristy doorway of San Francisco. In the *patio* the balconied walks have the double rhythm of the upper storeys of many Lima cloisters, with an additional complication in the wide and narrow bays of the rhythm *a-a-b-a-a*. The carved wooden balconies of the façade are another way of fusing indoor and outdoor spaces. Such balconies are an old theme in Andean architecture, perhaps based on Canary Island traditions.[25]

At Cuzco, after 1700, the great effort put forth in Mollinedo's time left the city spent, but replete with new buildings. Furniture and decoration for the new city were the order of the day. There are few major new buildings after 1700. The Triunfo (1729–32) by Fray Miguel de los Angeles Menchaca is based upon Hurtado's Sagrario of 1705 at Granada. The façade of the Sagrada Familia, begun in 1723 on a central plan, has tightly spiralled Solomonic columns. The tower of Santo Domingo (1729–31) repeats the Merced formula, adding spiral columns. Probably the vestibule and façade of the Compañía gatehouse (now University) were built at this time, in imitation of the Triunfo church, but with a diminutive replica of the Compañía dome. The façade is studded with bevelled facets like the parapet niches of the Triunfo and the façade of the Sagrada Familia. All in all, the tightly spiralled column in exterior use is the only noteworthy innovation of this terminal flourish in the history of Cuzco architecture.

The habits that had governed Peruvian design since about 1650 were gradually given up in the second half of the eighteenth century. Buildings of curved plans appear, such as the Huérfanos (Corazón de Jesús) church in Lima (plan 1742; built 1758–66). The double-apse plan repeats the Colegio de Doña María de Aragón in Madrid by El Greco (1590–9). Its decoration of Italianate forms is not unlike the court style of Ventura Rodríguez, with bevelled arch-rims and a choir gallery of counter-curved plan. The circular cloister of Santo Tomás in Lima,[26] built about the middle of the century, is more Andalusian in the rich mouldings and spandrel brackets. The upper profiles of façade panels after 1750 in Lima show the influence of Rococo models in the energetic undulating contours, e.g. at the church of San Carlos and the Huérfanos façade (both 1758–66). Two south-coast churches in the Nazca valley, at San José (*c.* 1740–4) and San Javier (before 1750), also recall the enrichments of Andalusian mid-century designs, although the themes of tower forms and retable-façades have their source in Lima.

Viceroy Amat (in Peru 1761–76), a gifted architect, designed the Quinta Presa,[27] the Nazarenas church (1766–71; Plate 46B), and the tower of Santo Domingo (1773–6). Of Catalan birth, he was trained as a military engineer in the French style of the Barcelona Ciudadela. His ornamental manner (Plate 46B), like that of the Morató family in Catalonia (p. 59), is based upon the North Italian stage designs of F. Galli Bibiena. In upper Peru (Bolivia) the Catalan style (p. 59) re-appears at Potosí Cathedral,[28] with Fray Manuel de Sanahuja's graceful work of 1809–36.

Highland Planiform Decoration (1650–1800)

Arequipa is the earliest centre in the Andes of a widespread highland style of finely dressed stone, massive structure, and flat decoration in bold relief, evoking embroidery or woodcarving patterns. The convent door of Santo Domingo, built in 1677–80, shows a panel of textile proportions, as if hanging on the wall behind the arched and pedimented portal.

The main façade of the Compañía (1698) is more heavily embroidered (Plate 49A). The foliated relief is a background for six pairs of columns marking the conventional divisions of a façade of the Gesù type. The foliations, however, invade entablatures and pediments, as in the interiors of the mid seventeenth century in Madrid.

The interiors of the Compañía in Quito (after 1650) and of the Rosario Chapels at Tunja, Oaxaca, and Puebla (all after 1650); the Merced façade at Antigua (about 1680); and the façade of Zacatecas Cathedral (dedicated 1752) are the immediately obvious American comparisons. The direct Spanish sources of this style of textile suggestions are in Andalusia, at the Angustias nave in Granada (1664–1701) and in the churches of Jerez, e.g. San Miguel (1672–1701) and the Cartuja façade, finished in 1667. The sculptors of Arequipa portrayed the fruits and flowers of Peru in a manner which has been compared to designs on the Nazca pottery from the south coast of Peru (painted in the first centuries of the Christian era).[29] More plausible is the view that these representations owe their style to textile designs of Colonial date and European themes.

In Arequipa the textile manner of architectural decoration persisted with little change until about 1750. The arcades of the cloister of the Jesuit church (1738), the Ugarteche House, the façade of San Agustín, and the nearby village churches of Paucarpata, Yanahuara, Caima, and Chihuata are the principal examples of the eighteenth century. The analogies with Antigua in Central America are striking: Arequipa is to Lima and Cuzco as Antigua is to Mexico City and Puebla.

Potosí in Bolivia is the other pole of the planiform style of architectural decoration. If Arequipa portals suggest the techniques of embroidery, the carvings of Potosí façades evoke the diagonal cuts of woodcarving (Plate 48B). Arequipa ornament, like the encrustations upon church vestments and bullfighters' clothes, projects from the surface. At Potosí, the ornament usually cuts back diagonally into the surface by a chip carving technique, as in late Roman provincial ornament. In Arequipa the highlights carry the pattern; at Potosí the shadows compose it. Arequipa backgrounds are visible parts of the pattern: in Potosí almost no part of the ground plane is uncovered by the diagonal cuts. Exceptions are frequent, and the rule should be understood as a tendency or goal. Thus the Merced in Potosí (1687), an early example of the style, is best compared with the Arequipa textile manner, but San Francisco (portal *c.* 1714–26) shows an ornament mainly excavated from the surface. San Lorenzo (1728–44), the masterpiece of the Potosí style, owes its effect to the lacy pattern of shadows across the deeply cut surfaces (Plate 48B). The portals of Potosí also share a characteristic device: the columns framing the doorway are surmounted by a semicircular panel derived from the small rounded pediments of San Francisco, Lima.

Between Arequipa and Potosí, from the west shore of Lake Titicaca to La Paz, the province of Collao contains many buildings decorated after 1700 in a distinct sub-style of planiform ornament. The Collao variant differs from both its Arequipa and Potosí relatives. It continues certain modes of the Cuzco style, translated into planiform terms. The principal differences from the Arequipa and Potosí variants appear in the use of panels surrounded by wide frames, in the combination of 'embroidered' and woodcarvers' stone-cutting in the same design, and in the richer combinations of vertical planes at right angles to one another. The earliest examples are the doorways and the crossing pillars of San Juan at Juli (*c.* 1700).[30] The pattern is tight, small, and dense, giving the effect of rich panels of carved woodwork. The external doorways multiply the short horizontals of pedestal, base, and entablature to catch the hard highland light in the greatest possible variety. The masterpiece of the group is the church of Santiago at Pomata (Plate 50A; in progress 1726).[31] Here the carving of window embrasures, pendentives, dome, and doorway is much less tightly composed. The floral and animal forms of both tropical and highland origin are presented on a large scale and in deep diagonal cuts more like Potosí than Arequipa.

After 1750 closely similar themes reappear at Santa Cruz in Juli; at Santiago de Pupuja (completed 1767); at San Pedro, Acora (probably 1770–80); and at San Pedro in Zepita (*c.* 1765–88). In the Pupuja and Zepita churches, however, a shift to the open embroidered manner of Arequipa is perceptible. It may reflect the influence of the cathedral façade of 1757 at Puno. The church of San Martín at Vilque, finally, terminates the Collao planiform style with a portal carved in 1790–3.

Of the same date as the Collao churches of planiform decoration are the chief monuments of Cajamarca in the north Peruvian highlands: the cathedral façade (Plate 51), begun in 1699; the façade of San Antonio, also begun in 1699; and the Belén church (begun 1699, main campaign 1727–44). Here the ornament is of many planes and rounded passages like the art of the metropolitan axis of Lima and Cuzco. But the composition of the façades and the decoration of the interiors shows an unmistakable highland habit of mind, with many redundant and unconnected compartments. The main portal of the cathedral, like the flat and prolix façade of the Merced in Lima (1697–1704), is a six-part retable with spiral columns and attic storey. The interaction of the rusticated wall-surface and of the grape-vine columns tends to planiform effects.

SOUTHERN SOUTH AMERICA

Chile has been scourged by earthquakes until little remains of the Colonial architecture once so abundant.[32] San Francisco at Santiago (1572–1681; rebuilt in the mid nineteenth century) is the only vestige of early wooden-roofed architecture. The Compañía (1670; destroyed 1863) repeated the portals of San Pedro at Lima. The façade of Santo Domingo (1747–71) at Santiago has octagonal windows skewered upon pilaster mouldings much like those of the Vizcaínas façade in Mexico. The brick spires with concave profile perhaps reflect the influence of the many Bavarian Jesuits who arrived in 1748. Domestic architecture, like that of the Peruvian coast, presents vast doorways to the street for the entrance of coaches: the earliest survivor is dated 1750 (Conde de la Conquista House, Santiago). The type persisted until the nineteenth century.

Colonial architecture in Argentina [33] is neither ornate nor abundant. The principal edifices, in the eastern folds of the Andes, from Jujuy in north-west Argentina to Córdoba and Cuyo, owe much to Peru. All traffic between Peru and Buenos Aires paused at Córdoba, where the Jesuits first settled in 1586. Farther east, Santa Fé and Buenos Aires were Colonial centres of the Viceroyalty of La Plata (created in 1776).

Jesuits were the principal architects in the colony: the earliest surviving work of importance is the Compañía in Córdoba, begun *c.* 1645–54 and completed in 1671. This church was probably begun by Bartolomé Cardenosa, S.J., and roofed by a Belgian Jesuit, Philippe Lemer, before 1671, with a light shell of curved wooden members (Plate 50B). Lemer had been a shipbuilder in secular life before taking Jesuit vows. He started as an architect about 1659 and was the first in South America to apply the North European techniques of wooden roofing systematized by the French architect Philibert Delorme, whose *Nouvelles Inventions* appeared in Paris in 1561.[34] In Lemer's hands, Delorme's methods of splicing and forming short lengths of light timber to achieve curved spans of great width competed with the *mudéjar* technique of flat panels over transverse beams. At Santa Fé on the Paraná river, the church of San Francisco, begun in 1680, shows both systems in a region with access to abundant tropical woods. The nave is roofed with *mudéjar* beams and panels on walls of earth stamped into frame-moulds. The shallow dome is of radial wooden ribs.

The oldest surviving church in Buenos Aires is San Ignacio (1712–34), designed by Johann Kraus, S.J. (d. 1714). The narthex loggia is flanked by tall, five-storeyed towers of Central European appearance. Opulent curved brackets frame the doorway in a manner reminiscent of Fischer von Erlach's inventions (Liebfrauenkirche, Salzburg).

These Rococo flourishes were hardly suited to the frontier economy of Buenos Aires or to its rude bricks and clay. In 1717 the arrival of a new generation of younger Jesuits, whose leaders in architecture were Andrés Blanqui and G. B. Primoli, opened a new era in the building-history of the region. Primoli, a Milanese (1673–1747), dedicated his efforts to the Guarani missions. Blanqui reverted to the simple, well-proportioned, and rhythmically interesting designs of a type invented by Alberti at S. Andrea in Mantua and codified in the wood-cuts of Sebastiano Serlio's *Architettura* (e.g. Bk IV, xix) known throughout the Hispanic world in F. de Villalpando's translation published at Toledo in 1565. The manner was ideally suited to the circumstances of Buenos Aires and Córdoba; upon tall pedestals, coupled giant pilasters support a pediment. Beneath the pediment, an arched doorway opens on a triumphal scale.

Córdoba Cathedral (Plate 52A) is the most monumental example of Blanqui's work.[35] Begun *c.* 1687, the foundations were laid before 1710 by José González Merguete for a plan of the type of Valladolid Cathedral. Finally in 1729 Blanqui completed the vaulting and built the main portal. The dome is by the Franciscan lay-brother and assistant of Blanqui, Vicente Muñoz. His Sevillian antecedents appear in the decoration of the external rib brackets.[36] One tower was finished by 1734, and the cathedral was consecrated in 1758. Its rugged massing and cavernous shadows have no equal in the region.

After Andrés Blanqui's death in 1740, the leading architect of the eastern plains was Antonio Masella, a Savoyard who designed the new cathedral of Buenos Aires in 1752. The nave proportions repeat those of the large Jesuit churches of Córdoba and Buenos Aires. Masella continued the sixteenth-century idiom of Blanqui in the interior elevations. The crossing, rebuilt in 1770, has pilasters of undulant section like those of Havana Cathedral (p. 68). Such details mark the growing ascendancy of the style of Cadiz in Central Argentina.[37]

In a parallel movement towards greater richness of form, the Central European taste of the Bavarian and Austrian Jesuits also found expression after 1750 in the work of Antonio Harls, at the country estate of the Jesuits, called Santa Catalina, near Córdoba (1754–60). Harls uses curving entablatures and concave walls. Another handsome country estate of the Jesuits is Alta Gracia, where the approach by terraces and curving flights of stairs recalls not only Central European models, but Luso-Brazilian ones as well.

The doorways of houses in Buenos Aires and Córdoba after 1770 likewise display the merging of several currents of taste: the stuccoed brick panels of the doorways originated in the region about Cadiz, while the immense vertical panoplies rising above the roof-lines of the one-storey houses are Portuguese. Examples are the Allende doorway at Córdoba, the conventual entrance of Santa Teresa at Córdoba (1770), and the destroyed Basavilbaso doorway in Buenos Aires (1782), which have been compared to the portals of Viana do Castelo in Portugal.

The Tropical Forest Missions

Eastern Bolivia, north-eastern Argentina, Paraguay, and Southern Brazil share a distinctive style of mission architecture. It is the creation of Jesuit missionaries, whose work among the Guaraní Indians began in 1609, upon a rule framed by the Jesuit Provincial, Diego de Torres, who had been in charge of the mission at Juli in the province of Collao. Eventually thirty mission compounds were settled (fifteen in Argentina, eight in Paraguay, and seven in Brazil), where the Guaraní tribes learned the arts of village life. The success of the Guaraní settlements encouraged the Jesuits to extend their work to eastern Bolivia, among the Moxos and Chiquitos tribes of the Beni and Chaco rainforests, where twenty-five settlements were founded after 1675. Long after the expulsion of the Jesuits from America in 1767, their influence continued in the wooden architecture of the churches of the region around Asunción.

Buschiazzo has divided the architectural history of the Guaraní missions [38] into three stages: seventeenth-century sheds on wooden supports with curtain-walls of adobe or brick; stone façades and walls surrounding enclosures supported on wooden columns (*c.* 1690–1725); and vaulted stone structures erected under professional supervision (e.g. G. B. Primoli's) from about 1725 to 1767.

From the first type come the wooden structures of eastern Bolivia and western Paraguay. The type is also known by descriptions and in the later modifications at the Moxos–Chiquitos missions, or of the region of Asunción. A beautiful example is the parish church of Yaguarón (Plate 52C) in the region of Asunción (1761–84). These aisled structures are in effect borne upon a forest of wooden columns. The curtain-walls carry no load: they merely keep out the rain. At Yaguarón, surrounding three sides of the sanctuary, are chambers arranged as in the Brazilian churches of the eighteenth century.

An example of the third type is Primoli's design for the Trinidad mission in Paraguay (Plate 52B). The aisled church was barrel-vaulted in stone, with groin-vaulted sacristy chambers. The Guaraní sculptors decorated the stone doorways with pilasters of free proportions, and with panoplies of swags, cloths, and shell motifs carved upon the masonry *in situ*.

CHAPTER 6

PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

MANUELINE AND PURIST STYLES (1500–80)

PORTUGUESE churches after 1500 have a family resemblance in the candid exterior expression of the division of volumes; the block-design with effective flanks; the storeyed façade evoking domestic architecture; the tunnel-like presbytery; the avoidance of imposing domed crossings; the preference for variegated silhouettes; the diminished importance of the main entrance; the proportional relationships approaching 4 : 5 and 5 : 6, that are even sturdier than in Spain; the audacious columnar intervals; and finally, to quote R. dos Santos, 'the consistent feeling for depth, dynamism, the picturesque ... and forms activated in light'.[1]

Much wealth accruing to Portugal from the new ocean trade was encrusted as ornament upon her buildings. A national style of decoration, commonly called Manueline,[2] flourished side by side with another, of Italianate derivation, with *mudéjar* forms,[3] and with North European and Plateresque imports. 'Manueline', like 'Isabelline' in Spain, cannot easily be separated from these foreign components of the period, and it extends far beyond the reign of Manoel I (1495–1521), whose name the style honours.

The church of Belem near Lisbon (begun 1502) [4] is the most extraordinary building of the period in Portugal (Plate 53A and Figure 33). The work of two men is evident: [5] Diogo Boytac (French? active 1490–1525?), perhaps from Languedoc, who brought the building to cornice-level; and João de Castilho (Biscayan? active 1515–52), who built the nave supports and the vaults of the nave and cross-vessel from 1517. The church is like a many-chambered grotto bathed in light, rising from near the floor. Entering from the west, one is first constricted beneath the low vaults of the choir tribune. Beyond the second bay, the nave is vaulted by a single 25-metre segmental span of flat curvature.[6] Beyond the nave the cross-vessel (30 by 20 m.) rises even higher, as a unitary volume unbroken by piers or columns. It is the ultimate achievement of late medieval ambitions to vault the widest possible span with the minimum of buttressing. The sequence of spaces (Plate 53A), from narrow low entrance to hall church and to the immense grotto of the transept, depends for the effect of crescendo not only on the dimensions, but also on the contrasting axiality of nave and cross-vessel, and in addition on the different expressive characters of the vaulting tracery: *mudéjar* in the nave, North European in the cross-vessel.[7]

Late medieval Plateresque and North European forms intermingle everywhere; no monument better illustrates the international composition of Manueline architecture. Boytac took part in many designs,[8] among them the Jesus church at Setúbal (1492–8), where the nave looks earlier than the chevet. The Setúbal chevet resembles the façade of Guarda Cathedral (1504–17), where Boytac again used a curved plane to pass from square base to bevelled upper faces.[9] Boytac also made a prodigally inventive use of forms in torsion, such as the twisted supports at Setúbal, where three colonnettes are screwed together in a helical column of delirious instability. The contrast between these supports and Castilho's supports in the church of Belem (Plate 53A) marks the difference

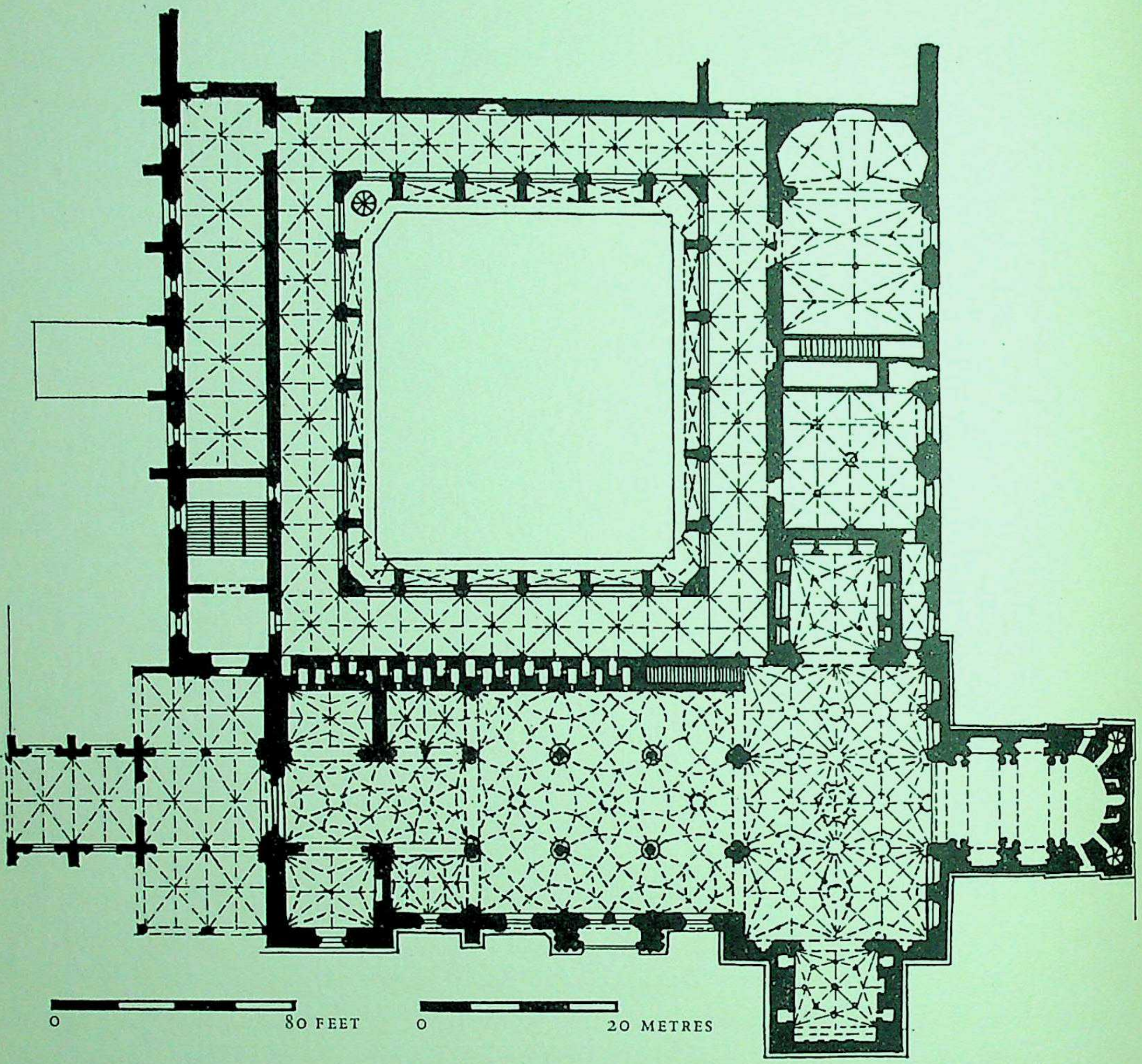


Figure 33. Diogo Boytac and João Castilho: Belem, Jeronymite church, 1502–19. Plan

between the Portuguese style and the Plateresque; for Castilho was a Plateresque architect of about the same generation as Diego de Siloe. The Setúbal supports are designed in deep space, while the Belem columns are polygons of ornate surfaces. The contrast shows again in the cloister at Belem, where the gothicizing façades were veneered by Castilho with Plateresque buttresses, to achieve a laminated effect of extraordinary richness in depth.

The Arruda brothers are the other creators of Manueline architecture. Diogo (active 1508–31) built the nave and chapter room of the Cristo church at Tomar (1510–14), inventing an iconography for the oceanic adventures of the Portuguese nation (Plate 55A).

The rim of the oculus is carved with bellying sails restrained by ropes; the buttresses are carved with coral growths and seaweeds and with cork and oak foliage, and the central window is surrounded by twists and coils of snarled rope, over a moulding of cork floats threaded upon a cable. Like Gaudí in our century, Arruda combined oceanic themes by non-rational association into images of hallucinatory strength (cf. Gaudí's Casa Batlló, Barcelona).

Like Diogo, his brother Francisco Arruda (active 1510–47) was a military architect. He had seen service in North Africa before 1515. Many have claimed to see Islamic and Hindu recollections in their work, and especially in Francisco's imaginative design for the tower at Belem on the Tagus estuary (1515–20). Though all the elements of the Belem tower belong to an antiquated European tradition of military architecture,[10] Francisco's tower remains unique, by his romantic use of mass and silhouette.

By the middle of the century Diogo de Torralva (1500–66) dominated the scene. His work is Italianate in its motifs, and Portuguese in the depth of the masses, as well as by the wide intervals and squarish proportions. He was Francisco de Arruda's son-in-law. His activity is first recorded at Évora in the Graça church (rebuilt 1530–7).[11] It is a provincial transposition of Quattrocento themes, filtered through Plateresque intermediaries. The Plateresque parentage of the design appears in the forced perspective of the niches flanking the entrance and in the window over the door. In the cloister a most unusual rhythm obtains: each bay has two voids on the ground floor and three in the upper storey. The lattice-vaults of the upper storey suggest North Italian models.

Torralva's rebuilding of the apse at Belem (1540–51; finished in 1571 by Jerónimo de Ruão) discards all this undigested finery for a brutally bare elevation which recalls the severe style of Juan Bautista de Toledo at the Escorial (p. 13). It is also the earliest example in Portugal of the 'tunnel-apse', for which late medieval antecedents can be named, but none with the cavernous depth or the distinctive side-lighting of that at Belem (Figure 33).[12]

Torralva's masterpiece is the main cloister of the Cristo Monastery at Tomar (contract 1557;[13] nearly complete in 1562; finished by F. Terzi). He adapted Alberti's 'forced intervals' (S. Andrea in Mantua, 1452), by treating every other bay as a hollowed and transomed pier. By this device he established a ponderous *contrabasso* rhythm of only three bays to a side (Plate 54). At the four corners these hollowed piers project as cylindrical stair-turrets, in a bold anticipation of Rococo corner-treatments by convexly curved planes.[14] At ground-level the hollowed piers, pierced by doorways and rectangular transoms, admit a light which, reflected from the floors, seems to emanate from the honey-coloured stone vaults. In the upper storey, a Venetian-window theme, doubled in depth, alternates with piers of coupled Ionic columns. The round transoms repeat the circular theme of the corner turrets, where the combination of spiral stair balustrades in the transom resembles the armillary spheres of the Manueline age. The density of these façades, layered in three planes of composition, also recalls the Manueline predilection for movement in the wall masses, as in the deep wall surfaces of the cloister at Belem.

Several small churches have been attributed to Torralva. Certainly they belong to the same circle of taste. The octagonal church of the Dominican nuns at Elvas (1543–57),[15] with a ring-vault abutting an eight-sided dome on slender columns in three segments, surely belongs in style with the awkward Graça church in Évora. It is no more than an enthusiastic provincial work of Tuscan or Lombard derivation. In Lisbon, Torralva has been given the chapel of Santo Amaro (begun 1549).[16] A semicircular portico of seven rib-vaulted bays surrounds the cylindrical nave, vaulted with a coffered dome. At Tomar the dainty little church of the Conceição, begun before 1551, is lined with Corinthian columns bearing barrel-vaults in nave and aisles. The little transept crossing has a square coffered dome, like the vaults by João Castilho in the dormitory corridors of the Cristo Monastery.[17] Near Évora the church of Bom Jesus de Valverde by Manuel Pires has the same diagonal setting of the columns under the dome as the Dominicas at Elvas, and the entablature brackets recall Torralva's style.[18] The plan, like a Leonardo fantasy, is a Greek cross of four octagons with a central domed octagon.

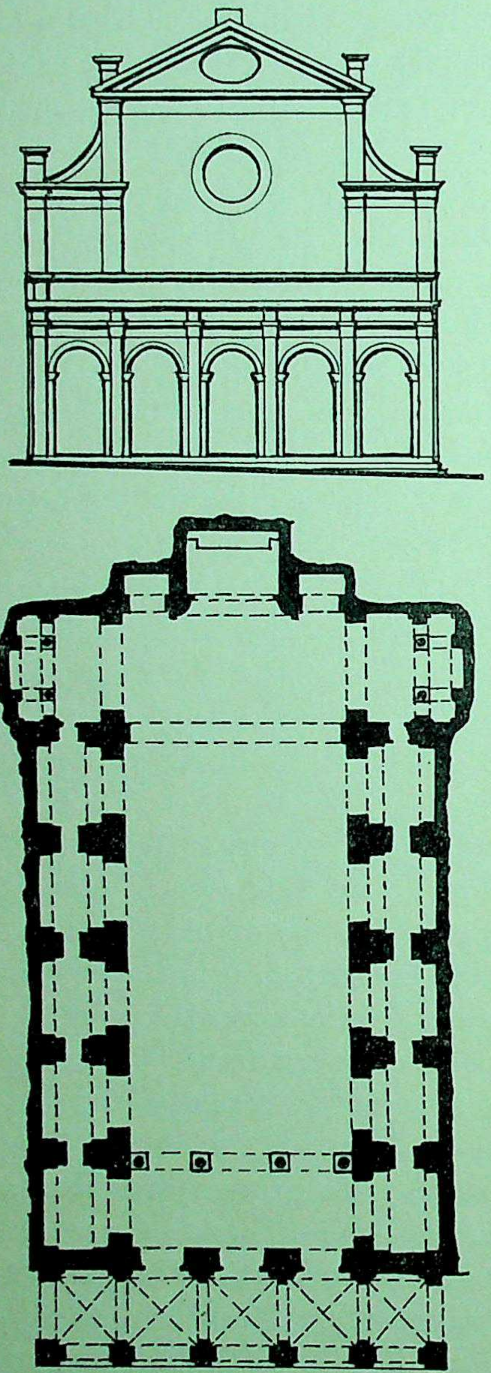


Figure 34. Manuel Pires: Évora, Espírito Santo, 1567–74. Façade and plan

The generation of Afonso Álvares (active 1551–75; royal *Mestre de confiança* in 1571) witnessed the shrinking of Portuguese fortunes and the annexation by Spain. Álvares's speciality was the construction of hall churches patterned upon Spanish models. The nave at Belem has a single-span vault, but its supports are unnecessary. The experiment was rarely repeated. In 1551, however, the Alentejano master began Leiria Cathedral (Plate 53B) as a large hall church, extremely tall, with domical rib-vaults on cruciform supports composed of Tuscan pilasters. The Salvador church at Vieiros and Santa Maria do Castelo in Estremoz, both begun by Álvares in 1559, repeat the formula, but with columnar supports and Ionic capitals.[19] Similar churches rose throughout Portugal until about 1600, as a Portuguese extension of the Spanish family that has Jaén Cathedral (1546) as its most influential member. Such hall churches are common in south-eastern Spain and in the Basque provinces before 1550. The group has been treated as a popular type perpetuated by nameless masons of gothicizing tradition.[20] In Portugal another type of side-lighted church, with barrel-vaults or gabled roofs borne upon arcaded nave walls, has deeper roots in medieval Lusitanian tradition.[21] Álvares built Santa Maria at Alcaçovas after 1565; others by unknown designers are the arcaded churches at Fronteira (parish, 1577), Abrantes (São Vicente, rebuilt 1579, and São João Baptista, after 1580), Santarém (N.S. Assunção, Marvila, with wooden roofs) and Óbidos (Santa Maria).

For the Jesuits in 1567 Pires and Álvares designed an important church with tribunes (Figure 34), the Espírito Santo at Évora, on a cryptocollateral plan adapted from São Francisco at Évora (1460–1501 by Martim Lourenço). This church, like others in Spain, prepared the formula for Vignola's Gesù in Rome.[22] By means of such churches the Iberian countries, in Catalonia, Aragon, and Portugal, made important contributions to the new Jesuit programme of focusing the attention of the congregation upon the liturgy, in a simplified central chamber with hidden aisles and overhead tribunes. The Espírito Santo church at Évora showed the way in Portugal, and the architecture of all religious groups eventually conformed to its system. The striking novelty of the Espírito Santo church[23] is the tribune opening upon the nave by window-like apertures.

ITALIAN AND NETHERLANDISH CONTRIBUTIONS (1580–1640)

Herrera's opposite number in Portugal was Filippo Terzi (1520–97), born at Bologna and educated at the Della Rovere court of Pesaro. His contract of 1576 to serve for four years in Portugal as a military engineer[24] stretched to more than twenty, after the disaster in North Africa, when King Sebastian was killed, and Terzi was wounded and taken prisoner. He re-appears as Philip II's Master of Royal Works in Portugal, re-entering the country in 1580 with Herrera, in order to arrange for the lodging of Philip II and his court on their triumphal entry.[25] Herrera's profound influence upon Terzi appears in the Italian's first Portuguese work, the Augustinian house of São Vicente de Fora, begun in 1582 (Plate 56A). The choir is behind the sanctuary (p. 21), as projected by Herrera in 1580 for the

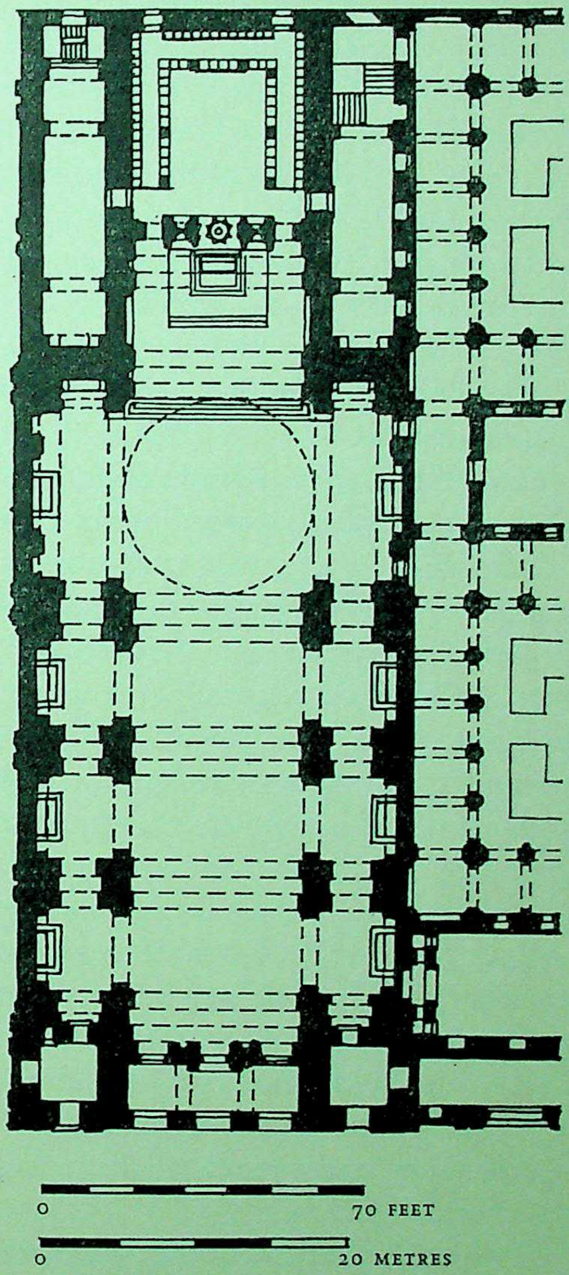


Figure 35. Filippo Terzi: Lisbon, São Vicente de Fora, 1582–1605. Plan

church of the Alhambra in Granada [26] and again for Valladolid Cathedral. The vestibule behind the façade resembles the narthex of the Escorial. Terzi's plan (Figure 35) allowed him to tuck the narthex in under the choir tribune.[27] This solution later became traditional both in Spain and Portugal (p. 21). For the rest, Terzi's style is arid and bookish; the paired brackets alternating with triglyph blocks in the nave are from Serlio, and the pilaster capitals resemble G. B. Villalpando.[28] If Terzi's detailing is Italian, the austere planarity of his elevations is Spanish. But the strange windowed main front (Plate 56A) was in its time unprecedented. Indeed it is the prototype and model for countless façades in Portugal and Brazil. The towers and narthex are gathered into one plane, broken only by the slight projection of the tower pilasters and by the cornices marking the two storeys. On the ground floor, the five-part division is broken by the three narthex entrances, by seven transoms, and three heavily pedimented niches. The upper storey has three windows between the imposing niches of the tower stages. At the towers, transoms re-appear in the Mannerist pedestal which does double duty as a ground-floor attic. Twenty-five voids appear in a ten-part façade. When the belfry stages of the towers are blocked out, the façade is a palace or townhouse front.[29]

Terzi's other works are less important. The circular Augustinian church and cloister of Serra do Pilar, on the bluff facing Oporto (begun 1598), is attributed to him.[30] As at São Vicente, a retrochoir prolongs the sanctuary and opens upon the round Ionic cloister. The solution re-appeared 150 years later in Bonavia's plan for the chapel of San Antonio at Aranjuez (Figure 23 and p. 46). At Coimbra, Terzi's design for the cloister of the Augustinian College (now Misericórdia) of 1596 [31] is a weak pastiche of Diogo de Torralva's intervals in the Cristo Cloister at Tomar.

Baltasar Álvares (active 1570/5–1624) had more energy as an ornamentalist than Terzi, but he was less enterprising in the design of space. He was probably Alfonso Álvares's nephew,[32] succeeding him as royal *mestre* in the Alentejo in 1580. His work is perplexing. The Jesuit church at Oporto, commonly known as the Grilos, built in 1614–22, is his masterpiece (Plate 56B). The façade is a five-part composition, with intermediate portions extravagantly developed by bold projections, by tiers of four voids, by broken pediments, and by immense flat-faced lateral volutes and pinnacles, surely drawn from engravings by the German ornamentalist Wendel Dietterlin (1598). The same scheme of preponderant intermediate portions appeared earlier at the Jesuit church (now cathedral, or Sé Nova) at Coimbra in 1598–1640.[33] One is tempted to relate this group of façades to the remodelling in the 1670s of the cathedral at Santiago de Compostela, where the combination of northern Mannerist forms with Galician granite produced analogous results. The Portuguese interiors are conventional designs of cryptocollateral type, without tribunes. In the vaults, however, a brilliant display of bevelled and faceted stone-cutting again recalls Galician work, such as Simón de Monasterio's cloister at Monforte de Lemos.

Two other churches of the period are closer to the Portuguese line of development: the Carmo (1597) at Coimbra [34] and São Bento at Oporto (1602), the latter by Diogo Marques, a pupil of Terzi. Both are churches with tribunes opening by windowed apertures on the nave, as in the Espírito Santo at Évora. The effect of these windowed tribunes transforms the Christian church: they surround the nave like dwellings, enhancing the public character of the space of the nave, and permitting a secret or invisible activity within the thickness of the upper wall by the clergy and by privileged persons with access to the tribunes.[35]

The Carmo church is doubly important for its unification of two Portuguese themes: the narthex tucked in beneath the choir-tribune (São Vicente de Fora, Lisbon), and the lateral windowed tribunes (Espírito Santo, Évora). The façade, with a Palladian centre, has side entrances in the tower bases,[36] and a sober windowed upper storey, like São Vicente in Lisbon.

These years under Spanish rule [37] saw the division of Portugal into two architectural provinces: northern Portugal, focused upon Oporto, with its strong Netherlandish affinities, and the southern provinces, including Lisbon, the Tagus valley, and the Alentejo, where structural and spatial questions took precedence. The Carmo church at Oporto (1619–28/50) illustrates the point (Plate 55B).[38] The upper façade has window frames and broken pediment profiles drawn from North European pattern-books such as those by Dietterlin and Vredeman de Vries. It offers sharp contrast to the Carmo at Coimbra, where a Palladian theme first strikes the eye, in reticent surfaces characteristic of southern Portugal.

Few works by the other principal architects survive. Leonardo Turriano (active 1598–1631),[39] a military engineer from Cremona, built the defences of the Tagus estuary, at São Julião and the Bugio Tower on the bar in the river's mouth. Pedro Nunes Tinoco (active 1604–40 as Royal Master of Works) is best known by the sacristy of Santa Cruz at Coimbra (1622–4), with its blue and yellow tiles and elaborately compartmented pilasters from which full-round statues project. The name of the architect of the Santarém Hospital (rebuilt 1645–6) [40] is lost, but the façade illustrates the conservatism of the Ribatejo district of southern Portugal, by its faithful retention of the scheme of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon.

Unified Naves and Cellular Envelopes (1640–1720)

Portugal submitted to Spanish misfortunes only until 1640, when she regained political independence under the Braganza dynasty. The event is not perceptible in architectural history; for the Portuguese imperturbably continued to weave the strands of Spanish, Netherlandish, and Italian practice into a fabric of their own design. The Portuguese architectural style cannot easily be pigeon-holed as Mannerist or Baroque. G. Bazin had to fall back upon Romanesque and Quattrocento conceptions to classify Luso-Brazilian façades, and others have sought for clues in Rome and in Central Europe. The difficulty always remains: one cannot anatomize one national architecture in terms of another; one can define its specific nature only by examining its forms in context and in chronological sequence.

João Turriano (1610–79), the son of Leonardo, became a Benedictine friar in 1629. He probably remodelled Tibães (1628–61), and he built several churches in and near

Lisbon.[41] His principal work (attributed) is Santa Clara-a-Nova at Coimbra (1649–96). The compactness of the plan is remarkable. Within a rectangular envelope are fitted three elements: a vast nuns' choir on two levels, the nave for public worship, and the sanctuary with rooms closely nested around it. The transept is suppressed, and there are no tribunes. In the nave (Plate 59A) the space is one near-cube scanned by giant pilasters along the lateral walls. The secondary altars, in the absence of deep recesses, are railed off from the central area upon a peripheral terrace one step high. The effect of a lofty reception hall has no precedent in European church architecture.[42]

In Brazil this tendency to unify and simplify both the structure and the volumes was carried farther at the former Jesuit collegiate church (now cathedral, rebuilt 1657–72) at São Salvador (Figure 36). The *capela mór* is inscribed within the rectangle formed by the storeyed structure of the surrounding chambers. The walls of the sanctuary are only inner partitions instead of bounding walls.[43] The deep lateral chapels beneath tribunes likewise encase the nave in a two-storeyed edifice of civilian appearance. The façade repeats the many-windowed five-part division of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon.[44]

Santa Tereza (1670) at São Salvador resembles the Carmo at Évora (1670–91). Both churches have tribunes over aisle chapels. The chevet in each is a free-standing cruciform composition. The Brazilian façade is an adaptation of the Spanish scheme set forth in *Arte y Uso de Arquitectura* by Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás (1633), and it resembles the seventeenth-century churches of Alcalá de Henares. The plan probably also owes a debt to this author, whose influence appears again in the Benedictine churches of Rio de Janeiro and São Salvador.[45] In the Carmo at Évora, however, a characteristic Portuguese simplification appears in the façade (1670–90), which otherwise is quite Spanish in plan and structure: the narthex beneath the choir tribune is treated as one arch of wide span bridging the two tower masses, instead of as a triple arcade.

At Oporto the north Portuguese taste for ornate surfaces continued to find expression through decorative schemes drawn from Dutch and Flem-

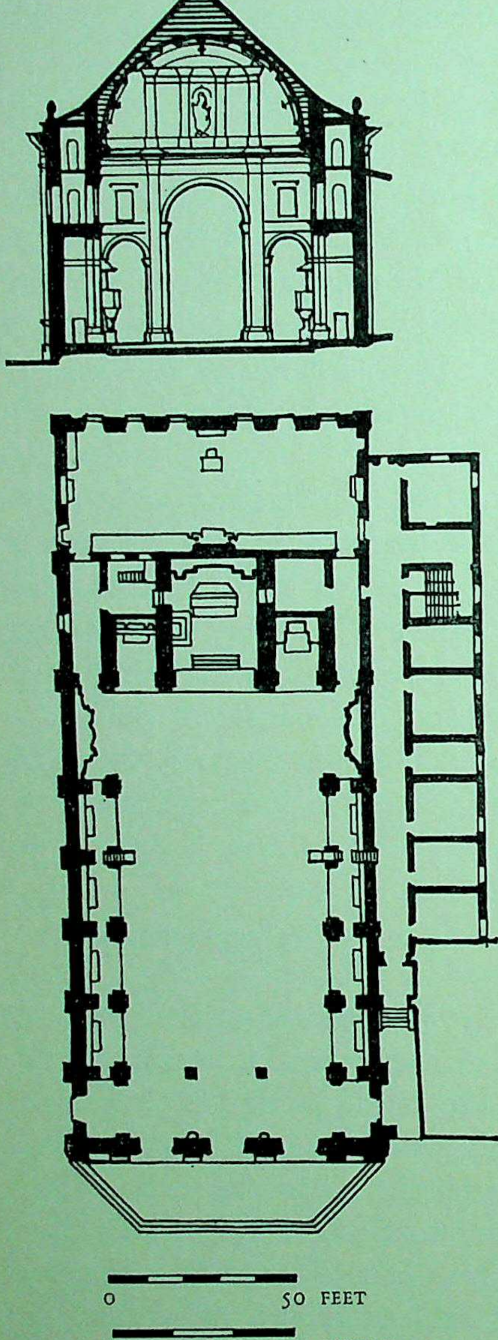


Figure 36. São Salvador (Brazil) Cathedral (former Jesuit church), 1657–72 (destroyed in 1934). Cross-section and plan

ish sources. The façade of the Congregados (1657–80) is a good example. Upon a high pedestal containing the doorway, the tall pilastered façade rises under a steep pediment. Between the pilasters three narrow oblong window frames are anchored by broad tendrils curling like tentacles round the borders. This theme, surely drawn from Antwerp engravings, recurs at Braga after 1670, on the façades of a number of small box-churches[46] (São Victor, 1680; Franciscanos, 1690; São Vicente, 1691; Santa Cruz dos Remédios, 1694). At Braga the strap-work is enriched by foliated decorations like those of Spanish ornament after 1650 (Plate 57A and p. 25).

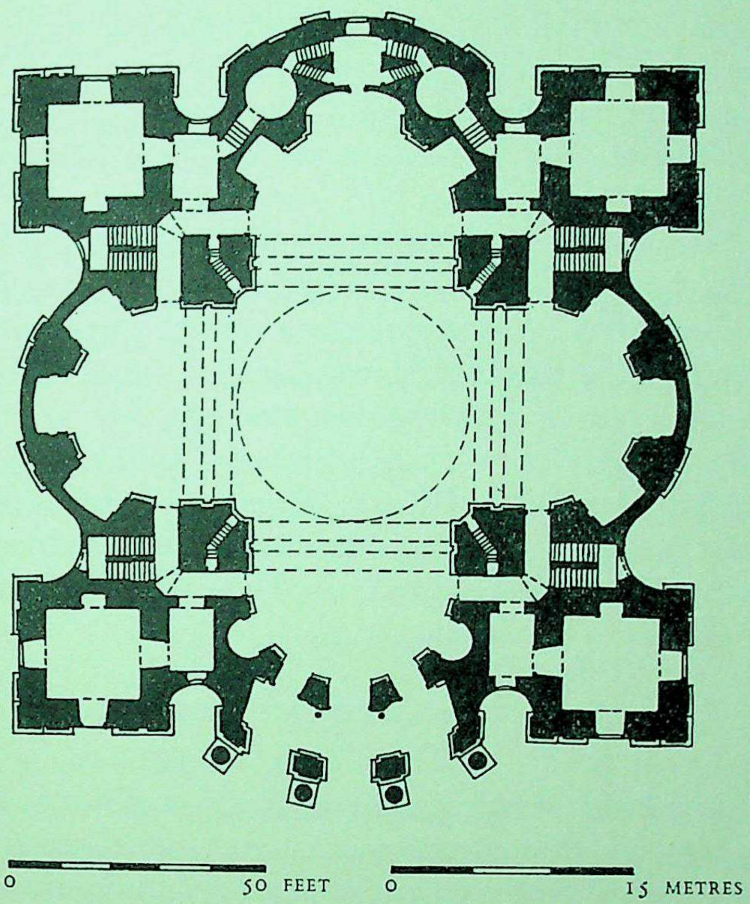


Figure 37. João Nunes Tinoco and João Antunes:
Lisbon, Santa Engrácia, 1682–1730. Plan

In southern Portugal the leading architect after 1675 was João Nunes Tinoco (1631–90), to whom the church of the Jesuit Seminary at Santarém (1676) has been attributed.[47] The façade has four storeys (Plate 57B). The fourth continues the Dietterlin volutes used by Baltasar Álvares at the Grilos church at Oporto. The nave is of reception-hall type with two storeys of tribune windows between coupled pilasters of giant order.

Tinoco's grand project[48] of 1682 for Santa Engrácia in Lisbon, though not executed, is an important stage in the continuing developments of the reception-hall nave (Figure 37). One project is based upon S. Agnese in Rome, and it adds nothing to Portuguese practice. The other scheme uses and enlarges Portuguese forms: it is a hexagon clasped among four corner towers. In the hexagonal reception-hall nave, corridors for the clergy would have allowed circulation behind the altars. After Tinoco's death, João Antunes continued the work. Its plan and elevations reflect Tinoco's efforts to diversify the dangerously barren formula of the reception-hall.[49] The Greek-cross plan returns to the Bramantine tradition, enriched by curved walls of Borrominesque undulation.

João Antunes (active 1683–1734) continued to experiment with central plans. Surely by him is the octagon church at Barcelos (Bom Jesus da Cruz, 1701),[50] where the cylindrical support for the dome combines with a Greek-cross plan of shallow chapels. The Menino Deus church (Plate 58) in Lisbon (begun 1711) has been attributed to Antunes because of its octagonal interior,[51] but the provincial compartmentation of the marbled nave by many small areas in no way resembles Antunes's far superior work at Santa Engrácia or at Barcelos. The most interesting feature of the church is its plan: the elongated octagon of the nave is a solution to the difficulty of the barren volume of other reception-hall naves. The façade is an awkward descendant of Terzi's at São Vicente de Fora.

Portuguese domestic architecture is an unknown quantity whose importance is evident at every turn, both in town and country. Many seventeenth-century private palaces follow a plan of French origin, with two parallel wings projecting to form a U-shaped *cour d'honneur*, like that of the Luxembourg in Paris. A high wall across the open end shields the court from the outside. Examples are the Fronteira Palace at Bemfica; the Palhavã Palace (now Spanish Embassy) built *c.* 1660 at Bemfica; the Episcopal Palace at Xabregas; and the Galveias House at the Campo Pequeno in Lisbon.[52] Under Spanish influence, red-brick walls with white trim were fashionable: the Almada House, now Palace of Independence, is an example in Lisbon, with interior portions of Manueline date.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTUGAL

Two massive events delimit the later architectural history of Portugal: the discovery of Brazilian gold in 1693, and the destruction of Lisbon by earthquake in 1755. Brazilian gold and diamonds allowed the Portuguese court to build as lavishly as any in Europe. The disaster of 1755 brought a great campaign of urban renovation, from which all Portugal benefited, by the renewal of the artisanate and by the diffusion of courtly taste.

The leading architectural personality of the age was a German goldsmith, born at Hall in Suabia. The early career of J. F. Ludwig (1670–1752) was spent far from architecture, first in the imperial armies against Louis XIV, then in Rome from 1697, where he worked as a goldsmith under Andrea Pozzo on the altar of St Ignatius in the Gesù. Arriving at Lisbon in Jesuit employ in 1701, João Frederico Ludovice spent ten years or more as a goldsmith. In 1711 John V vowed to build a small convent at Mafra in the hope of getting children. Ludovice was appointed architect. Work began in 1717 and the church was dedicated in 1730. King John's first intention was to build for only thirteen friars; by 1730 accommodations existed for eighty; and in its final form after 1770 the house held three hundred.[53]

Mafra is a palace-convent (Figure 38), unlike the Escorial, which is a convent-palace. The church is part of the palace, separated from the conventual quarters, which occupy the rear courts, as in German Baroque monasteries. The centring of the church in the

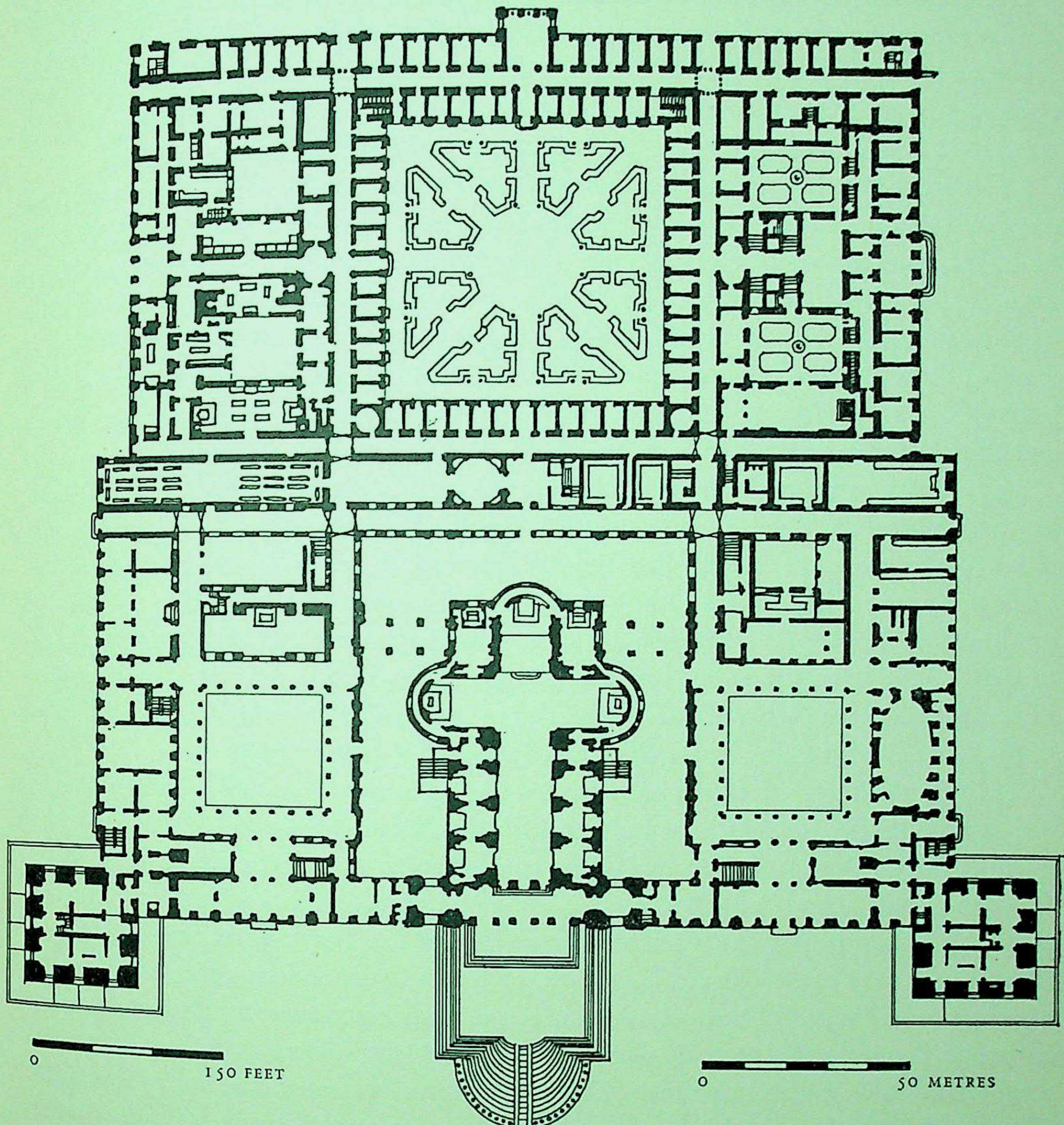


Figure 38. J. F. Ludovice: Mafra, Palace-Monastery, 1717–70. Plan

palace façade resembles S. Agnese, or Carlo Fontana's design of 1682 for Loyola in Spain (p. 30), and it has many precedents in Central European monastic architecture of the early 1700s. Other Romanizing traits are the façade wings connecting the end pavilions to the church, derived from the Montecitorio façade by Bernini and Carlo Fontana; the nave and the façade loggia (St Peter's, by Maderna); the bulbous spires (S. Maria dei Miracoli, by Carlo Fontana); the Roman Doric arcades of the courtyard

(S. Maria in Trastevere, by Fontana); the concavely curved drum and dome (Borromini). German are the end pavilions with their fortress bases and bulbous caps. The balance of the indebtedness favours Rome much more than southern Germany or Austria. One cannot overlook the strong Portuguese accent with which Ludovice endowed these borrowings after his residence of nearly twenty years in Lisbon. Lusitanian quality emerges in the preference for marbled interiors, in the multiplicity of galleries at different levels in the basilica (Plate 59B), in the exaggerated size of the windows,[54] especially in the oval chapter-room, and in the walls and vaults of brick carefully plastered over and adorned with fine, simple marble or limestone trim.

Ludovice built the apse of the cathedral at Évora (design 1716, completed 1729, dedicated 1746) in the Mafra manner. The elevation is bolder in external relief. At Coimbra, the University Library is also Ludovice's design (1716, built 1717–23).[55] The double-cube edifice has many layered planes revealed in the thickness of the wall. Of all Ludovice's works it is the richest plastic exercise. The paired cornice-brackets on the exterior distantly recall Spanish placage effects. The interior decoration by Claude de Laprade has *estípites* supporting the library gallery; the form is very rare in Portugal and Brazil.

The sacristy of Santo Antão[56] in Lisbon is an early eighteenth-century work of unknown authorship. The immense coffered barrel-vault is in the tradition of the *capela mór* at Belem, and of Terzi's São Vicente de Fora. It reminds one of the fact that Ludovice owed much to old Lisbon traditions of masonry workmanship, and that the goldsmith-architect was rather less the saviour of Portuguese architectural practice than its skilful exploiter. He adapted Roman Baroque forms to the reticent habits of southern Portugal, succeeding where Guarino Guarini (p. 29) had failed with the violent innovations of the Divina Providência church (1652/63; destroyed 1755).

If Lisbon was reluctant to adopt Italian habits, Oporto avidly absorbed the surcharged ornamental fashions of southern Italy brought by Niccolò Nazzoni (Nasoni), who appeared in 1731. Born near Fiesole, Nasoni studied in Rome and may have been active at Lecce in Calabria, and in Malta. Like Ludovice, he remained in Portugal until his death (1773). His most important work is an oval church, São Pedro dos Clérigos at Oporto (1732–50; Figure 39).[57] The apsidal tower (1754) conforms to long-established habits in the vicinity of Braga.[58] The oval nave converges with Portuguese tendencies manifested *c.* 1710 in the octagonal reception-hall nave of the Menino Deus church in Lisbon. The deep tunnel apse is also Lusitanian. The curved nave walls are masked by flat façades. The principal façade (1750) relates to the art of F. Casas at Santiago, with the doubled, reversing ramp stairs leading to the main portal at the first landing (Plate 60B). The portal, however, is a secondary incident in this huge screen of glass, of which the closest relative is the Obradoiro at Santiago (p. 60).[59] The apparent portal is not the real entrance: one climbs two more flights to enter the church by a curious chicane, at the ends of the narthex, and at right-angles to the long axis of the oval nave. In the nave above the tribunes is a *coursière* gallery, and the impost of the low, flat dome is perforated by carp's-mouth windows. Nasoni built the apsidal tower with a shaft of six stages, like Contini's tower of 1682 at Saragossa, with rounded corners and attic storeys for each of the principal stages. The contrast between this Luso-Calabrian landmark and the simple shafted tower of Coimbra University (1728–33) is symbolic of the differences between northern and southern Portugal. Nasoni's façades nevertheless obeyed classical rules. His

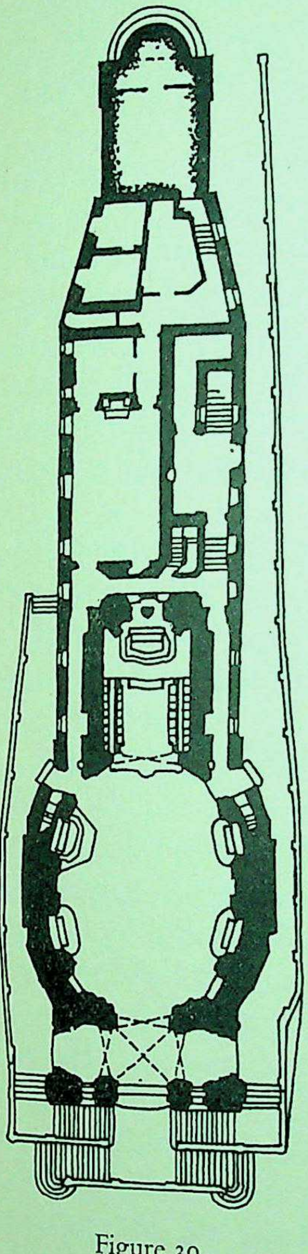


Figure 39.
Niccolò Nasoni:
Oporto, São Pedro dos Clérigos,
1732–50. Plan

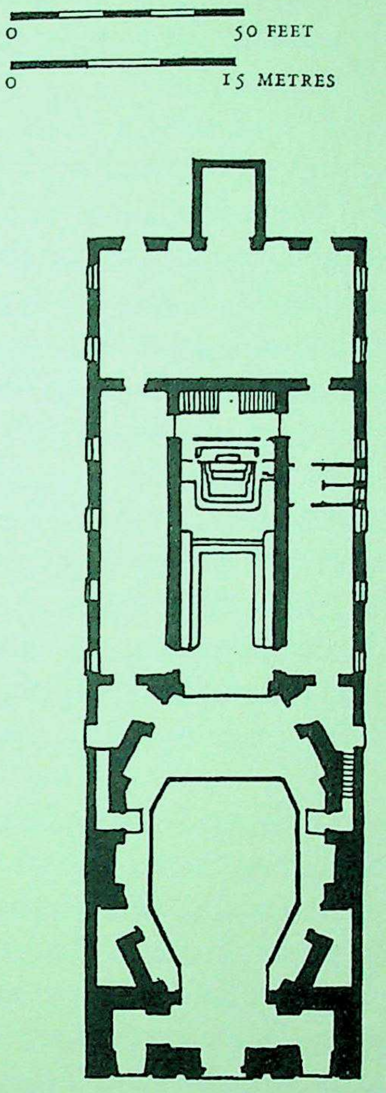


Figure 40.
Manuel Ferreira Jácome: Recife
(Brazil), São Pedro dos
Clérigos, 1728–82. Plan

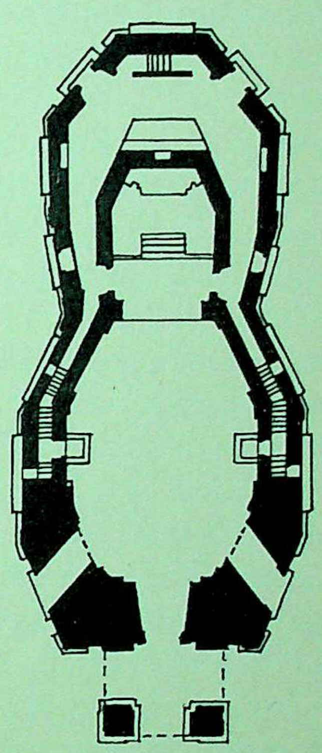


Figure 41.
Rio de Janeiro, Nossa Senhora
da Glória do Outeiro, 1733–8(?)
(destroyed 1942). Plan

entablatures are level and his supports are clearly marked, without any trace of Rococo destruction of the tectonic grid. His influence is strong at Lamego in the Remedios church of 1750, as well as in the chapel of the Mateus Palace and the Clérigos Church at Vila Real (1750).[60]

Rococo principles of active framing and scalloped plans were introduced by Carlos Mardel, probably of Hungarian origin, who arrived at Lisbon in 1733 (d. 1763). His are several lovely fountains in Lisbon (e.g. Rua da Esperança and Rua Formosa) and some fine houses in town and country. He introduced Chinese curved and upturned roof-edges.[61] At the Pombal Palace at Oeiras the roofs are hipped in concavely curved planes. Mardel also uses the segmental arch for windows, which is characteristic of French military design early in the century. The drift of Mardel's style is towards exotic and picturesque forms, though it was restrained by the traditional sobriety of Lisbon architecture.

Certain southern Portuguese churches built before 1750 exemplify the continuation of native tendencies underneath the blanket of foreign work in the reign of John V. A remarkable votive church (Plate 60A), begun in 1732, stands at Milagres (district of Leiria). It is by José da Silva and his son Joaquim, both from Juncal.[62] The oblong reception-hall nave is ringed with two-storeyed arcaded loggias on three sides. These verandas are tribunes turned inside out, to overlook the gentle countryside, with back windows opening upon the nave. At São João Baptista at Campo-Maior (1734–47)[63] the octagonal interior, with tribunes between coupled pilasters, repeats the scheme of the Menino Deus church in Lisbon, behind a Terzian façade.

Queluz Palace (1747–60) near Lisbon[64] illustrates the Portuguese version of the Rococo style by its intimacy, its privacy, and by the dainty scale which so successfully disguised this quite large fabric. It is in reaction against the pompous massing of Mafra. Its designer, Mateus Vicente de Oliveira (1710–86), was Ludovice's pupil, but he loosened and animated his German predecessor's heavy phrasing. The guidebooks praise Queluz by comparing it to Versailles; in reality, Mafra is the Portuguese Versailles, and Queluz is the anti-Versailles.

Its nucleus by Vicente (1747–52) is the two-storeyed block[65] at the north end of the garden court. This court is surrounded on three sides by low buildings. A northern *cour d'honneur* faces east upon a circular terrain. A parade ground, dominated by the clock tower, continues southward. The western pavilion (Plate 61) was built by Jean Baptiste Robillion (d. 1768), the French engraver and decorator, who completed it in 1759–60. Built on sloping ground, its eastern façade conforms to the garden court. The two-storeyed Doric western façade overlooks the park. To the south-east, the handsomest part of the palace is a three-part wing with hipped roofs and an ogee pediment, containing throne- and music-rooms. The designer of this wing is unknown: it is the most Portuguese part of Queluz. The hipped roofs might be by Mardel; the ogee pediment recalls Azzolini at São Francisco de Paula in Lisbon. It existed before 1768, when Robillion remodelled the throne-room from five earlier chambers.

Throughout Queluz the character of each façade varies according to the viewing-distance. In the intimate garden court the inner façades are grouped by small units faced with garlanded windows. The park façade is grander, with coupled Doric columns and a theatrical cascade of stairs descending diagonally from the north end. Everywhere formality is suggested, and then avoided by the picturesque use of different levels and unexpected departures from symmetry. One is reminded of La Granja by the variety of phrasing, and by happy changes of rhythm from one part to another, in a combination of Italian, German, French, and national manners.

The military engineers, who played so great a part in architecture throughout eighteenth-century Europe, took charge of the rebuilding of Lisbon after the earthquake of 1755. The technical director of the reconstruction was Manuel de Maia, assisted by the architects of the day. Eugenio dos Santos de Carvalho was chief designer until his death in 1760, when he was succeeded by Carlos Mardel until 1763. The grid plan of the business buildings and dwellings in the lower town is probably dos Santos's, who used the rectilinear and rectangular system we have already met in Spain at Barceloneta, and at El Ferrol, where they repeat the grid of the English naval base on Menorca Island (p. 59).[66]

About the middle of the century a new group of Italian architects revived the Roman and Piedmontese traditions of the southern Portuguese style. At Coimbra, the Seminário (1748–65) begun by Tamossi (an Italian) was completed by a Bolognese, Giacomo Azzolini (d. 1786/7).[67] The central figure of this group was probably the stage-designer Giovanni Carlo Bibiena, who built the Memoria Church at Belem near Lisbon in 1760. A larger version, without the concavely-curved façade planes and with a less harsh dome design, is the Estrêla Church in Lisbon by Mateus Vicente, designed in 1778 and built in 1779–90. The Estrêla Church was completed by Reynaldo Manuel dos Santos (1740–90), to whom the Mártires Church in Lisbon (1769–84) is attributed. In Lisbon, Italians also dominated the last years of the century: the Ajuda Palace by Francesco Manuel Fabri (begun 1802) is a Neo-Classical modification of Sacchetti's palace at Madrid, modified again by Manuel Caetano de Sousa. The theatre of San Carlos (1792) by José da Costa e Silva (1747–1819) owes much to the Italian training of this architect, who emigrated to Brazil in 1812.

The ornamental freedom of northern Portuguese architecture, first evident about 1600, escaped most tectonic restraints after 1750. Nasoni's pupil José Figueiredo Seixas curved and bent his master's flat façades at the church of the Third Order of Carmelites at Oporto (1756–68) with concave wall portions and reversing-curve pediments. Each provincial centre, such as Braga, Viana, Barcelos, or Guimarães, tended to develop its own local style,[68] compounded of themes drawn from Italian scenographic designs, from English furniture books, from German collections of architectural engravings, and from French goldsmiths' drawings. Thus Braga Town Hall, by A. Ribeiro Soares da Silva (1754), has a portal based upon chair-leg designs. The hospital of São Marcos at Braga by Carlos Luis Ferreira da Cruz Amarante (b. 1748)[69] follows Fischer von Erlach's Liebfrauenkirche in Salzburg. The cascade of stairs at the Bom Jesus shrine of Braga (1723, completed 1837) originated in the scenographic inventions of Fernando Galli Bibiena. In sharp contrast to the Italian atmosphere of Lisbon and southern Portugal is the ascendancy of Portuguese designers after 1750 in these northern districts. The importance of their contribution to architecture becomes apparent when we examine the work of their Brazilian contemporaries.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRAZIL

Brazilian ties with the mother country were closer than those of Spanish America. The community of interest is most clearly reflected in architecture.[70] In the eighteenth century there is no major provincial tradition [71] governed by flatness, redundancy, and textile effects, as in Peru or Mexico. Both the coastal cities and the inland towns were in close touch with Portuguese design, by the movement of persons as well as by the exportation of stone carved at Lisbon for use in Brazilian buildings. Great activity, as in the mining province of Minas Gerais north of Rio de Janeiro, or stagnation, as at São Salvador, the port of Bahia, may be noted, but not the isolated coarsening of genuine provincial art.

Eighteenth-century Brazil comprised five main regions: Central Brazil, with its capital Bahia, remained the administrative metropolis until 1763, when Rio de Janeiro, because of its advantages with respect to the new mines and in relation to Buenos Aires and Peru, became the seat of the viceroyalty. The North-east embraces the easternmost tip of South America, centred upon Pernambuco, with its principal cities at Olinda and Recife. The North, based on Belem near the Amazon estuary, was isolated by great distances from the other regions of Brazil. The interior provinces had their artistic centre in Minas Gerais, where the gold mines attracted a large and devout population. The monuments of civil architecture are few. Virtually all building was for religious purposes, initiated by the religious orders, by the secular clergy, and by the sodalities, or lay brotherhoods. In Minas Gerais the religious orders were prohibited from entry by the Crown, and all building initiative stemmed from the parishes and brotherhoods.

Brazilian designers in all regions except the far north gave their full attention until 1740 to octagonal naves. As we have seen in many important Lusitanian churches, the character of the nave as a reception-hall for the ornate sanctuary alcove was stressed by regular and elongated octagonal plans.[72] The earliest of the Brazilian octagonal naves was N.S. da Glória do Outeiro in Rio de Janeiro, begun in 1714 and completed about 1730.[73] The plan is an elongated octagon of double shell construction, with inner wall passages circulating behind the sanctuary and leading to the nave pulpits. It is not only abreast of Portuguese developments, but in the vanguard of progressive work anywhere. The corridor and inner-wall passage allow the clergy to circulate unobserved throughout the church. They resemble in principle Ludovice's system at Mafra.

Buschiazzo has characterized the graded silhouette of this Rio church as 'telescopic'. The metaphor pertains to a ship's captain's eyeglass with collapsing sleeves of diminishing diameter. The figure aptly describes one trait, especially developed in Brazil, where the interaction of nave and tunnel sanctuary tended in the eighteenth century to reverse the telescope, with the big sleeve at the sanctuary, as we shall see in the Minas Gerais group after 1750. Before 1750 the tunnel sanctuary is shorter and narrower than the nave as at the parish church of António Dias (1727), or Santa Ifigenia at Ouro Preto (1727), both attributed to M. F. Lisboa (active 1728–67). Santa Ifigenia, however, prefigures the later reversal by its suppression of the customary nave corridors,[74] and by its treatment of the presbytery walls as thin partitions rather than as bearing walls.

Other Brazilian naves of octagonal plan are the Pilar at Ouro Preto, and São Pedro at Recife (Figure 40), both framed by rectangular envelopes. The Pilar at Ouro Preto, built in 1720, received a ten-sided lining of octagonal effect designed by A. F. Pombal (active 1721–45) in 1736. This compromise may derive from Nasoni's São Pedro dos Clérigos at Oporto. It retains the nave corridors between the envelope and the lining, as in the Rio church of N.S. da Glória do Outeiro (Figure 41). At Recife, São Pedro dos Clérigos belongs to the same family. It was begun in 1728 on a design by Manuel Ferreira Jácome, and completed in 1782.[75]

The most metropolitan church built in Brazil before 1750 is the Conceição da Praia at São Salvador (design 1736, by Manuel Cardoso de Saldanha), built on an octagonal-nave plan of *lioz* carved in Lisbon.[76] The diagonally set towers of the façade recall the Manueline façade of Guarda Cathedral in Portugal; in Saldanha's design, they give external expression to the octagonal chamber inside – for the first time in the history of the form in the Portuguese world. It was the last important church to be built in the region of Bahia, for soon after Rio and Minas Gerais took the lead in building initiative, and it was the last large octagonal nave-chamber in Brazil or Portugal.

From 1740 to 1755 very few major churches arose in Brazil, and of these two reverted to seventeenth-century programmes: the Pilar church at Bahia (begun 1744) and the Carmelite Third Order church in Rio (1752). The Pilar, as Bazin noted, is a box-church, like São Vicente at Braga (p. 109). The Carmo in Rio has a cellular wall of aisles and tribunes completely surrounding the nave and sanctuary, with the peculiar trait of the left aisle corridor opening by arcades upon the alley beside the church.[77] The interior, with tribune *loges* like those of an opera house, resembles a theatre more than a reception-hall.

After 1755 the province of Minas Gerais monopolized building activity in Brazil. Stone interiors now improved upon the wooden furnishings of earlier churches in the region. Curved façade planes appeared after 1765. Oval and undulant nave walls began about 1770.

An early example of this new group is the Bom Jesus de Matozinhos at Congonhas do Campo, founded in 1757 and completed *c.* 1770.[78] Because of the suppression of the nave corridors and tribunes, the nave is now narrower than the chevet,[79] and the towers form a façade wider than the nave. The purpose is clearly to endow the exterior massing with more movement and variety, as well as to simplify the structural programme in the nave. This scheme repeats in the chapel of the Franciscan Third Order at Ouro Preto (1766) and in the oval figure-of-eight plans at São Pedro dos Clérigos at Mariana (1771) and the Rosário Chapel at Ouro Preto (1766). In this group the progression of the masses follows a double and contrasted rhythm: the silhouette falls away from the high narrow slab of the façade to the nave, and thence to the sanctuary.

It is easy to exaggerate the integrity of these designs. They hold together in a remarkable illusion of unity, although the buildings are almost always collections of morsels built at different periods by a variety of artisans. Infrequently, as at São Francisco at Ouro

Preto (Figure 42), an entire edifice was designed, built, and decorated by one man, and there the work spans twenty-eight years, from 1766 to 1794, with frequent changes of mind and new designs of details. Bazin calls this church a completely evolved design;

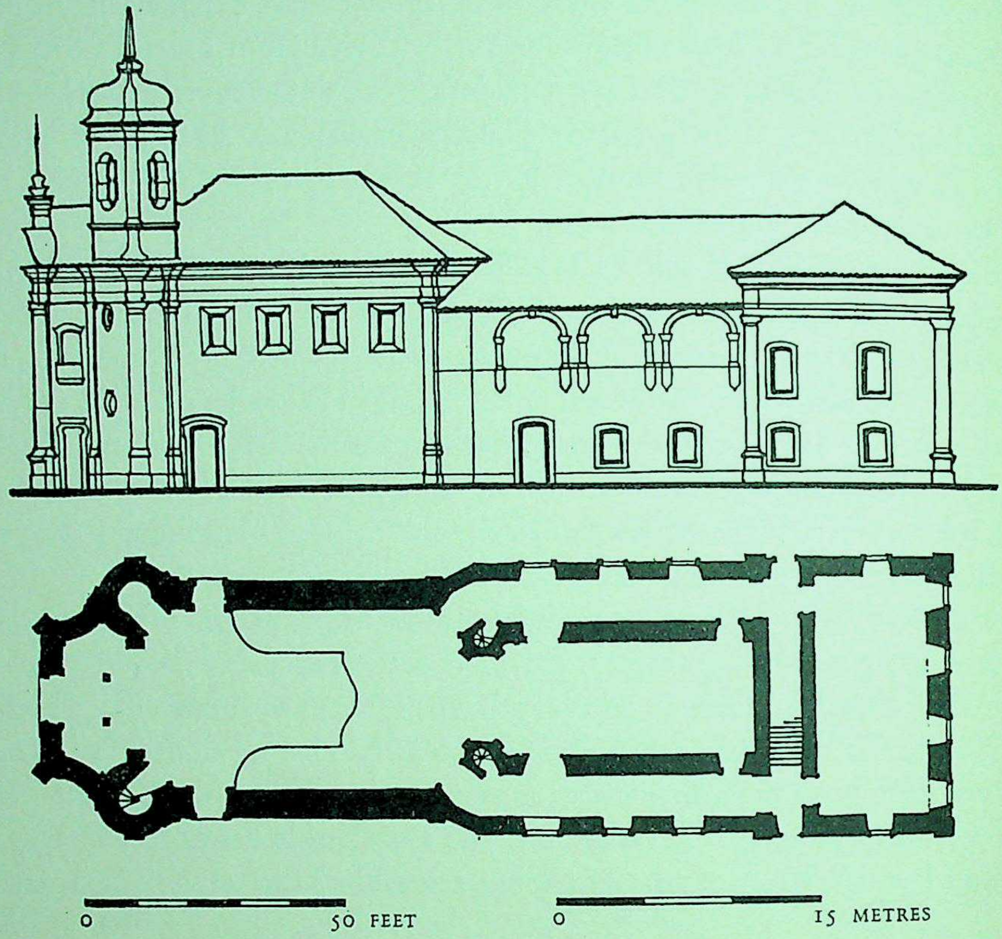


Figure 42. A. F. Lisboa (Aleijadinho): Ouro Preto, São Francisco, Third Order, 1766–94. Elevation and plan

it is by the great mulatto sculptor António Francisco Lisboa (1738–1814), called Aleijadinho (p. 194).[80]

The cylindrical towers stand in a plane well behind that of the portal. This arrangement secures a number of advantages: the verticality of the portal frontispiece is strengthened, with its parted pediment and medallion entablature; the volume of the nave is enriched by its intersection with the quarter-cylinder towers; and the lateral elevations are enriched by these towered accents which break the flank instead of terminating it.[81] In the chevet the pulpits in the chancel arch resolve an old difficulty of interior circulation, and they allow the suppression of the nave corridors. The tribunes above the sanctuary corridors open to the outside, as at the Milagres church in Portugal, by arcaded verandas which further enrich the lateral elevations. In Portugal, the Santos Passos church at Guimarães is almost exactly coeval (1767–9 by André Ribeiro Soares da Silva; finished 1798); the undulant planes of the façade and the placing of the towers are comparable. The differences between the strident Portuguese forms and the gentler

Brazilian ones can be ascribed to the different building-materials – coarse, monochrome granite in Northern Portugal, and a creamy, many-coloured soapstone of a texture and range of colour like bronze in Brazil.

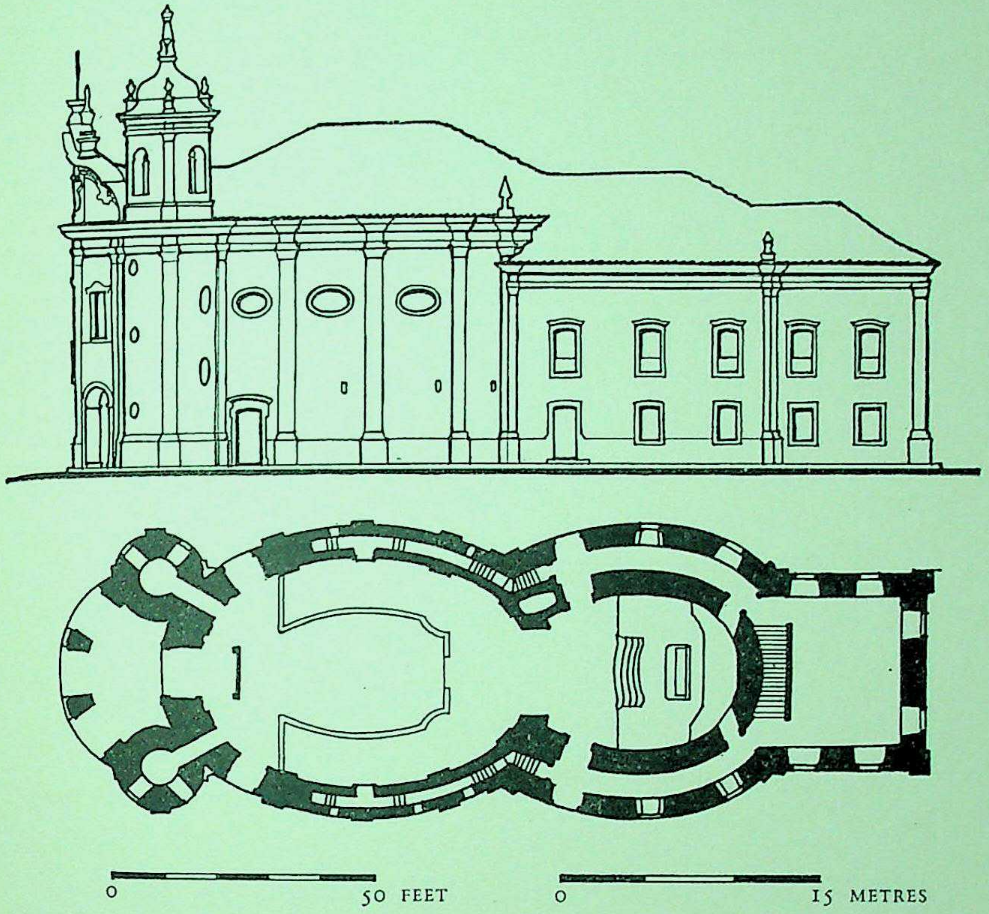


Figure 43. António de Sousa Calheiros(?) and Manuel Francisco de Araujo: Ouro Preto, Rosário Chapel, 1784. Elevation and plan

Aleijadinho's ingenious design was repeated in 1771–3 at São Pedro at Mariana [82] with elliptical nave and sanctuary volumes, lacking corridors in the nave, and with pulpits at the chancel arch. The figure-of-eight ovals reappeared about 1784 at the Rosário Chapel at Ouro Preto (Figure 43), behind a curved façade wall by Manuel Francisco de Araujo. Aleijadinho himself turned to another possibility: at São João d' El Rei in 1774 he prepared the project for the chapel of the Third Order of St Francis, with undulant nave walls, and lacking corridors of any sort. The façade [83] is a flat plane, with drawn-back cylindrical towers like those of São Pedro at Rio de Janeiro (Plate 62). At present, Brazilian architecture is far better known than the North Portuguese style of the same period. Brazil accordingly has seemed much more autonomous in artistic questions than it really was. The evidence for Brazilian inspiration in Portugal needs to be collected and studied in as much careful detail as Bazin, for instance, has devoted to Brazil.

PART TWO

SCULPTURE

BY

MARTIN SORIA

CHAPTER 7

SPAIN: THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

INTEREST aroused first by the Napoleonic wars scattered Spanish paintings throughout the world. By comparison, Spanish sculpture is almost unknown. Examples abroad are few, and even in Spain they cannot be studied conveniently. Except for the National Sculpture Museum in Valladolid, chiefly concerned with the brilliant local school, Spanish carvings are mostly *in situ*, often in side-chapels which are usually dark and locked. The huge size of many Spanish altars, ever since the Late Gothic period, makes close inspection of the upper storeys usually impossible. To gain an idea of the Spanish school as a whole, one should travel with flashlight and binoculars the length and breadth of the country. Many valuable works were destroyed in wars or revolutions. Others cannot be seen in their entirety because of the Spanish propensity for dressing images in real fabrics so that only their heads and hands show, while those that can be seen are often disfigured by layers of repaint or dust. Thus even the broadest studies of Spanish sculpture are tentative,[1] though the wealth of material is breathtaking.

The study of Spanish art is helped considerably by the local archives. A formalistic, bureaucratic society, heiress of Roman laws and civilization, demanded for almost any business scrupulously detailed contracts drawn up by lawyers. Many contracts survive, often unpublished; because they specify conditions and include guarantees of fulfilment by means of bonds and witnesses, they constitute a primary source of art history. Often a sketch signed by all parties was attached or a small model of wood, clay, or wax. The exact amount and schedule of payments were stated. Sometimes the commission was awarded by public bidding to the lowest offer. All or part of a contract could be ceded to other artists. Materials were furnished by the client or at the artist's expense. The master directed and paid his assistants. The finished work was always appraised and the price fixed anew by at least two artists, one named by the patron, the other by the master. On occasion, the two appraisers called in an arbiter. If patron and master were dissatisfied, a second board of appraisers might be called.

Spain is the country where polychrome wood sculpture reached its highest development, the colouring often being executed by renowned painters. The process resembles that of tempera painting.[2] First, the wood sculpture was primed twice with glue to cover all cracks. Larger crevices were filled with primed wooden pegs and covered with canvas, or metal cramps were used. After polishing the surface, several layers of thick lustreless gesso were brushed on, and great care was taken not to distort the original shape. All, except the flesh parts, were covered with bolus, a red earth providing elasticity for the subsequent burnishing. On top of the bolus came the gold leaf, which was then burnished to attain lustre and reflect light. Now came the painting, called *estofado* for the draperies and *encarnado* for the flesh parts. After applying the painting over the gold, the metal was partially uncovered by scratching or hatching, thus increasing the luminosity and achieving an illusion of gold brocade. The flesh parts were painted in oil over white lead and then varnished to give brilliancy. Draperies were decorated with birds, flowers, branches, children, or grotesque masks, that is the whole ornamental repertoire of Mannerism.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century such things went out of use, as well as anything else which might counteract a naturalistic chiaroscuro. From then on both flesh parts and drapery were dull rather than glossy and the gold underneath the draperies was completely covered by uniform, plain colours. This can be seen in the sculpture painted by Pacheco, who may have been the first to use the new technique. Only where the paint is rubbed off can the gold be noticed. The layer of painting is so thick that one wonders whether the gold underneath still served a purpose. Pacheco also liked to use incrustations of bits of glass in the borders of the garments. The effect is realistic, resembling fabrics embroidered with jewels.

For altar reliefs and statues, polychrome wood sculpture remained the traditional Spanish medium from the fifteenth to the twentieth century, whereas unpainted wood (chiefly oak, walnut, cedar, or mahogany) served for choir stalls and lecterns. From the Late Gothic to the Mannerist period alabaster was employed for altars and tombs. Marble was popular during the Renaissance and in the eighteenth century. Rococo carvers used it mainly for reliefs. Stucco had its vogue in the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, because its suppleness and ease of modelling appealed to Mannerist and Rococo sensitivity. Stone statues and reliefs decorated the façades of churches and palaces. Metal, so fashionable in Italy, had little appeal in Spain, probably due to the expense and difficulty of casting. However, lead was used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

THE RENAISSANCE

Northern Spain has always looked to France and Flanders, and much of the art of the Middle Ages was created by, or under the influence of, Franco-Flemish masters. Meanwhile, Spain's Mediterranean coast maintained close ties with Italy. Alfons V of Aragon conquered Naples in 1442. His nephew Ferdinand annexed the city to Sicily, which he ruled along with Aragon. After the unification of Spain (1479) under the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, the country experienced unparalleled expansion and material progress. In 1492 Granada, the last Arab kingdom in the peninsula, was conquered, and in the same year Christopher Columbus went on his voyage. Flanders was united to Spain in 1506 and Milan in 1525. Cortés began the conquest of Mexico in 1519. Wealth from America created a boom in the building of churches and palaces. The country was ready to break out of medieval bonds and to absorb the Italian Renaissance. However, the invasion of Italian ideals did not drive out Moorish leanings, strong after eight hundred years of Muslim occupation. Moorish influence, called *mudéjar* when due to Moorish artists working under Christian rule, persists to this day (Gaudí). Moorish art, even secular, was conditioned by Islam. In order to express the unlimited extent of the universe, Moorish (and *mudéjar*) walls and ceilings are covered with a continuous, unbounded growth of lacy ornament or geometric star-patterns. Moreover, to symbolize the fragility of man and man's works, plastic volume was eschewed and surfaces were broken up into small glittering particles. So it came about in Spain that Renaissance and later modes often went on stressing optical illusion and flat surfaces rather than sharp outlines and three-dimensional form. Much Spanish art recalls the richness of an oriental carpet, a richness derived not merely from a desire to decorate but also from a spiritual climate. In the Renaissance this Spanish manner was called Plateresque because of a resemblance to the work of silversmiths. Another element in the Plateresque style is also related to Moorish tradition: the desire to surprise at all costs, a desire which accounts for the *estilo monstruoso*, a revelling in Italianate grotesque ornamentation particularly propagated by Siloe and his school (pp. 128-30).

Spain welcomed the Italian Renaissance during the first quarter of the sixteenth century with greater enthusiasm than any other country. The influence, beginning in earnest shortly after 1500, was limited at the beginning to the aristocracy and to princes of the Church, especially the members of the Mendoza and the Fonseca families. The common people clung to Gothic forms for at least another generation. By that time in Italy as in Spain the High Renaissance had yielded to the more emotional forms of Mannerism, a style congenial to the Spanish character. The Renaissance first manifested itself in the funeral monuments of cardinals and kings, men educated under the influence of humanism. Gothic alabaster altars were created for the churches until about 1520. From then on, altars and choir stalls, as well as portals both of churches and secular buildings, were designed in the new style. After 1525 the Renaissance began to give way to Mannerism.

The Renaissance[3] was brought to Spain by Italian sculptors, by Italian works of art, and by Spanish, Flemish, and French sculptors trained in Italy. The arrival of Charles V (King of Spain *de facto* from 1516 and *de jure* from 1518; German Emperor from 1520) stirred all Spain to expectations of imperial splendour. Anticipating a large building programme, artists flocked to the peripatetic court. Thus Berruguete was at Valladolid early in 1518; Fancelli, Berruguete, and Vigarny at Saragossa in 1518; Ordóñez at Barcelona in 1519; Machuca, Jacopo Florentino, Vigarny, and Berruguete in Granada in 1521. Charles V's Italian campaigns made his courtiers keener than ever to build in Spain in the Renaissance style. A similar effect was brought about in France by the Italian wars of Francis I. However, whereas Francis actively established the Florentine Renaissance at home, Charles V was too busy with political affairs. It was left to his son, Philip II, to create forty years later a centre radiating Italian artistic influence: the Escorial.

Italian Contributions (1500–28)

The most renowned Italian sculptor to visit the Iberian peninsula was Andrea Sansovino, pupil of Leonardo and Pollaiuolo. To Sansovino, Fancelli, Bregno, or others has been related the monument to Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (1495–1503) at Toledo Cathedral.[4] The cardinal's will decreed that it should be built 'transparent and open, sculptured on both sides', boldly forming the epistle wall of the main chapel. Roman church façades and monuments suggested the triumphal arch, the effigy on a sarcophagus, and a relief of the kneeling cardinal.

Grander in mood, though simpler, is the monument of 1509 to Don Pedro's nephew Cardinal Diego Hurtado de Mendoza at Seville Cathedral. This is by Domenico Alessandro Fancelli (b. Settignano 1469). Its arch, sunk into the wall, protects the recumbent effigy of the cardinal. There are reliefs below and above, and on either side three small statues are arranged in three rows of niches. Fancelli may have studied with Mino da Fiesole and Giovanni Dalmata, who developed this type of design in their funeral monument for Pope Paul II in the Vatican (1471–3). Having carved the Mendoza monument at Genoa, Fancelli came to Spain in 1510 to install it, a procedure he repeated in his other Spanish commissions. In 1511 he made in Italy the monument to Prince Juan (Plate 64A), installed in 1513 before the main altar of Santo Tomás at Avila. This altar is dramatically placed high on a balcony along the apse wall. Sloping sides like those of a truncated pyramid follow the general design of Pollaiuolo's bronze tomb of Pope Sixtus IV in St Peter's. The effigy is symmetrical, even to the marble gauntlets at either side. The young prince is rendered with the plastic firmness and majesty of the Italian Renaissance. Warm contrasts of light, produced by the polished marble, help to suggest gentle sleep. The sides are decorated with medallions in low relief and shell-topped arches above saints and virtues. Griffins ending in open flowers shape the corners. While the essentially Lombard ornamentation is delicate, the whole is powerful and block-like. Fancelli repeated this tomb when in 1514–17 he carved at Carrara the monument of the Catholic Kings for the Royal Chapel at Granada. Here the iconography, with its stress on religion, is more Spanish: apostles replace the virtues, and above the corner griffins are the Fathers of the Church. The faces and drapery-folds of the effigies have become more life-like and less severe. In 1518, before he had time to begin work on further Spanish commissions, Fancelli died at Saragossa on his way to Italy.[5]

The Gagini family of Genoese carvers (also established in Spanish Sicily) had sent sculpture to Spain in 1472 and 1483. Later, together with another Lombard dynasty of carvers, the Aprili, the two workshops supplied from Genoa several tombs for Spain. The best are the monuments of Pedro Enríquez de Ribera, Grand Marshal of Andalusia at the siege of Granada, and his wife (1520, Seville, University Chapel). His is signed by Antonio Maria de Aprili of Carona and hers by Pace Gagini. Both monuments, fundamentally alike, are based on that by Fancelli in Seville Cathedral. Aprili's is better than Gagini's; the conception is more unified and the details more subordinate to the whole.

Two Florentine artists – Jacopo L'Indaco and Pietro Torrigiani – complete the list of Italians who took the Renaissance into Spain during the early sixteenth century. The first, also called Jacopo Florentino, had helped Pinturicchio and Michelangelo in their frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. Vasari praises his draughtmanship. Indaco came to Granada in 1520, probably with Machuca, and died at Villena in 1526. In the Royal Chapel survive an altar and an *Annunciation*. His masterpiece, an *Entombment of Christ*, is now in the Palace of Charles V at Granada (Plate 65A). Surprisingly Spanish is its expression of anguish, though the motif derives from the Laocoon group.

Torrigiani (1472–1528) was a wanderer. He left Florence in 1492, after breaking the nose of his fellow-apprentice Michelangelo. By 1511 he was in England, where he worked (1512–19) on the tomb of Henry VII at Westminster Abbey. Two years later he appeared at Seville. His terracotta bust of the Empress Isabella in the year of her wedding (1526) is lost. In 1528 he died on a hunger strike in the Sevillian prison of the Inquisition, where he had been committed for breaking a statue of the Madonna which he had made and which had displeased a client. Two very fine pieces of his survive at the Seville Museum: a *Virgin and Child*, and a *St Jerome*, both in polychrome terracotta. The Virgin is less formal and more naturalistic than Michelangelo's statue at Bruges. Its calm, monumental High Renaissance style was widely imitated in Andalusia. Equally influential was the twisted, tortured *St Jerome* (Plate 63A), a parallel, at some distance, to Michelangelo's *Moses*. Almost twenty years of the greater master's development from High Renaissance to incipient Mannerism were reduced by this epigone to six. Torrigiani's *St Jerome* became fruitful in the Baroque, as is proved by Martínez Montañés's statues of St Jerome at Llerena and Santiponce, Velázquez's *Juan de Calabazas*, and Zurbarán's *Hercules seared by the Poisoned Robe*, both in the Prado.

A National School: Bartolomé Ordóñez, Diego de Siloe and Damián Forment

Shortly before 1520 great national artists emerged. Yáñez, Machuca, and Alonso Berruguete, from about 1505 onwards, had been the most significant and original non-Italian painters with a full understanding of the Renaissance. As painters, Machuca [6] and Berruguete were among the founders of Mannerism in Italy.[7] The same two artists, with Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe, originated the Spanish school of Renaissance sculpture. Francisco de Hollanda called them the Spanish eagles.[8]

The first, Bartolomé Ordóñez,[9] was a wealthy, cultured gentleman from Burgos, that great centre of Gothic sculpture. To judge by his style, he studied in Florence, presumably under Andrea Sansovino. If this training took place sometime between 1500 and 1510, Ordóñez must have been born about 1490. He apparently knew Michelangelo's early reliefs, including the *Madonna of the Steps* and the *Battle of Centaurs*, but did not know the master's Roman works. At Naples he did a marble relief of the Epiphany (*c.* 1514–15,[10] Altar of the Caraccioli, S. Giovanni a Carbonara) and the marble tomb of Andrea Bonifacio (*c.* 1518, SS. Severino e Sosia). In 1515 or earlier Ordóñez established himself at Barcelona. In May 1517 he contracted to decorate the end panels of the choir stalls in the cathedral with wood carvings (finished by March 1519) and also to carve the marble *trascoro*. This was completed only in 1564. One-fourth of the choir ends was done by the French Jehan Mone from Metz. Siloe had no part in it. In October 1517 Ordóñez and Mone, now called citizens of Barcelona, committed themselves to carve together a *Holy Sepulchre*. This is now lost. Two months later Ordóñez was at Naples buying the Carrara marble for the *trascoro* at Barcelona Cathedral. Presumably he soon returned to get the choir ready for the solemn chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece. It met in March 1519 under its Grand Master, the young king. Ordóñez is known from documents to have been at Barcelona throughout 1519, and in May the monarch's treasurer asked him to take over the unfulfilled commissions of Fancelli for the monuments of Cardinal Cisneros and of the parents of Charles V. In order to execute these and other commissions for monuments, Ordóñez left Barcelona after October for Carrara, where he set up a workshop. There he died prematurely in December 1520.

Ordóñez's *Epiphany* (Plate 63B) at Naples possesses a rich yet delicate pictorial quality, also found in its model, a panel painted by Cesare da Sesto (*c.* 1514, Naples). As in the primary version for both, Leonardo's *Epiphany* in the Uffizi, two crossing diagonals emphasize a pyramid. The figures are bent in a suave though resolute rhythm. Florentine are the clarity in distribution and perspective, as well as the refinement in the gradations of the relief. With the same mastery of composition and technique, Ordóñez carved the end panels of the Barcelona stalls. One of them (Plate 66A) successfully combines the *Entombment of Christ*, *Fortitude*, *Prudence*, and the *Drunkenness of Noah*. The aims of the Renaissance are understood. Architectural elements are not, as often in Spain, mere trappings but support the design. These compositions combine the plastic subtlety and thoughtfulness of Donatello with the bodily beauty and power of Michelangelo. They are among the great creations of the Renaissance in any country, and it is no wonder that Ordóñez's art influenced the chief sculptors of the sixteenth century at Naples, men like Merliano da Nola and Santacroce. Ordóñez's collaborator Mone took the style to Antwerp, Brussels, Malines, and Bruges, where he became the most important marble sculptor of his time.

At the time of his death Ordóñez had finished the effigies of Joan the Mad and Philip the Handsome. Most of the other parts of the royal tombs, including the expressive figures of St Andrew and St John the Baptist (Plate 66B), were almost ready. Two corners, with St Michael and St John Evangelist, were roughed in and the other corners not begun. The monument was brought to Granada by Ordóñez's helpers, but not set up until 1603. Although the original plan may have come from Fancelli, there are notable differences from Fancelli's monument of the Catholic Kings. The walls are vertical and the effigies raised on a narrow platform supported by sphinxes. The royal pair and the monument as a whole are livelier and richer than Fancelli's.

Ordóñez's early death robbed the Spanish Renaissance of a great talent. He combined elegance and imagination, grace and freedom. Moreover he gave spirited meaning to the human anatomy, and he suggested pictorial depth and ordered, sovereign space. At the height of the Renaissance he created an art not pagan but religious, and therein Spanish.

At Naples, Ordóñez was closely associated with a younger sculptor from Burgos who had likewise served a long apprenticeship in Florence. Diego de Siloe [11] (*c.* 1495–1563) was the son of the famous Late Gothic carver Gil de Siloe, who had probably come to Burgos from Orleans. Except for Ordóñez's *Epiphany* and Santacroce's *St John the Baptist*, Diego did the entire Caraccioli Altar including *St George slaying the Dragon* (*c.* 1514–15). Both Spaniards had a delicate touch. Both understood how to express emotion, suggest space, and compose with clarity and force. A relief of the *Virgin and Child*[12] (Naples Cathedral, Tocco Chapel) gives one a high opinion of Siloe's stature. He appears here as one of the outstanding followers of Michelangelo's Florentine period and one who had also understood Donatello's spiritual message. Siloe returned to Burgos in 1519 and designed in that year the alabaster monument of Bishop Acuña (Cathedral). Acuña's face was taken from a death mask. The effigy, rendered realistically and three-dimensionally, is more convincingly integrated than any prior effigy in Spain, including any by Ordóñez. The reliefs were executed by assistants. As he was going to be paid only a pittance, Siloe made a virtue of the simplicity of his design. The Acuña monument is the creation of a great Renaissance architect who was also a great sculptor.

The sculptural detail of Diego's architectural masterpiece, the Escalera Dorada at Burgos Cathedral (1519–23), includes the iron balustrade and the fantastic bas-relief of stone, originally all painted and gilded. These parts are of an exuberant gaiety and a sprightly freshness comparable to the best contemporary Italian engravings of grotesques. The most delightful cross-breeds preen themselves, leer at the spectator, or strut about, ridden by svelte, nude athletes.

Wethey[13] rightly attributed to Siloe, in collaboration with Vigarny, the high altar in the Chapel of the Constable at Burgos Cathedral (1523–6), and could determine on the basis of style the respective share of both artists. Siloe then had few other duties, while Vigarny and his shop produced numerous other works. Vigarny did the general design, rich but heterogeneous and still lacking comprehension of the Renaissance. Most of the figure sculpture is by Siloe, particularly the left group in the *Presentation*. Of high quality, it proves Diego's mastery of polychrome wood-sculpture. Siloe's *Pietà*, in the altar of St Anne, shows Renaissance elements, such as the co-ordinated verticals and the compactness of the group as a whole, counteracted by incipient mannerisms of heightened emotion, of frailty, angularity, and elongation, as they appear in Christ's body, and the forward thrust of the angel's shoulder.

Probably early in 1528 Diego carved three reliefs in oak for the choir stalls of San Benito at Valladolid (now Museum), including a St John the Baptist (Plate 68). He was to repeat the pose and the shapes of the parallel, curving drapery folds in his work at Granada. The increasing restlessness of the figure forecasts the art of Berruguete.

In April 1528 Siloe went to Granada to take over the building of San Jerónimo, left unfinished at the death of Jacopo L'Indaco. Here and elsewhere Siloe executed imposing coats of arms in stone. These enormous heraldic devices express traditional Spanish pride of lineage. The high vaults of San Jerónimo are covered by heroic figures from the Bible and Antiquity. Siloe next designed a large monument of Almería marble for Bishop Mercado of Granada (in San Miguel at Oñate, Guipúzcoa).[14] In 1528–30 Siloe carved the choir stalls of San Jerónimo. The prior's seat, with a Virgin and Child (Plate 69) below a bust of God the Father, has been compared in quality to work of Desiderio da Settignano and Rossellino.[15] Siloe's Virgin, like his earlier ones, derives from the Florentine school, yet breathes Diego's affectionate passion. The *contrapposto* of the body is delicately underscored by the lively, gentle rhythm of the mantle. Calligraphic movement leads the eye to the enveloping gesture by which Mary securely holds a vigorous Christ Child. The polished oak lends itself to supple surface qualities and a soft blending of light and shade.

At Granada Cathedral, Siloe's main sculptural works are four portals done in the 1530s. The most elaborate is the Puerta del Perdón (1537), showing Faith and Justice amid the artist's usual motifs: grotesque friezes and panels enlivened by monsters, nude athletes, sprouting bird and flower forms, paired rampant dolphins, candelabra, garlands, and medallion heads. As one of the most distinguished architects and sculptors of the sixteenth century, Siloe was much in demand, both as valuer and designer. In the 1530s he travelled in these capacities to Seville, Toledo, Salamanca, and Plasencia. In Granada and its environs Siloe designed with classic sobriety many churches, their portals and their sculptural decoration. Here and at Burgos he left numerous pupils. His influence at Granada, where he died in 1563, was felt into the seventeenth century.

Siloe's art is rich in ornamental insertions, though plain, unostentatious, and Michelangelesque in the figures themselves. His fondness for surface decoration has been explained as a Spanish undercurrent of Gothic and *mudéjar* (p. 4). One might equally well call it Plateresque. In comparison to Vigarny and other contemporaries, his art is chaste and his designs are of great clarity, restraint, and perfection. Siloe possessed greater passion and a more pathetic tenderness than Ordóñez, who was on the other hand more sensitive in composition and shapes. Ordóñez and Siloe were of all Spanish sculptors the most faithful to the canons of the Italian High Renaissance. In both, however, there are slight suggestions of the coming style of Mannerism.

The Valencian Damián Forment (*c.* 1475–1540) was probably trained in Florence during the last decade of the fifteenth century. After working in his native city from 1500, he appeared at the Aragonese capital, Saragossa, in 1509. Aragon then ruled Valencia, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and all southern Italy. At Saragossa Forment and his workshop[16] executed over thirty years many large altars, usually in alabaster. Like most of Forment's retables until 1520, the high altar in the church of the Pilar (1509–12; Plate 70) has a rich Gothic frame, shaped like a grill. The figure sculpture resembles the Florentine manner of *c.* 1480. The three main groups (the *Purification*, *Assumption*, and *Birth of the Virgin*) are composed with expressive breadth and plastic determination, balanced and symmetrical. Forment sought depth and gave each head individual character. In his wooden high altar at San Pablo (1511–16), he accomplished, still within a Gothic frame, a more classical equilibrium, greater clarity and simplicity in organization; here the horizontals are more pronounced. The imposing titular saint in the centre is a grandiose Donatellesque patriarch. The wooden high altar, paid for from the papal treasury, at the pontifical church of San Miguel de los Navarros (begun in 1518) is developed in seven horizontal panels, recalling in their arrangement Ghiberti's second Baptistery doors. Carved piecemeal, the reliefs within these large compartments lack the unity achieved in the predella. Forment's finest work is outside Saragossa: the main altar for Huesca Cathedral of 1520–34 (Plate 71). This is once more in a Gothic frame. The three chief scenes, Christ carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion, and the Descent from the Cross, have power and emotion. Symmetry is still stressed, but a fluid rhythm binds the groups and leads the eye from figure to figure. *Contrapposto*, movement into and out of the relief plane, emphasis on pictorial depth, elongated figures, and spot-like contrasts of light and shade make this one of the earliest Mannerist works in Spain. Forment's later altars, some destroyed, bring little of novelty. His figure sculpture for the large monstrance of Saragossa Cathedral (1539) deserves mention. His last work, the large high altar at Santo Domingo de la Calzada (Logroño) of 1537–40, has a Renaissance frame of four storeys and a predella. Made of gilded and polychrome wood, it is Mannerist in its projecting entablatures resting on four slender Corinthian columns, as well as its twisted, tortuous figures pressing forward as if to escape from their narrow confines. Here, as in the high altar at San Vicente de la Sonsierra (Logroño) by an unknown contemporary, influences from Siloe and Berruguete are obvious. Forment is important as an artist bridging the Gothic style and Mannerism.

MANNERISM

From about 1525 onwards the Renaissance in Spain began to give way to Mannerism.[17] As in Italy, Mannerism lasted till about 1595.[18] It was a reaction of the irrational against the rationality and materialism of the Renaissance. Self-conscious, artificial, refined, and nervously stylized, it stressed the unreal and the mystical. It finally became shallow and almost unintelligible, provoking a Baroque reaction towards a new rationality and a new realism. J. B. Craig said that if the Renaissance broke the bond between man and God, the Mannerists in attempting to restore it broke the bond between the body and the spirit, the individual and the race. Concern with harmonious proportion, as it had characterized Renaissance art, slackened. Classical calm and restful balance, the signs of an almost pagan optimism and of security, were gradually replaced by an anti-classical expressionism and a revitalized religious interest. In his tragic moral turmoil Michelangelo became the father of Mannerism. Energy and tension, motion and violent gestures, even anguish, mark the new style. These moods, foreshadowed by Donatello and the early Michelangelo, crystallized round the *Laocoon* group discovered in 1506. As it agreed with tendencies inherent in Spanish art, the *Laocoon* profoundly influenced the two leading Mannerist sculptors in Spain: Berruguete and Juni.

One can easily distinguish Early and Late Mannerism. Early, or bizarre, Mannerism (1515–50) is seen in the feverish, troubled works of Pontormo, the even more restless and anguished Rosso, the magic of rhythm and unreal light of Beccafumi, the tenseness and preciousness of Bronzino, the *forma serpentinata* of Parmigianino, the poetry of Primaticcio. Late, or grand, Mannerism (1560–95) is more erudite and bases itself on the grandiose forms of Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine and Paoline Chapels. These two phases of Mannerism occur throughout Europe.[19]

L

EARLY MANNERISM (1520-60)

Alonso Berruguete

Like Ordóñez and Siloe before them, Alonso Berruguete and Juni equal and frequently surpass Italian sculptors of their time, Michelangelo excepted. Like the works of their Italian contemporaries, those of Berruguete and Juni are Mannerist in essence.

Berruguete (*c.* 1488-1561), the greatest Spanish sculptor of the sixteenth century, was born at Paredes de Navas (Valladolid).[20] He was the eldest son of Pedro de Berruguete, Spain's first great Renaissance painter. In Florence from *c.* 1504 Alonso studied Michelangelo's art. According to Vasari, he participated in a contest of wax models after the *Laocoon*. This group haunted him all his life and was partly responsible for his agonized style. Berruguete shares inner tension and religious anguish also with those Italian masters of the Quattrocento who combined realism and ecstatic expression. One of his first works after his return from Italy about 1517 was the alabaster *Resurrection* at Valencia Cathedral (Plate 64B).[21] This masterpiece, dependent on the early style of Michelangelo, is similar to the exactly contemporary work of Ordóñez at Barcelona Cathedral (Plate 66A). The emphasis on compositional movement and the pictorial quality ranging from figures in the round to delicate low relief anticipate Berruguete's future course. In 1518, at Valladolid, he became the monarch's painter, but illness prevented him from sailing with the emperor in 1520 to Germany. Henceforth, despite increasingly bitter pleas, no commissions were given him by the ruler. Instead, Berruguete worked for the royal ministers and the great ecclesiastics of the realm. In 1523 the emperor gave him social rank and an income by making him scribe of the criminal section in the Valladolid Chancery, a benefice administered through deputies and sold for a handsome sum in 1542. Berruguete's house at Valladolid, palatial in size, still exists. In 1559 he acquired from the Regent of Spain, the Infanta Juana, the village of Ventosa with its one hundred and twenty inhabitants, and thus became at last a squire.

With Berruguete, the centre of Spanish sculpture shifted from Burgos to Valladolid. This city kept its pre-eminence until the early seventeenth century. It ranked then third in population among Spanish towns, though, except for the years from 1601 to 1606, it was no longer the capital of Castile, as it had been until about 1550.

Berruguete's earliest surviving altar is of 1526. Made for the monastery of La Mejorada, it is now at Valladolid and has five divisions, the two outer ones bending forward at an angle. Through colonnettes and corresponding entablatures the sections alternately project and recede. The predella supports three tiers, containing nine reliefs. As in all his other altars, after the example of Balmaseda (1519, Palencia) and Vigarny (1521, Granada) the *Crucifixion* is in the pinnacle. Berruguete's dramatic, emaciated Christ recalls Brunelleschi's. Though virile and heavy, it is full of movement. The *Annunciation* seems to translate Donatello's S. Croce relief into Mannerist terms, binding Angel and Virgin in one violent rhythm. The reliefs have a feeling of slow flux, the flowing of a tough, inexorable mass of lava. They are among Berruguete's best.

The huge altar of San Benito at Valladolid of 1527–32 is now dismantled in the Museum, with its *Crucifixion*, *Immaculate Conception*, many reliefs, and statues of saints and prophets. Balancing often precariously on one leg, they girate, pivot, step up, march forward, or rush through space. They never stand still, bending or flowing in curving cadences, symbols of consuming emotion, contorted, writhing, tormented and trembling. The St John (Plate 72A) of the Calvary is, like many of the figures of the San Benito Altar, a vision seen in a terrible dream. The aim is not to represent man, but to grip the observer with a spectacle of distress. St Sebastian (Plate 72B) clings tightly to the tree, yet his tenseness is graceful and his youth sets one afire. Abraham (Plate 72C) is an agonized prayer. The neck hardens, the facial muscles contract, and the head is thrown back. Many of Berruguete's figures seem to wail like wounded animals, but none louder than this. In emotional intensity the group again recalls the *Laocoon*, though the artist also remembered Donatello's *Sacrifice of Isaac* (Florence, Campanile).

The altars at the Irish College of Salamanca (1529–32) and the Santiago Church at Valladolid (1537) are mutilated, especially the former, which includes painted panels. The main scene in the latter is an *Epiphany* divided into three groups in a vehement motion growing from the centre towards the flanks.

At Toledo Cathedral from 1539 to 1543 Berruguete carved thirty-six walnut choir stalls, and above them thirty-five alabaster figures. They are on the epistle side.[22] The gospel side was done by Vigarny, who with Siloe and Covarrubias had planned the general design in 1535.[23] Influenced by Siloe's *St John Baptist* (Plate 68), Berruguete's style has here become more frenetic, reaching a fervour, an agitation, and a naturalism that are almost Baroque. The figures bound out of their confines. They escape the frame sideways, upwards, and towards the spectator. In her voluptuous beauty, Eve (Plate 73A) is the feminine counterpart of the manliness of Berruguete's other carvings. A serpentine tree suggests the snake, while the embossed trunk is formally parallel to the firm flesh of Eve. Among the most expressive figures are *Adam*, *Job*, *Moses* (Plate 73C), and *St John Baptist*. These figures were carved in part by the master himself and in part under his supervision after his full-size clay models.

The west end of the choir is crowned by a free-standing alabaster *Transfiguration*, carved in 1543–8 (Plate 67A). Accompanied by Moses and Elias, Christ rises upward on a sea of clouds. The gracious curvature of their forms is contrasted by a delicate frame of baluster colonnettes and returns in the leaping sphinxes. Placed at the focal point of light within the church, the group seems to float and evolve, and thereby expresses the visionary and celestial. Two side reliefs of fighting figures on horseback and of sporting tritons and nereids bring to a climax the motif of swift movement, of surging water, and of dancing, playful forms.[24]

Berruguete's art is neither realistic nor objective. It is not concerned with situations or personages; it reflects the artist's state of mind. Forcing the spectator to share Berruguete's torment, his figures dance as if convulsed or seized by a spasm. Their faces express burning longing. In comparison with Michelangelo's complexity of ideas and passions, Berruguete is simpler and less precise, though more strident. He was the first in Spain to react violently against the formal balance, the spirit of perfection, and the cult of beauty of the High Renaissance. To express nervousness and spirituality, his proportions are elongated, his figures drained of flesh, lean and withered. To suggest pain, his angles are sharp and broken. Neither the clinging draperies nor the *contrapposto* are concerned with revealing the body. Although he could model with refinement and virtuosity (as in the choir stalls at Toledo or the monument of Tavera), Berruguete's more personal and more Mannerist contributions are large flat planes, exaggerated outlines, and dislocated anatomy. His silhouettes, emphasized by shining gilding, offer surprising views from all sides. His technique is archaic, or, if one wishes, abstract, because expressive force mattered more to him than correct design. For the same reason and because he was a Mannerist he seems to have worked from memory rather than from life. His materials were polychromed wood (except in choir stalls), marble, alabaster, or stone, never metal.

Berruguete's altar frames differ from earlier ones, both in the Gothic and the Renaissance styles, though they seem to follow similar principles: required to fill the entire apse, they are huge; they must look rich and ostentatious and be highly subdivided; the colours must be brilliant and the decoration ample. This made sense in a Gothic framework but defied Renaissance logic and clarity. The result is Mannerist, in that an effect of instability and nervous restlessness is produced. In the Gothic style as well as in Mannerism the surface texture is important, but, in contrast to the Gothic way, each figure and scene was given its own telling effect by Berruguete. The play of large columns against small ones creates tension (Valladolid and Cáceres, Santiago Altars). The baluster is employed instead of the column because it is the most decorative and the least solid of all supports. It consists as a rule of a cylinder on which stands an urn supporting a very elongated *arybalos* whose mouth is the capital. It is usually covered with grotesque relief, and the capital is Corinthian or near-Corinthian. Behind the baluster, underlining its decorative rather than its structural importance, is placed a richly carved pilaster. In the highest tier of the altars are the largest statues and heaviest narrative scenes, not only to make them more easily visible at a distance but also because of the Mannerist preference for top-heaviness and the feeling of unbalance thereby engendered. Berruguete's task was the same as that of the Gothic carver, namely to tell a story in many panels and statues, supposedly in a uniform series of juxtaposed, unconnected carvings. However, he gave such rhythm, movement, and variety to the projecting and receding elements that a deep, unified emotion results. Such emotion was accessible only to those aesthetically sympathetic. Like all Mannerist art, Berruguete's is for an élite,[25] and he has never become popular. Though he had many pupils,[26] the spiritual essence of his style died with him, unless one calls Greco (p. 143) his successor. The styles of both artists are Spanish in their violence, harshness, and abandonment of material for intangible values. Passionate religious emotion holds physical beauty in contempt.

Felipe Vigarny (c. 1470–1543) and Juan de Balmaseda

Berruguete's partner, Felipe Vigarny [27] (Philippe Biguerny) of Langres in Champagne, arrived at Burgos in 1498. During that year he began to carve three stone reliefs almost in the round at the *trasaltar* (rear wall of the high altar) of the cathedral. These reliefs, though mainly Gothic, heralded the Renaissance at Burgos.[28] Vigarny's first Renaissance work of character, though harsh, is the relief of 1518 at Madrid University. It represents the head of Cardinal Cisneros in profile. Vigarny acquired more than local standing after signing a partnership with Alonso Berruguete at Saragossa on 7 January 1519. Two years later, at Granada, Vigarny created for the Royal Chapel the earliest Mannerist altar in Spain (Plate 67B). Its box-like compartments are too high or too low and the ratio between height and width is aesthetically unsatisfactory, nor did Vigarny attempt to relate the various compartments through adequate proportions. One misses the unity so brilliantly achieved in Forment's altar at San Miguel (p. 130). Particularly disturbing are the spaces above Vigarny's five large central panels. His figures are casually arranged, as if waiting to be taken down from a shelf in a shop. However, in contrast to Forment's three-part altar, Vigarny's is in five parts and has more forward and backward movement. The wings, each consisting of five superimposed boxes, advance, and so does the centre. At Saragossa horizontals and verticals are balanced and the main accent is in the exact centre. At Granada verticals predominate and the stress is at the top. Vigarny's *Crucifixion* makes the structure top-heavy and it projects upward, breaking through the cornice. Rather than seeing in these features Gothic residues, one may credit Vigarny with incipient Mannerism. In this altar, the figure groups, much more agitated and larger in feeling than in Vigarny's previous work, reveal an influence from Siloe. Equestrian reliefs behind the praying statues of the Catholic Kings are inspired by Berruguete.

The finest fruit of Vigarny's collaboration with Siloe in the Chapel of the Constable at Burgos in 1523–6 is the *St Jerome* (altar of St Peter),[29] co-ordinated in movement and intense. The sharp angles, vitality, and feeling of space anticipate Berruguete's *Job* (Toledo Cathedral, choir stalls). Without really accepting the Renaissance fashion, Vigarny within twenty-five years developed from Gothic direct to Mannerism. His style after 1520 is roughly parallel to that of the Florentine Andrea Ferrucci, a better artist.

Vigarny's monument of Canon Lerma of 1524 at Burgos Cathedral follows Siloe's Acuña monument in simplicity of design, but foreshadows in its medallions Vigarny's last work, the choir stalls and marble reliefs of 1539–43 at Toledo Cathedral. Compared with the variety and daring of Berruguete's, Vigarny's reliefs are duller, sometimes showy, though never bad. *Jacob wrestling with the Angel* has tenderness, *St Matthias* a lively play of draperies, although no attempt is made at evoking emotion through anatomy. To sum up: Vigarny, in contrast to Berruguete, was a good craftsman rather than a great artist.

Berruguete's most spirited contemporary was Juan de Balmaseda[30] (*c.* 1490–*c.* 1550), active at Oviedo, Burgos, Leon, and particularly at Palencia, where in 1519 he carved the pathetic *Calvary* in the cathedral, above Vigarny's altar. The Virgin and St John, their heads and one shoulder inclined, their left knees pulled up, their hands twisted, move at a slow, dolorous pace on either side of a broken, angular Christ. Balmaseda's Evangelists of *c.* 1524–7 in San Marcos at Leon (Plate 73B) are of a passionate asperity and taut as pulled wire. A late work, the high altar from Becerril de Campos[31] (now Malaga, Sagrario), shows, besides influences from Berruguete, a provincial hardness, even brittleness, that makes the figures extremely tense. One expects them to break or sound like a crystal when touched.

Juan de Juni and Jerónimo Corral

Juan de Juni,[32] probably from Joigny (Champagne), was called by Berruguete 'the best foreign carver in Castile'. He appeared at Leon in 1533, or a little earlier, at the age of about twenty-seven. After working also at Toro, Salamanca, and Zamora, he settled in 1541 at Valladolid for the rest of his life (d. 1577). He was well-read and owned books in French, Latin, Italian, and Spanish, some illustrated with Flemish engravings. Half the assistants in his extensive workshop were French or Flemish. His best Spanish pupil was Ancheta (p. 141) and his best French pupil Juan de Angés (of Angers). Juni began in the High Renaissance style, as shown by the series of medallion heads on the façade of San Marcos at Leon and the block-like monument of Canon González del Barco at Villalón, both of 1536. In the terracotta group of *St Jerome* in San Francisco at Medina de Ríoseco (1538), Mannerism – from the *Laocoon* group – has arrived. The figure breaks forward with its right knee and fist, the head and left arm are thrown violently backwards. The body twists as if in agony. On either side vistas open. The polychromy increases the restlessness. Juni's work at Medina de Ríoseco has been related to Rustici's famous bronze group of *St John the Baptist preaching*, in the Baptistery at Florence (1506–8).[33] Rustici, a pupil of Verrocchio, went to Fontainebleau in 1528. Juni may have studied there or received influences from Rustici in Touraine. It is not known whether he went to Italy, but he was certainly deeply indebted to Italian art by the time he arrived in Spain.[34] His *Pietà* of 1541–4 (Plate 65B) compares with that by Agostino de' Fonduti (1510, Milan, S. Satiro) in vertical grouping, facial aspects, polychromy, and intensity. However, Juni is by far the greater artist. Fonduti's group is in terracotta.[35] Juni also preferred this Italian medium until 1540. His most original work in terracotta is the sensuous and tormented *St Matthew* in the Museo de San Marcos at Leon (Plate 74A). Next to the Evangelist, a small angel runs forward carrying on his head the open Gospel. Though set against a wall, the group seems in motion. It anticipates by a century the Baroque of Bernini in its interplay of light and shadow, its painterly gradations, and the many openings fusing with the surrounding space. Juni soon abandoned terracotta for wood and stone. Yet from his beginnings as a modeller in clay derive his sense of plastic volume and a characteristic language of frizzled hair and of pliant, never angular drapery-folds.

Emotion and movement increase in his works for the lost Castro monument at Salamanca Cathedral (1540). Groups are blended in a unified cadence. The stone group, half life-size, of St Anne and the Virgin presages the Baroque in its monumental breadth, realism, and passionate intensity. From 1541 to 1544 Juni worked on a *Pietà* (Plate 65B) for San Francisco at Valladolid (now in the Museum). Though more Spanish, it is not as great a work of art as his previous statues because of the Grand-Guignol-like polychromy. Perhaps it has been re-painted. The style becomes more obvious and realistic. In the nature of a Spanish *paso*,[36] the group presents an expressive, theatrical spectacle. Six life-size figures, arranged in pairs, surround the outstretched body of the Saviour. Each gesticulating statue is moved by excruciating sorrow and enveloped by agitated, multicoloured, amply-flowing draperies. The folds speak as vividly as the hands. In the faces realism and idealism are amazingly balanced. The head of Christ again reflects the *Laocoon*.

More realistic in its polychromy is the reliquary bust of St Anne. Here and in the *St Anthony with the Christ Child* (both at Valladolid) the life-like Andalusian Baroque of the seventeenth century is strikingly anticipated.

Juni's fundamental significance as a designer of altars has found scant attention outside Spain. His three masterworks, at Burgo de Osma Cathedral, Valladolid Cathedral, and Medina de Ríoseco, all of the 1550s, are dedicated to the Immaculate Conception and foreshadow the Baroque. This is most obvious in the Benavente Altar (Plate 74B) at Medina de Ríoseco, executed more than a century before Borromini's façade of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane. Unexpectedly, the corners break forward at an angle of 45 degrees. The central three-part section projects. Within it the *Purísima*, set in a niche, projects even more. An undulating surface is thus produced. The entire altar is placed within a concave wall. The three arts – architecture, sculpture (in relief and in the round), and polychrome painting – collaborate to create unity and stress movement, expression, and pictorial values. The side parts are subordinate to the centre, and the upper storey is much taller and heavier than the lower. Strict proportions are observed between the various compartments, though one zone may rise or fall into another. Human figures take over as caryatids or tumble out of reliefs to cut across pediments or friezes. Though there are depressed arches, *estípites* (supports shaped like inverted, truncated pyramids), angels with wings in the form of Ionic capitals, and the full orchestra of ornamental decoration gleaned from mid-century Antwerp engravings, there are no Baroque broken pediments or curling volutes as yet. Horizontal and vertical lines are minimized by constant change in direction, shape, or movement. Entablatures and columns, freed from grotesques, underline the plastic, architectural function. The *Purísima* at Benavente points to the more classical art of Montañés. In the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, the protagonists seem to grow into each other, becoming one in a single mass of circular rhythm. In contrast to Berruguete, Juni stresses mass and weight rather than anatomic agility. Some panels (*Birth of the Virgin*, Valladolid Cathedral) are Mannerist in their rapid flight of perspective, others (*Agony in the Garden*, *c.* 1561) closely parallel in turbulent rhythm to the exactly contemporary earliest Venetian paintings by Greco.

Juni's most pathetic creation is his *Dolorosa* of 1560 (Valladolid, Angustias church), intended to lead the Holy Week procession. This ecstatic, visionary figure is an anguished appeal to compassion. Mannerist in its movement, its emotional realism heralds Spanish seventeenth-century polychromy. Similar in shape though more monumental and classical is the kneeling marble statue of San Segundo in his church at Avila (1571–3), dynamic by its curling draperies and the movement of the arms. The frighteningly realistic, forceful *Death* (Valladolid) is probably a late work by Juni. It epitomizes the artist's foremost qualities, passion, vitality, and expressiveness, and has nothing to do with Becerra, to whom it was formerly attributed.

Stucco, although popular in Italy and elsewhere, is a typically Spanish medium. The Moors had used it because of its frailty and its adaptability for achieving surprising effects. From the Plateresque onwards it was a favourite medium, inexpensive, easy to cut and work, and an excellent substitute for marble. The Spanish master of plaster sculpture was Jerónimo Corral of Villalpando,[37] brother of the architect Juan and a close relative of the famous *rejero* Francisco de Villalpando who translated Serlio into Spanish (1551). Probably from French and Flemish engravings, Jerónimo Corral created the finest Mannerism in the style of Fontainebleau. His delicate balconies of *c.* 1540 at San Francisco, Medina de Ríoseco, done for the hereditary Admirals of Castile, are of wood covered with stucco. Sea motifs are prominent: tritons, dolphins, and fish carrying riders. The capricious invention anticipates Montorsoli's Orion Fountain at Messina of 1547–51. Jerónimo Corral was active from 1536 to *c.* 1560.

Between 1544 and 1546 Jerónimo Corral produced his masterpiece, the chapel for the banker-merchant Benavente, at Medina de Ríoseco (Plate 74B). All walls, arches and spandrels, and the dome are covered with polychrome stucco figures. This small chapel tells the story of the universe, the beginning and the end, Creation and Last Judgement. Evangelists, apostles, and saints appear, caryatids, and Death playing a guitar. In the cupola, a complicated cosmogony is embedded in Isabelline Late Gothic tracery work: the prophets, planets, and virtues. It is evident that a literary mind created this dramatic poem of eschatological themes, fantastic, haunted, and utterly Mannerist. Stucco becomes flesh, comes alive, and changes to human form. The entire wall surface seems to be in motion.

Country houses in the Italian way were almost unknown in Spain, owing to the sombre rhythm of life. In a villa of Palladian type built for the Dueñas banking family, the Casa Blanca at Medina del Campo, Jerónimo Corral decorated the walls with Roman warriors and the cupola with putti supporting a central star-pattern. Corral's style, with the slender proportions of his bodies, the playful elaboration, and the profusion of decorative elements, is the exact parallel to that of his contemporary Benvenuto Cellini and also to a certain extent to that of Jacopo Sansovino.

LATE MANNERISM (THE ROMANISTS, 1560–95)

Michelangelo inspired three generations of Spanish sculptors: Ordóñez and Siloe (High Renaissance), Berruguete and Juni (Early Mannerism), and the Romanists (Late Mannerism). The third wave of Michelangelesque influence is characterized by a superhuman, heroic weight, set against monumental giant orders. Bodies are not lean but bulky, replete, and swelling. Faces are less individualized, more stolid and monotonous. Although outlines, *contrapposto*, and rapid flight into depth are stressed as much as in Early Mannerism, Romanist sculpture possessed less originality, and is often ruled by recipe and formula. The effect is more restful and serene, though considerably less vital.

Figures and scenes are not ecstatic, but express a matter-of-fact, severe idealism and often a preference for solemn and classic forms that herald the Baroque. It corresponds to the style in architecture that is called Purism (p. 13). This evolution of style is related to political changes. The tolerant rule of Charles V, permitting even Protestant leanings such as those of Erasmus, was superseded in 1556 by the austerity of Philip II. Alarmed by the inroads of Protestantism, he inaugurated a Spanish policy of strict political and religious uniformity. Individualism and mysticism were abhorred, personal initiative banned. In 1559 study or even travel abroad were forbidden, and the first autodafé was held at Valladolid, when a former court preacher and several ladies of the court were burnt at the stake. At the same time St Teresa changed from mysticism to concretism, from pure contemplation to the desire to submerge in the human personality of Christ. St Ignatius preached the concrete consideration of the Passion, the active, not the visionary religious life. Pope Paul IV (1555–9) shared Philip II's uncompromising attitude. The Council of Trent imposed church control over art in 1563. Its precepts encouraged the art of the Romanists and eventually of the Baroque.

The Romanists conformed to the spirit of Trent by avoiding individualism and by stressing dignity, majesty, and decorum. Their style became factual and narrative in an attempt to convey the Gospel to the largest body of people. Eschewing representations of physical violence or suffering of the soul, they derived from Raphael's *School of Athens* a 'heroic' art with classical undertones. However, the Council of Trent, besides encouraging uniformity, proclaimed that the aim of church art was to lead the faithful to fervent devotion. Thus the Counter Reformation engendered not only the art of the Romanists but also that of the Baroque. The Baroque returned to the ecstatic emotion of the Early Mannerists, their pursuit of movement, and their conquest of space, but it incorporated the pathos, monumentality, and objective narration of the Late Mannerists.

Pompeo Leoni

There was no first-rate talent among the Romanist sculptors in Spain, no one comparable to the High Renaissance and Early Mannerist masters, though Pompeo Leoni, Becerra, Ancheta, Jordán, and Vázquez are worth mentioning. Leone Leoni[38] (1509–90), the famous medallist and portrait sculptor, though urgently invited by Charles V and Philip II, never came to Spain. In 1548–9 and 1556 he moved his Milanese workshop to the emperor's palace at Brussels, and in the latter year his son and helper Pompeo (born *c.* 1533, died in Madrid 1608) travelled with Charles V to Spain. Except for a stay in Italy from 1582 to 1589, Pompeo spent the rest of his life at Valladolid, Madrid, and the Escorial, the first who may be called a Romanist. Within weeks of his arrival he became a victim of the new thought-control imposed by the Inquisition. He was arrested 'for having said certain Lutheran things', and had to spend six months in the seclusion of a monastery. In his will he swore that he had always been faithful to the Catholic Church.

Although Pompeo often signed works alongside his father, one surmises that most of them were done essentially by Leone. The marble reliefs of Charles V and Isabella at the Prado (*c.* 1550–6), in elaborate frames of caryatids and with top-heavy entablatures supporting volute pediments, are frankly Mannerist. More active and three-dimensional is the large bronze statue of *Charles V defeating Fury* in the Prado. Executed in 1551–3, it is signed by father and son in 1564. The mantle can be taken off, revealing the emperor nude, like a hero of Antiquity. A quieter, more monumental mood is seen in the life-size bronze of the emperor's sister Mary of Hungary (*c.* 1555; Prado). Pompeo executed and signed in 1578 the marble monument of the Infanta Juana in the Descalzas Reales at Madrid, a work of classical severity and restraint corresponding to the *estilo desornamentado* of Philip II's architect J. B. de Toledo (pp. 11–13).

Pompeo's huge bronze statues for the main altar of the Escorial, begun in 1579, represent apostles, evangelists, church fathers, and, in the pinnacle, the Crucifixion. In their rich, polished surfaces, the eloquent poses and restless details of drapery, these figures are in complete contrast to the simplicity of the jasper altar. On either side, in a setting grandiose in its solemn austerity and gigantic scale, are the bronze groups of Charles V (Plate 75A) and Philip II, accompanied by their families. Together with the main altar, they have an effect overwhelming in its cold majesty. Death, eternity, and life everlasting are suggested, as in the funeral chapels of Egypt. And, as in Fourth Dynasty Egypt, the effect is obtained by the preponderance of straight lines and the use of a few strong colours (red, green, black, and bronze) and of imperishable materials (stone and metal). The bronze groups were cast at Milan and put in place in 1597 and 1600 respectively. The emperor is surrounded by his wife, two sisters, and a daughter, Philip II by his four wives and his son Don Carlos. The praying statues kneel life-like, erect and determined in the loneliness of the vast church. Their precious garments sparkle as the light reflects from the gilded bronze, set with incrustations and enamel. The surface of the bronze prie-dieu imitates costly brocade. These groups announce the Baroque in their realism, their classical composition of horizontals and verticals, and their majestic dignity and pathetic isolation. Above, with all the ostentation of the empire, are huge bronze escutcheons. Worked with stone inlay, they are like goldsmiths' art on an immense scale.

Romanist Altar-Makers: Pedro López de Gámiz and Gaspar Becerra

The earliest reaction from the emotionally determined Early Mannerism to the more monumental forms of Late Mannerism is seen in the huge altar of 1551–69 of Santa Clara at Briviesca [39] (Plate 76A). Its maker, Pedro López de Gámiz of Miranda de Ebro, must have studied Michelangelo's art at Florence. Carved in walnut, the altar is five storeys high and comprises seven sections (three of reliefs and four of statues), separated by columns and pilasters. The sprouting branches of the Tree of Jesse in the centre compartment seem to grow all over the columns with a circular pattern of vegetable scroll-work, quite unlike the Roman grotesques which Siloe and Berruguete had adopted from Raphael's *loggie*. From the Medici Chapel, López de Gámiz took curved and triangular pediments, overlapping columns, and thin horizontal mouldings. Except for the decorative overlay, his altar frame is calm and orderly. Frame, statues, and reliefs act in unison and are truly sculptural, in contrast to the pictorial effects of Juni and Berruguete. In poses and monumentality, the statues recall Donatello and Michelangelo.

The new academic ideals are also foreshadowed, though to a lesser degree, in Gaspar Becerra's altar of 1558–60 at Astorga Cathedral (Plate 76B). When Becerra [40] (Baeza *c.* 1520–70) returned from his studies with Michelangelo and Vasari, he brought with him a taste for huge, fleshy figures in athletic contortions, anticipating the paintings by Céspedes. Becerra has been criticized for his classicism, anatomical correctness, and lack of emotion. These charges are just only in comparison with Berruguete and Juni. Becerra remained close to Italian ideals. His relief panels, statues, and decorative carvings in the Astorga altar are heavier than those of Berruguete but no less Mannerist in surface elaboration, *contrapposto*, compositional complication, and restlessness. This is even more pronounced in the architectural frame of the altar: fairly narrow panels, squeezed-in figures, stressed verticality, projections and recessions, heavy entablatures, and doubling of columns.

These three altars – López de Gámiz's at Briviesca, Becerra's at Astorga, and Pompeo Leoni's at the Escorial – set the fashion for nearly all Late Mannerist altars in Castile until the advent of the Baroque.

The Epigones: Juan de Ancheta, Esteban Jordán, and Juan Bautista Vázquez

The Basque Juan de Ancheta [41] (b. Azpeitia, Guipúzcoa, *c.* 1530) must have studied in Italy, since his art is close to that of the Florentine school of 1560–80.[42] From Michelangelo came Ancheta's desire for the colossal and the often-repeated poses of the *David* and the *Moses*. In the 1560s Ancheta worked at Valladolid under the influence of Juni. Though a much lesser artist, he turned Juni's frenzied passion to greater severity and virility. From 1576 until his death in 1588 Ancheta resided at Pamplona, the capital of Navarre. His ability did not match his intentions. Thus in the altar of San Pedro at Zumaya (1577) the stocky proportions disclose a lack of anatomical knowledge. The heads are graceless and monotonous, and the patron saint resembles a grotesque dwarf. Ancheta's most successful altar (Plate 77) is at Jaca Cathedral (1575–8). It is of polychrome alabaster and repeats the compositional scheme of the Arch of Constantine. The Baroque is foreshadowed in the resulting sculptural dignity, emphasis on the centre, and balance of horizontals and verticals. Vertical scrolls, as in Vignola's church of the Gesù in Rome, flank the upper storey, which is narrow and top-heavy, still in the Mannerist mode. Mannerist too is the Plateresque richness of surface decoration. In the central group of the Trinity, the irate power of Michelangelo's *Moses* is transformed to an all-embracing force of paternal gentleness. The reliefs at the bottom suffer from Ancheta's inability to compose and to create a rhythm binding figure to figure. His importance lies in his emphasis on colossal forces moving man, who mutely protests against inexorable fate.

Esteban Jordán [43] (Leon *c.* 1529–Valladolid 1598), son of a French sculptor, was influenced by Becerra and by Berruguete's nephew, whose sister he married. Jordán's classical altar in the church of the Magdalen at Valladolid (1571–4) went far in overcoming Mannerism. There are only three storeys, divided into nine almost equal fields, a predella, and a pinnacle. The broad central section seems to project slightly over the narrower sides and the storeys grow less tall as they go up. A long, low Pietà compartment, just below the crowning Calvary, increases the feeling of horizontal stability. The altar is almost flat, except for the supporting Corinthian columns, the outer ones paired, and for the figures in the round in the main storey. Grave, paired apostles recall in monumentality Rustici's *St John Baptist* at the Baptistery in Florence and Raphael's *School of Athens* as well as the altar paintings of the Escorial by Sánchez Coello and others, contemporary with Jordán. In his reliefs, Jordán stressed symmetry and harmony rather than expressiveness. The draperies are soft and woolly, without sharp breaks.[44] Though inferior to Juni, Becerra, and Ancheta, Jordán counts as a link between the Mannerism of Juni and the Early Baroque of Gregorio Fernández.

During the rule of Philip II French and Basque artists produced many important altars in Navarre [45] and the neighbouring regions, Rioja, Logroño, and the Basque country. To Brother Jean de Beauvais (*fl.* 1563–92) is attributed the small altar with the *Coronation of the Virgin* at Unzu, combining French and Italian features in its graceful elegance. Beauvais also designed the classical and correct but somewhat cold images for the altar of San Juan at Estella (1563–8). The altar frame is by another Frenchman, Pierre Picart (*c.* 1512–75), who in 1548 had carved the richly Mannerist façade of Oñate University. The Basque Andrés de Araoz produced Berruguetesque carvings of the Pietà and the Entombment at El Busto (*c.* 1560) which have something of stirred molten metal. The idealized face of a mighty seated *St Lawrence* at Genevilla (1563) recalls the Belvedere torso. Its plastic breadth and spirituality foreshadow Montañés. The Madonna of *c.* 1565 at Lapoblación is as monumental and admirable in its solemn rhythm of drapery folds as Henry Moore's group at Nottingham. Long before the transition to the Early Baroque represented by Montañés, Araoz, in the Lapoblación reliefs, fused idealism and realism, in other words, Mannerism and Baroque.

Juan Bautista Vázquez [46] was the most talented of a group of sculptors from Castile, chiefly Toledo and Avila, who took Romanism to Seville, and thus laid the foundation for the Andalusian school of carving, supreme in Spain throughout the Baroque and well into the Rococo. Documents prove Vázquez to have been at Toledo in 1552–60. Perhaps he aided Berruguete in the Tavera monument. His *Pietà* of *c.* 1560 at Avila Cathedral is derived from the group of 1498 in St Peter's, and exemplifies the Romanist wave of Michelangelesque influence.[47] In 1561 Vázquez left Castile and settled for the rest of his life at Seville. His marble monument of the Inquisitor Corro at San Vicente de la Barquera, Santander (1564) shows the sitter in a pensive pose naturalistically rendered. *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity* at the Hospital de la Sangre at Seville (1563), though monumental, are elegant, feminine, and harmonious. More realistic and voluminous as well as considerably calmer is the sculpture of 1575–84 for the high altar of Santa María at Medina Sidonia (Cadiz), a structure six storeys high. Most figures and groups are in the round. Though they are still elongated, they are no longer contorted. A greater balance than in earlier Mannerism is achieved. The richly pictorial reliefs seem derived from Antwerp engravings. In contrast to the solemn, classical orders then used by the

Romanists in Castile, Vázquez's altar still has Berruguete's baluster-columns. To his death in 1589, Vázquez was Andalusia's foremost sculptor. He influenced Montañés.

El Greco (1541–1614)

Several hundred figures in plaster, clay, or wax, none surviving, are listed in the inventory made after Greco's death. Before starting a painting, he modelled figures in clay or wax,[48] suspended them on strings, and watched different positions and effects of light. Greco's extant sculpture is in polychrome wood. The *Bestowal of the Chasuble on St Ildefons* of 1583 in the sacristy of Toledo Cathedral comes from the Espolio Altar. It is restless, like eddies of swirling water. Undulating forms respond to changes of illumination. The figures, contained in a closed oval, press as tightly against each other as pieces in a jig-saw puzzle. Angularities are stressed, but the lines purposely lose themselves in an effect of mass and surface activity. Similar in anatomy though different in effect is Greco's *Saviour* of 1595–8 in the Duchess of Lerma's collection at Toledo (Plate 75B). It came from the tabernacle of an altar in the Hospital of St John the Baptist. Shadowless and in fluid motion, this figure approaches the ideal of manly perfection, the ideal of the Greeks. Not by accident did a Greek produce this figure. Like statues of Antiquity and of the Renaissance, it has balance and a play of anatomy, relaxed and yet tense. The curve of trunk and right leg is posed against the curve of the left arm. The position of the feet and of the right hand create a triumphant feeling of ascension. Instead of the suffering, blood-stained Christ of earlier Mannerism, Greco evoked here the majesty of the Resurrected God. Increased realism, self-confidence, and breadth foreshadow the Baroque.

CHAPTER 8

SPAIN: THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

INTRODUCTION

THE death of Philip II and the accession to the throne of the third Philip in 1598 led to sweeping changes in Spain, reflected in the arts. The father had aspired to monumental and heroic deeds, from the building of the Escorial to the Battle of Lepanto and the ill-fated Armada. The son was satisfied to be a man of piety and a good *pater familias* who left the government in the hands of his minister, Lerma. From the reign of Philip III on Spanish sculpture is almost entirely religious. Allegory, mythology, or grotesques no longer have a place in art. After the first decade of the seventeenth century there is very little tomb or portrait sculpture. Relief carving loses its previous importance. The vast majority of sculpture, usually of polychrome wood, is figures in the round destined for altars. To move the faithful to prayerful devotion is their purpose and in this they succeed. The seventeenth century was an age of eloquence. Many great sermons, preserved in print, discourse on the state of mind of a sacred personage at a given instant, thus bearing on the state of mind of the believer when praying before the representation of such a personage. These sermons set the mood which the artist imparted to the image. The formal problems of the Italian Baroque are thus of little interest to the Spanish artist. He is concerned with the devotional and spiritual expression, brought to life, and he carves an *exercitium spirituale*. Glass eyes, eyelashes of real hair, wigs, and even costumes of real fabric are widely used in order to facilitate the beholder's identification with the divine or saintly personages.

Sixteenth-century art was addressed to and commissioned by connoisseurs. Seventeenth-century art seeks to arouse the people. Unlike their Renaissance and Mannerist predecessors, the great sculptors of the Baroque did not study in Italy but stayed at home. Influences from abroad reached them at second hand.

In the sixteenth century much important work had been done for the court, whereas after 1600 little is made by royal command. The emphasis shifts decisively from Castile to Andalusia. Only two artists need be considered outside Seville and Granada: Fernández and Pereyra.

CASTILE

Gregorio Fernández (1576–1636)

Gregorio Fernández[1] (Galicia 1576–Valladolid 1636) exemplifies the new trend. He is first heard of in Valladolid, where he may have studied with F. del Rincón, a follower of Juni. Juni's influence on Fernández is obvious in naturalism, surface treatment, and subject-matter: Pietà and Dolorosa. Incipient naturalism came to Fernández also through Pompeo Leoni, who worked at Valladolid when the court stayed there (1601–6).[2] Significantly, in all three arts – architecture, painting, and sculpture – the Escorial style impelled by Philip II led to the emergence of a Spanish Baroque. In painting and sculpture this was due to artists coming from Italy. Fernández's first known commission (1605) was carried out while he was an assistant to the Italian Millan Vimercati, who had been Pompeo Leoni's helper in the Escorial statues.

Fernández's work has defects and virtues. In his concern with subject-matter he neglected form. His sculptural shapes, particularly the draperies, are meaningless and counteract the feeling intended, as in the *Immaculate Conception* at Madrid and a *St Teresa* at Valladolid. Fernández was not interested in composition, proportions, harmony, rhythm, mass, or volume. Concentrating attention on the head and on the surface of the body, he was a master in creating melodramatic faces and seductive skin texture. The contrast of these qualities in his images of the dead Saviour may seem repulsive, even vulgar. Fernández made *pasos*, that is groups of about six figures, life size, representing the Passion. These were carried through the city by religious fraternities during Holy Week processions. To be accepted, the artist's sculpture had to please every fraternity member. Hence Fernández had to work for mass taste and to exaggerate effects. In spite of this handicap he produced memorable statues.

The *Veronica* of 1614 at Valladolid (Plate 78A) was made for the *paso* of Christ carrying the Cross. She once held a kerchief with the Saviour's effigy. The body is exceptionally well felt beneath the draperies. The admirable turning movement is repeated ten years later in a *Christ at the Column* at Santa Cruz, Valladolid. Vivid sorrow and deep compassion bring the face to life. The *encarnado* of the features was done by good artists, such as Valentín Díaz, friend of Velázquez and head of the Valladolid painters. This accounts for the haunting illusionism in such pieces as the *Pietà* (Plate 80); the *Fifth Sorrow* (Valladolid, San Martín); and the *Christ of Light* (Museum). Nowhere in Spanish sculpture was surface sensuality carried to such an extreme. By contrast, the *estofado* of Veronica's mantle (Plate 78A) seems crude. However, it may be a later re-painting.

Increasing sturdiness is felt in the *Pietà* of 1617 at Valladolid (Plate 80), also done for a *paso*. The painting of the skin is original, but the draperies were refinished poorly in the eighteenth century. To increase naturalism, another artist supplied the glass eyes, a feature which henceforth became customary in Spanish sculpture. The stability of the triangular composition is underlined by the firm position of Christ's body and the heaviness of the draperies. These are typical of Fernández, who did not differentiate between textiles dissimilar in weight. Both Christ's loin-cloth and the Virgin's cloak have the consistency of a thick woollen blanket, though the restlessness of crumpled paper. They are not realistic. Similarly, human hair and camel hair are treated alike in the *Baptism*. Fernández's mourning Madonnas always have a resigned expression. The softness of Christ's flesh is stressed, and there is no suggestion of tortured agony. The body is developed in subtle swellings and gentlest, rounded transitions. Yet the effect is strong and immediate. The artist specialized in life-size figures of the dead Christ, stretched out on a sheet and a pillow which are sometimes carved, sometimes real. The earliest version (1605, El Pardo, Capuchins), commissioned by Philip III, suffers from a softness and disproportionate elongation which make the body seem effeminate. This statue, in figure and face, is inspired by lingering Mannerism. Fernández's later versions of the theme are more realistic in facial expression and bodily proportions.

Unlike the finely graded reliefs of the sixteenth century in which Ordóñez and Berruguete had been masters, Fernández's reliefs comprise only figures in the round and others vertically cut in half, both placed against a painted background like postage stamps. The composition was usually taken from engravings, for better (*Baptism*) or worse (*Virgin and St Simon Stock*, both 1624, Valladolid). Unfortunately, the original polychromy is seldom preserved. Usually Fernández's carving of the draperies is in feeling and composition unrelated to the faces. In his *pasos* grotesque expressions and Grand Guignol types abound to divert the people watching the procession. One of the most striking represents Gestas, the Bad Thief.

Less well known in Fernández's *œuvre* are his altar-carvings. Documents exist for some twenty altars, beginning in 1606, of which a few survive. The architecture, two storeys and a pinnacle, was usually carried out by members of a family named Velázquez, and dryly repeats the scheme of Santa Clara at Briviesca (Plate 76A). The altar at Las Huelgas, Valladolid, copies the Escorial altar with far less impressive results. Fernández's best contributions date from the later part of his life. Thus at Vitoria (1624–32, San Miguel) each figure and each panel becomes visually important. The draperies are more realistic than before and possess more grandeur. In the *Adoration of the Shepherds* the artist took more than usual care to unify the composition, though still indulging in his method of all-round figures and half-sections. Roelas's paintings are recalled in the happy, everyday mood, the accompanying urchins, and the hilarity, here provided by a bag-pipe player.[3] Even larger is the high altar for Plasencia Cathedral (1624–34), where the main carving, an *Assumption of the Virgin*, spills over its frame. Here, at last, Fernández reached Baroque movement in depth. In a century the wheel had turned full circle: as in Berruguete's *Transfiguration* (Plate 67A), the scene is pictorial and three-dimensional and implies considerable movement upward. But whereas Berruguete was fluid, weightless, and spiritual, Fernández is heavy and far more naturalistic.

His latest surviving work, a *St Bruno* (1634, Valladolid; Plate 78B) from a lost Carthusian altar, convinces both as sculpture and as a cult image. Harmonious, sensitive folds, sturdy and ponderous, set a mood of gravity and lead to a face which expresses inner contemplation and withdrawal from this world. Head, cross, and book complete a circle. The dignity and serenity of Spanish conventual Baroque come as poignantly and realistically alive as in Zurbarán's contemporary Mercedarian Saints. Both foreshadow the approaching turn to the classical phase of the Baroque (1640–60), represented at Madrid by Pereyra.

Manuel Pereyra (1588–1683)

After the death of Gregorio Fernández, the only significant sculptor in Castile was the Portuguese Manuel Pereyra (Oporto 1588–Madrid 1683). If he studied at Valladolid, as has sometimes been assumed, he would be a link between the great sculptural tradition of that centre and the Spanish capital. It seems more likely, however, that Pereyra passed through Seville and knew the work of Montañés. Pereyra's first surviving work, a *St Ignatius* at the Jesuits in Alcalá de Henares, is dated 1624.[4] In 1632 or shortly after he sent four statues, paid for by Philip IV, to São Domingos de Benfica at Lisbon, of which two survive. The *Virgin of the Rosary* (Plate 79A) reminds one of Montañés. It is typically Portuguese in its profoundly human and tender feeling though monumental form. The powerful *St Bruno contemplating the Cross* (*c.* 1632–5) at the Charterhouse of Miraflores at Burgos combines the utmost intensity and serenity. It is as if a painting by Zurbarán had been turned to stone and in the process come to life. Vital animation is given by the gesture of the left hand, the turn of the head, and the focused gaze.

Soon afterwards, *c.* 1635–40, may be the *St Bruno* of polychrome stone (Plate 79B) which once stood above the portal of the Charterhouse Hospice on Madrid's main street. It is now in the Academy. The frenetic sense of movement of Mannerist art has given way to a concentrated, dignified interplay of diagonal forces. The figure engages space to lead the eye up and around. Though movement is contained, one is aware of the possibility of motion in every direction. According to Baroque preference, Pereyra moulded large, plain areas which curve and fold with supreme power and perfection of form. The result, for all its realism, is relentlessly artful. The saint's head expresses self-assurance, faith, thoughtfulness, and intense concentration. After the instability and brittleness of Mannerism, Pereyra has retrieved the monumentality of Renaissance and classical art. His statues, now lost, at San Andrés in Madrid were 13 feet high. Perhaps the ability to combine elegance, great size, and compositional distinction came to Pereyra from his Portuguese background, for these qualities frequently enhance the work of Lusitanian masters.

Pereyra's four wooden statues of Saints Bernard, Rupert, Ildefons, and Anselmus of *c.* 1645–55 at San Plácido, Madrid, are calmer, more simplified, and thus probably later than the *St Bruno* (Plate 79B). Monumentality and breadth are achieved through the deeply carved sleeves. One is reminded of the contemporary paintings by Juan Ricci. The faces recall in strength that of Uzzano at the Uffizi, formerly attributed to Donatello. Their effect of inner life is enhanced by the polychromy, executed in many of Pereyra's statues by Francisco Camilo (p. 388, Note 5).

In his realism, equilibrium, simple forms, disciplined classicism, sense of proportion, and underlying human tenderness, Pereyra is the Velázquez of Spanish sculpture. Like Velázquez he was of Portuguese origin, and like Velázquez Philip IV honoured him with a knighthood of Santiago.

SEVILLE

Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649)

Seville had been an important centre of Late Gothic sculpture. Throughout the sixteenth century, the city sheltered an increasingly significant school of wood and stone carvers who worked not only for all Andalusia but for the overseas colonies as well. The transition from Mannerism to Baroque was achieved by Juan Martínez Montañés[5] (1568–

1649), Spain's greatest sculptor, called the Dios de la Madera ('God of Wood Carving') by his contemporaries. His output in more than fifty years of activity was large. His influence, directly and through his follower Cano, was immense. Born in Alcalá la Real (Jaén), Montañés trained in Granada (perhaps 1579–82) under Pablo de Rojas, of whose style there is little evidence in his work. Montañés came to Seville shortly before 1588, when he was admitted as master, married there the next year, aged eighteen, and stayed on until his death, sixty years later. At Seville Montañés learned from the antique statues owned by the Dukes of Alcalá, from the sculpture of Torrigiani (p. 127), and from Vázquez (p. 142), Jerónimo Hernández, and Gaspar Núñez Delgado (*fl.* 1581–1606).[6]

Montañés's role in Seville is parallel to that of Gregorio Fernández in Valladolid. Both, after accomplishing the transition from Mannerism to the Baroque, worked successively in the Early and the High Baroque style, and produced late works which adumbrate the turn to the most classical phase of the Baroque, beginning about 1640. Whereas Fernández tended to vulgarity, Montañés achieved admirable dignity and balance. His realism, increasing with the years, was always aristocratic, elegant, and to a degree idealized, like that of his great Flemish contemporary Rubens. Like Rubens, Montañés always attained formal and spiritual equilibrium.

It characterizes the spirit of the Counter Reformation, especially that of those years at Seville, that Montañés's art seems to have a moralizing, didactic intent. In this respect he resembled his collaborator Pacheco, but fortunately, unlike Pacheco, Montañés was a great artist. His contemporaries immediately recognized the novelty of his style, and their praise was all the more extravagant because his works, like those of Fernández, were understood by people in all walks of life: that is to say, the tempered realism of Montañés overcame the aristocratic preciousness of Mannerism. There always remains in his art a strong residue of Renaissance idealism, which prevented him from being an out-and-out Baroque master *à la* Bernini. Where the Italian is excited, expansive, and grandiloquent, Montañés is sober, concentrated, and withdrawn. Both modalities fit into our image of the style, unless one wishes to call Montañés's style proto-Baroque.[7] He was a leader of his time, particularly because of the strong inner spiritual life expressed by his statues. The introvert aspect that distinguishes this phase of Andalusian Baroque is in contrast to the extrovert manifestations of Italian art.

Montañés was not only of paramount influence on the Andalusian sculptors of his century, but affected painters active at Seville between 1600 and 1625. Pacheco, Zurbarán, Velázquez, and Cano learned from Montañés and admired him for the sculptural strength, the palpable inner life, and the iconographic novelties of his art.[8] His famous early work, the *Christ of Clemency* of 1603–6 at Seville Cathedral (Plate 81A), became the model for all Andalusian sculptors and painters. Its influence on Velázquez and Zurbarán is obvious. The contract specified that the Saviour's image should be 'alive before his death … looking at any person who might be praying at his feet, as if Christ himself were speaking to him and were lamenting that what he is suffering is for him who is praying and thus the eyes and features should be of some severity and the eyes completely open'. Montañés's image is one of the first in Spain to show the Saviour alive and one of the first to have four nails instead of three, as had been the custom until then.[9] Soon, the Sevillian painters achieved the stability demanded in Baroque art, by placing Christ's legs parallel instead of crossed as in Montañés's work.

Mannerist art searched for ideal types divorced from nature, while Baroque art found realistic forms to express great ideas. Thus in the seventeenth century the intellectual idea was more important than the form. Montañés's *Immaculate Conception* of 1629–31 at Seville Cathedral (Plate 84B) was as fundamental an innovation as his *Christ of Clemency* (Plate 81A). From the beginning of the century Seville took a lead in favouring the acceptance of the mystery, which received papal sanction in 1616. Pacheco, Roelas, Zurbarán, and Velázquez preceded Montañés in painting this subject with ever-increasing realism, though with a strongly felt spiritual depth. However, Montañés's statue projects itself into the onlooker's mind because of its 'modesty, gravity, devotion, and beauty', in the words of an early critic.[10] The artist created a gentle figure of great tenderness and joy, unlike the childlike types prescribed by Pacheco.

Montañés excelled both as an architect of retables (p. 156) and as a sculptor of images. Though the two capacities went hand in hand, it is convenient to consider them separately. As a sculptor of images,[11] Montañés developed steadily. His earliest surviving image, a *St Christopher* (1597, Seville, San Salvador), is Mannerist only in the restless fussiness of its surface. The energetic pose reveals a profound study of anatomy. In the *St Jerome* at Santa Clara, Llerena (1597–1603) the body becomes so tangible that the mind is instantly directed towards the mortification of the flesh. This most sculptural realization immediately precedes the *Christ of Clemency* (Plate 81A), one of the artist's supreme works in truthfulness and in spiritual power. Whilst the modelling is as tender as in the *St Jerome*, the Christ is more alive and majestic. Strong contrasts are avoided. The figure is restrained. Less dramatic than subsequent images, it derives its perfection from a profound humanity accessible to all.

In 1606 Montañés created the *Christ Child lifting his Arms* at Seville Cathedral, so typically Sevillian in the ambivalence of charming, childlike ingenuity and thoughtful, manly exhortation. Another figure in the round, *St Dominic* (1605–9, Seville, Museum), once decorated the central niche in the main altar of Santo Domingo de Portaceli at Seville. The saint is shown kneeling, as in several of the preceding works. His athletic anatomy, the raised right forearm, and the extended left produce a dramatic effect.

The heads and hands of *St Ignatius Loyola* and *St Francis Borgia* in the University Chapel at Seville (1610; Plate 82A) convey in their intense realism a deep spirituality. The observer is held captive by the austerity, determination, and burning faith of St Francis. The lips are pressed together, the taut cheeks seem to twitch, and the veins protrude at the temples. Thus the image suggests tension, indomitable strength of will, and an agitated inner life beneath outward calm.

Montañés's foremost extant ensemble is the main altar at the church of Santiponce, near Seville (1610–13), with statues of the two St Johns and four large reliefs. In the centre, the kneeling St Jerome ('entirely by the master's hand' in accordance with the contract) is seen in profile against a low-relief background. The legs are in three-quarter view. This statue was intended to be carried in processions, which may explain the exaggeration of muscles and veins. Its expression hints at great inner struggle and mortification rather than at external penitence, symbolized by the stone. It is a tremendously impressive piece, in the solitude of the almost abandoned church. The two St Johns flanking the altar are analogous in mien and contemporary in date to the Jesuit saints discussed. Their deeply cut draperies – arranged in large planes, rhythmically curving at the edges and rising to a unified crescendo – anticipate the garments painted twenty years afterwards by Zurbarán. Nor should the influence on Cano's Granadine sculptures, which were done a half century later, be ignored. The four reliefs (Plate 82B) stress the divinity of Christ as central theme. Each is harmonic and symmetrical in composition. Intersecting curves hold the figures together and gently lead the eye. Large masses are evenly poised against a quiet background. In a sensitive, gradual metamorphosis, the plastic values of the foreground blend with the straight planes in the rear. The features strike a balance between realism and idealization, while the variegated draperies contribute animation. So classical are these Baroque compositions that in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Plate 82B) the angels recall the Italian Quattrocento. Sturdy, self-confident and massive as Renaissance statues, the founders, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán and his wife, kneel in prayer at either side of the altar.

Perhaps in 1618 Montañés carved his finest processional image, the *Christ of the Passion* at San Salvador in Seville, emblem of the 'Justice of God, the Compassion of the Word, the Fortitude of Christ, in short, the theological concept of the Redemption'.[12] Created not for an oratory but for the pressing multitude in the streets, the profound pathos of this figure is heightened by its expression and chiaroscuro painting.

Montañés always gave special care to the central images of his altars. In the side altars of Santa Clara at Seville (1621–6), the *St Francis* is of moving simplicity, reinforced by the suggestion of volume. The *Purísima* is an immediate precedent for Montañés's definitive version, the one at the cathedral (Plate 84B), commissioned in 1628 and finished by the middle of 1631. In this image the unified rhythm of the draperies is as striking as the theological comprehension with which the master expressed the aspects of Mary, mother of God. The figure is set in a tabernacle-altar enriched by figurative elements.

Between 1630 and 1638 Montañés and his assistants did various pieces of sculpture for the main altar of San Miguel at Jerez. These are overshadowed in quality by the *St Bruno* for the Charterhouse of Las Cuevas at Seville (1634, now Museum), which in strength and serene withdrawal is a parallel to the versions by Pereyra (Plate 79B). In 1635 the ageing master was called to Madrid, where he modelled from life the head for the equestrian statue of Philip IV to be executed by Tacca in Florence. The bronze monument, over life-size, stands now in the Plaza de Oriente at Madrid. Back in Seville, Montañés carved two great statues, the two St Johns for the Jeronymite convent of Santa Paula. The Evangelist (1637), according to the contract 'neither standing nor sitting', seems to rise in visionary ecstasy as he listens to divine revelation. The head is as manly and dramatic as the pose. In the centre of the opposite altar (Plate 86A), the Baptist (1638) is seen in a more complicated movement as he looks at the spectator while pointing to the symbol of Christ. With these masterly works the career of Spain's greatest wood carver neared its end.

José de Arce (fl. 1636–66†)

A colleague of Montañés, José de Arce (probably Aerts) of Flanders, made significant advances. Arce is first heard of at Seville in 1636. His Apostles for the main altar of the Charterhouse at Jerez (1637–9, now in the Colegiata) introduced fluency of movement, grandiloquent gestures, and ecstatic expression.[13] Their emotional pitch characterizes the High Baroque at its climax. *St James Minor* and *St Matthias* recall the rapt types of Berruguete's altar of San Benito (Plate 72, A, B, and C), while *St Peter* reminds one of Juni. Obviously Arce had absorbed a strong dose of Mannerism at its height, and he probably spent some time at Valladolid. Yet he was also familiar with the Roman work of François Duquesnoy, his Flemish countryman, because his *St Andrew* faithfully repeats the pose of the Vatican statue on that theme by Duquesnoy (unveiled in 1640 but accessible in a plaster model since 1629). The head of the St Andrew at Rome inspired Arce's *St Jude*. Cano was then (1637) on the verge of leaving Seville, and not even he, much less any other artist, could match Arce in verve, flux, plastic articulation, and an almost expressionist intensity.

Juan de Mesa (1583–1627)

Ever since the middle of the sixteenth century Sevillian carvers had exalted the Passion with increasing fervour. During the classical détente, after 1565, images of the Crucifixus avoided movement and stressed a single plane. The beams of the cross were rectangular and plain, the figure of Christ frontal. The Saviour, his head inclined in death, lacked any expression of pain and symbolized the dogma of Salvation. Montañés's *Christ of Clemency* (Plate 81A), though alive, still belongs to the earlier tradition. Montañés's pupil Juan de Mesa [14] (Cordova 1583–Seville 1627) became the master of the seventeenth-century Sevillian Passion image, the processional figure of Christ. Nowhere else in the world was Holy Week celebrated with such pomp and splendour. The penitent brotherhoods demanded that their images of the Saviour should move the multitudes to compassion and repentance. The Baroque figures of Christ are dramatic, convulsed, and racked with pain. Anatomical detail is accentuated in a desire to be realistic. The cross now consists of rounded beams covered with bark, thus resembling tree-trunks. Mesa stressed muscles, veins, and facial expression. He made the draperies, especially the loin-cloth of Christ, more plastic, and gave it painterly value as a gradated area of light.

Mesa entered Montañés's studio in 1606 at the age of twenty-three and stayed until about 1614. Documents exist for numerous commissions carried out between 1618 and 1627, all concerning single, free-standing images. Mesa's earliest notable work, the *Cristo del Amor* (1618, Seville, San Salvador), was followed in quick succession by four other figures of the Crucifixus (Montserrat Chapel; University, Plate 81B; Santa Isabel, all at Seville; and San Pedro, Vergara). All are pathetic and dramatic in effect, figures of tragic vehemence. There is a poignant contrast between the thin legs and the chest expanding in a deep breath. A crumpled loin-cloth, often fastened with a rope, suggests violence, as does the richly flowing hair of beard and head. The mouth opens in agony and the eyes seem to burst, resulting in an expression of unbearable torture. A similar spirit animates the foremost processional image of Seville's Holy Week: Mesa's *Jesús del Gran Poder* (1620, San Lorenzo) carrying the Cross. In realism Mesa is the parallel to his Sevillian contemporary Zurbarán, who was, however, less emotional.

Alonso Cano 1627–38

With Mesa's untimely death in 1627, only one major artist, Alonso Cano, remained active at Seville to develop Montañés's teachings. For the high altar of Santa María at Lebrija (p. 156), Cano carved in 1629–31 three statues, of the *Virgin and Child* (Plate 84A), *St Peter*, and *St Paul*, striking in their block-like solidity and the knowledgeable articulation of draperies and above all in their psychological realism. The relatively narrow base of these three figures accords with the Mannerist elongation of the entire altar, dictated by the Gothic setting, but also represents a striving for a colossal Baroque order. Connoisseurs of Cano's work in sculpture have considered the Lebrija Madonna his finest achievement.[15] Six feet high, the statue rises majestically, both self-contained and expanding, broadly enveloped in decorative and spacious draperies. The polychromy, by Pablo Legote, is carried out in white over gold (tunic) and in contrasting blue areas covered with gilded relief ornamentation (mantle). Refreshingly informal and life-like is the nude Christ Child, a characteristic and personal creation of Cano. His nudity, then no longer fashionable, and such features as St Peter's pose and head have been cited as evidence that the artist knew Italian statues of Antiquity as well as of the Renaissance.[16]

GRANADA

Alonso Cano 1652–67

No sculpture remains from Cano's Madrid period (1638–52), but at Granada during the last fifteen years of his life (1652–67) he took up the chisel with renewed sensitivity. Three statuettes of polychrome wood, each roughly 20 inches high, helped to establish at Granada the fashion for the small, delicately carved and finished figurine. The *Immaculate Conception* at Granada Cathedral (1655), though unfortunately covered with crude re-paint, suggests sweet tenderness and thoughtful innocence. Ample draperies impart a wavy silhouette and a Baroque feeling of flux and movement, greatly at variance with the Lebrija statues. Nine years later (1664), Cano carved – also for Granada Cathedral – another statuette, the *Madonna of Bethlehem*, on a base so slender that a Mannerist diamond-shape results. Its polychromy seems lacking in sensitivity and appears to have suffered from re-painting, although the salmon-coloured veil adds an interesting hue. The Christ Child repeats the pose of the Lebrija Infant but is more doll-like and less alive. Yet the statue at Granada charms by its supreme gracefulness and miniaturist daintiness. As in the *Immaculate Conception*, the draperies have a sculpturesque power which from photographs leads one to assume life-size statues. This characteristic is shared by the *St Anthony of Padua* (1666–7), at San Nicolás, Murcia, a work distinguished by its unpretentious, happy naturalism in physiognomy, anatomy, and draperies. The excellently preserved polychromy contributes pictorial values.

The contrast to these three miniature works are three statues of 1653–7, over 6½ feet high, from the Convento del Angel at Granada (now in the Palace of Charles V). These are among Cano's best sculptures. Pedro de Mena had a manual part in their execution, but the conception and the more important aspects of carving and finishing are Cano's. *St Joseph and the Infant Christ* translates into sculptural form the deeply furrowed, widely swinging, and softly blending folds of Cano's *Immaculate Conception* in the collection of the Conde de las Infantas at Granada (*c.* 1653–7), a painting exactly contemporary. Both sculpture and painting agree in the mystic, contemplative mood so typical of this period in Cano's life, when he was about to enter Holy Orders. Though inward in mood, the *St Anthony of Padua* is fresh and realistic.

Cano's greatest work of sculpture and the most stirring of the group represents St Diego of Alcalá (Plate 83A), walking forward in absorbed concentration. Triangular draperies rise to the eloquent hands. The embracing movement of the arms becomes meaningful since it suggests the miracle of the roses carried by the saint. The head, one of the most moving creations of religious mysticism in Spain, equals in this respect the best works produced by Zurbarán. Cano's intellectual and spiritual refinement and depth become manifest in the simplicity of design as well as in the thoughtfulness of this clear-cut face. The polychromy of the figure is eminently sensitive. Though Cano produced several other works of distinction during his Granadine period, none requires mention to round out one's concept of Cano as the Spanish Baroque carver who most ably solved problems of form, intellect, and religious insight.

Pedro de Mena (1628–88)

Whereas Cano was the foremost representative in Spanish sculpture of the Classical Baroque, his pupil Pedro de Mena [17] (Granada 1628–Malaga 1688) typifies in his more theatrical and realistic style the aims of the Late Baroque (1660–1700). Spanish sculpture was then exclusively religious and Andalusian art in particular dealt with the human and specific rather than with the general and universal aspect of Divinity. Andalusian sculpture was not intellectual but at the level of the common man, who could more readily feel Christ's suffering than understand his divine nature.

Mena first studied with his father, the Granadine sculptor Alonso de Mena (1587–1646),[18] but his art came of age only after 1652, when Cano returned to Granada and chose Mena for an assistant. Of the four statues commissioned from Cano for the Convento del Angel at Granada, Mena appears to have designed and executed the *St Peter of Alcántara*, less idealized and powerful than the others. From Cano's companion-piece, *St Diego of Alcalá* (Plate 83A), Mena borrowed for his own version in San Antón at Granada (Plate 83B) the effective conical arrangement of the frontal folds. The architecture of the undulating draperies is as simple and heroic as in Zurbarán, whose virgin saints are recalled by the walking pose. Though Mena's faces are usually less forceful and tend to be pretty, a few of the best, such as that of St Peter, reflect intense personality. Here they reached the spiritual strength of faces painted by Ribera, Velázquez, or Zurbarán.

Early in 1658, within six months of Cano's departure for Madrid, Mena too left Granada to install himself at Malaga and to begin work on forty choir stalls for the cathedral. They were finished in 1662. Technically highly proficient, Mena achieved here individuality, vitality, and life-likeness.

In 1663 Mena visited Madrid and Toledo. One of his most stirring works, a *St Francis* in Toledo Cathedral (Plate 83c), is shown 'standing erect and free, with open eyes like a living person' on top of his tomb, as he appeared to Pope Nicholas V when he visited the crypt at Assisi in 1449.[19] The contemporary report goes on to state that the 'hands were covered by the sleeves of the habit across the chest'. Mena's *St Francis* is moving by its simplicity. Body and arms describe a cross. Dented by a deep frontal furrow, resilient folds rise like the shaft of a column. The linked sleeves modulate the upward thrust to smaller rhythms, circling to the elbows and then up to the shoulders. There they resolve in two oval motions, the hood below the neck and the cowl framing the elongated face. St Francis's keen upward gaze and half-open mouth are full of life. Subtle, pale colouring suggests ascetic ecstasy. On 1 May 1663 Mena was named sculptor of the cathedral of Toledo, and this date probably coincides with that of the completion of this piece. It was successful and widely imitated.

Mena soon returned to Malaga, carving in 1664 or shortly after the *Virgin of Bethlehem*, destroyed in 1931, at the church of Santo Domingo (Plate 85). This tondo can be called classical in its perfection of proportions and relationships, as it strikes a balance between idealism and realism, movement and repose. The combination of dignity and playfulness, of seriousness and extrovert grace is typical of Andalusia. These seemingly divergent traits are explained by the sources of Mena's image: the classicism of Alonso de Mena's *Virgin of Bethlehem* (1615, Granada, San Cecilio) and the fluttering Baroque movement of Cano's *Virgin of the Rosary* (1664, Granada Cathedral). Canoesque, too, is the entire altar. Voluptuous festoons disguise its elegant linear accents. Pictorial unity between altar and image is established by allowing the folds of the Virgin's mantle to flow over the frame.

Mena's shop at Malaga produced numberless works, often signed, not only for local churches, but for Madrid, Granada, and Cordova. Among his favourite themes were half-length figures and busts of the *Ecce Homo* and the *Dolorosa*. In showing various facets of the theme, Mena might stress exhaustion, resignation, contemplation, sorrow, or some other mood by which the Virgin, and through her the observer, could gain mystic unity with Christ. Mena's *Dolorosa* at Cuenca Cathedral appears almost frozen and oblivious to the world, expressing the *stabat mater* motif with the strictest column-like rectitude. Another *Dolorosa* (1673, Madrid, Descalzas Reales) gesticulates in a mute outcry.

José de Mora (1642–1724)

As compared to Mena, José de Mora [20] – the other Granadine pupil of Cano – may be called more graceful, exquisite, and precious. Where Mena could be strong and severe, Mora was more softly yielding. But such characterizations do not adequately cover the range of his contribution. Born at Baza (Granada) in 1642, Mora lived at Granada from 1650 onwards. When he died there in 1724 he had been mentally unbalanced for ten years. Cano influenced him directly at Granada and indirectly through his pupil Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo, whose studio at Madrid Mora frequented about 1667. The following years Mora spent partly at court, where he was appointed Royal Sculptor, and partly at Granada, where he settled permanently in 1680. Mora is above all an Andalusian: he had a warm, lyric temperament, delicate, elusive, but deeply rooted emotions, and grace even in the most sorrowful themes. However ardent the sentiments of his figures may be, they are passive and never react violently. The sorrow of the Andalusian is defenceless, quietist. In Mora, as in Mena, reflection and contemplation turn into sentiment. But unlike Mena, who worked for the multitude, Mora laboured for himself. He was a solitary artist, who purposely shut himself off from his surroundings to the extent of keeping secret the location of his workshop and of preferring to make his images alone at night.

Mora's sculpture breathes solitude, that Spanish Baroque corollary of the active life. His *Soledad* or his *St Bruno* are meant to be prayed before quietly, alone and withdrawn from the world. Their sadness and inner fervour keep you in silent suspense. Like Zurbarán, Mora is thus a master of mystic communion with God. His favourite themes, the Ecce Homo and the Dolorosa, impart to the beholder the artist's anxious longing for redemption. His devotional figures were intended for altars, not processions.

Mora's *Soledad* (1671, Granada, Santa Ana), done for the congregation of St Philip Neri, is of exemplary simplicity. Unobtrusive draperies focus attention on the hands and face. The delicate features are so oblivious of the world that to the onlooker nothing seems to exist but the silent inner weeping of the Virgin.

Mora's *Cristo de la Expiración* (Granada, San José) seems calm and peaceful. As generally in Mora's statues, there is no blood, no marks of violence. Only the face betrays some emotion, but without excessive contortion. The loin-cloth, made of fabric dipped in glue, is small in size and has little formal importance beyond its colour and texture. This *Christ on the Cross*, a Christ of love and compassion, expresses a quietist ideal.

The third great statue by Mora represents St Bruno (Granada, Cartuja) with hands crossed over his chest like the *Soledad*, but standing and looking heavenward in ecstatic rapture. This emotional transport is suggested by the verve and amplitude of the draperies, elegantly flaring and almost wing-like. One recalls the self-imposed, silent fervour of the Carthusian rule, their cheerful 'being alone with their Creator'.

As a product of his time, the Late Baroque, Mora could not help being to a certain degree theatrical and rhetorical, trends which contradict his personal aims. The resolution of this conflict makes Mora's art interesting. Underneath the outer calm and resignation, one is aware of a restless flame. Purified and disciplined, his passion persists.

THE RETABLE (1600–1700)

Seville

Throughout Spain retables were developed with imagination. Seville held first rank and more than any other centre influenced Spanish America.[21] Painting, sculpture, and architecture are in balance throughout the history of the Andalusian altar. Initially, painting and sculpture, especially in relief, predominated, with architecture reduced in importance to a minimum. As architecture became more telling for the total effect, the three arts were unified by interpenetration. This development took place in the Late Baroque (1660–1700).

From 1590 to 1620 the chaste, laconic altars by Juan de Oviedo and Diego López Bueno (*fl.* 1588–1632) simply frame painting and sculpture. Between 1610 and 1640 Montañés used architectural bulk to give dignity. His severe and solemn altars form, with the carvings, an ensemble balanced in mass. He surely knew the writings of Vignola, Serlio, and Palladio. Though reliefs or statues are still primary, Montañés employed isolated decorative details and gave surface movement through harmonious articulation. Three types of altars [22] have been distinguished: tabernacle retables, monumental arch structures, and large composite altars such as that at Santiponce, near Seville (1610–13). This, with simple Palladian frame, has nine compartments, three by three. They are marked by straight columns of different sizes and flutings, as well as by open pediments, curved and triangular. The main retable of San Miguel at Jerez (1617–45) enlarges the scheme of the Santiponce altar. The columns are now uniform in size and paired at the corners. The twin altars of the St Johns at San Leandro, Seville (1621–2), are more unified and complex. Compartments different in size and proportions are related by members erupting from one zone into another. Reliefs are replaced by free-standing figures. After 1620 Montañés's columns, usually Corinthian, show spiral fluting to increase movement. Pediments are either straight or curved and often support reclining angels or female figures.

Cano established a new prototype in his high altar at Santa María, Lebrija (1629–31). Four giant columns, spirally fluted, support a projecting and receding entablature. Bracket blocks above the capitals increase height. A small, deep niche in the central section grew prodigiously in later altars. The three-part attic includes two side panels. Cano's favourite decoration was cartouches and horizontally or vertically placed clusters of fruit and leaves.

Between 1636 and 1650 Felipe de Ribas replaced more static previous solutions by integrated movement. His three-dimensional forms are remarkable for rich, over-all decoration. Sculptural and architectural members alternately project and retreat. Ribas preferred paired columns. He probably designed the main altar of the Charterhouse at Jerez (1637), one of the first in Spain with monumental Solomonic (that is, spiral) columns.[23] Such columns, usually covered with vine-leaves, were a favourite feature till 1750. Ribas's altar of St John the Baptist (1637–8, Santa Paula; Plate 86A) is one of the finest Baroque retables. The opposite altar of the Evangelist (1635–8), by Cano, is architectural and severely rectilinear except for prominent volutes above the central niche, a complicated breaking back and forth along the main cornice, and freely perched angels in playful attitudes. Ribas's altar, more unified, graceful, sculptural, and Baroque, achieves spatial movement by omitting paintings and relying on architecture and polychrome sculpture. The tabernacle, moved forward, serves as a base for the central image by Montañés. Above, two angels carrying the Baptist's head dynamically lead the eye to the attic. On the sides elongated panels rise through broken, curved pediments and sustain flaring boxes topped by seated virtues. Shapes swell, spread, and open. Details are sensuous rather than, as in Cano, intellectual. Convincing in its harmony, as of rising and falling fountains, is the attic, so felicitously inscribed within its round arch. Ribas's later works (main altars, San Clemente, 1639–47 and San Julián, 1640–7) underline his contribution. Though Ribas was born in 1609 at Cordova, nearly all his works are at Seville, where he died in 1648.

Architecture, painting, and sculpture found integration in the restless altars designed from 1665 to 1690 by Bernardo Simón de Pineda[24] (p. 26), who created at the Caridad the most important Sevillian altar of the Late Baroque (1670–3; Plate 86B). The sculpture is by Pedro Roldán and the painting (*estofado*) and gilding are by Valdés Leal. In the centre a canopy rests on four richly carved columns, flanked by larger spiral columns covered with vine-leaves and ranged in two planes. A scenographic effect results from the perspective foreshortening of this canopy, treated as an ellipse. The impression of distance and of a stage setting is complemented by Roldán's sculpture, especially the central group of the *Burial of Christ*, set against a deeply recessed landscape relief. Above the curving cornice is a lively arrangement of standing virtues, seated angels, volutes, candelabra, and other decoration in swirling movement, all placed within a semicircle. The altar seems part of the church, also designed by Pineda. The decoration overflows the main niche on to adjacent vaults and walls, pointing the way for the organic unity of eighteenth-century church interiors.

Generally, Pineda's altars have brackets below and boxes above the columns, both supported by paired putti, a huge canopy in the broad central section, elaborately profiled border fringes, prominent scrolls, volutes, and cartouches.

Around 1690 Cristóbal de Guadix (1650–1709) usually designed the central section of an altar as a huge triumphal arch, including the attic. He placed above the tabernacle a large canopied niche for the main image and topped this with a small niche (*manifestador*) for exposing the Eucharist on special occasions. The lower third of his twisted columns is straight, though fluted and garlanded (San Vicente). Finally, in 1700, Francisco de Barahona (1669–1709) placed this niche still higher, in the fourth storey, and arranged three irregularly framed niches beneath it, enclosing relief carvings and groups almost in the round, like *tableaux vivants* (Madre de Dios). He used, simultaneously, columns spiral throughout or in the upper two-thirds or in the middle third.

Castile

The Sevillian Late Baroque altar came to Madrid in 1674 when the younger Herrera (p. 286) designed the main altar of Montserrat church[25] (destroyed), simplifying Pineda's Caridad altar (Plate 86B). The altar was executed by the grandfather and father of José Benito de Churriguera, the leading Late Baroque altar architect at the capital. His main altar of San Esteban at Salamanca (1693–6) proceeds from Herrera's creation but is finer and more grandiloquent with the six huge twisted columns, ranged in different planes on a concave ground-plan. A canopy is used above the central niche and *estípites* in the attic. Life-size statues at strategic points give reference to the human canon and stress the colossal size (90 feet high) of the altar. A large painting by Claudio Coello decorates the top. Churriguera's remaining altars (e.g. San Salvador at Leganés, 1702) elaborate this formula. Within a Late Baroque framework, they abound in virtuosity, vibration, and variety (especially the lost main altar of San Basilio, at Madrid, 1717–20). Yet the Neo-Classicist Jovellanos called them 'monsters conceived by poor taste and aborted by ignorance'.[26]

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Altars and Choir Stalls

Fabulous originality of invention marks the eighteenth century throughout the Hispanic countries.[27] In altars three overlapping phases might be distinguished, though their features suffer many exceptions. At first (1690–1720) mass and volume are stressed. Structural elements are clearly visible. The ground-plan is often concave and sometimes convex. Twisted columns predominate, but *estípites*[28] were introduced by Balbás at Seville and Hurtado at Granada. Consciously inspired by Mannerism, both artists borrowed from engravings of Vredeman de Vries and Wendel Dietterlin. Their contemporaries in Castile were Churriguera and Tomé. In the second phase (1720–50) architectural members often dissolve in a flurry of precariously balanced surface decoration. The *estípite* is used frequently. Ground-plans tend to be flat. Among leading artists were Duque Cornejo at Seville, and Juan del Río and Sánchez de Rueda at Cordova. In the third phase (1760–80) concave plans are favoured, though flat ones remain frequent. Structural members (straight columns or *estípites*) become more distinct again, and sculpture, especially statuary, is prominent. The basic decorative element is the rocaille of the Louis XV style, also called *estilo chinesco* or chinoiserie. The pediment, no longer circumscribed by a semicircle, is often tripartite (Costa in Seville, Bonifás in Catalonia) and grows to fantastic shapes.

Castile

Eighteenth-century sensitivity was avid for excitement and novelty. The European courts lived in immeasurable pomp, striving to emulate Versailles. The Spanish tradition was carried on by such families as the Churrigueras and the Tomés away from the court. An example is the Transparente, built in 1721–32 at Toledo Cathedral by Narciso Tomé (d. 1742). He was born about 1690 at Toro. While in Valladolid in 1715 his fantasy may have been aroused by the Mannerist fireworks of the Benavente Chapel (Plate 74B). The Transparente (Plate 14B) is a *trasaltar*, occupying the rear wall of the altar (see p. 40). Its centre forms a niche made to seem much deeper by an illusionistic raising of the bases and lowering of the cornices towards the middle. Two small marble angels on the altar table seem to support the entire weight of the huge structure – a delightful example of Rococo playfulness. The central image of the Virgin and Child is flanked by marble columns peeling to reveal their fluting. On either side, receding towards the middle and in irregular jasper frames, are bronze reliefs of prefigurations of the Eucharist: *David receiving Bread from Abimelech* and *Offered Bread and Wine by Abigail.* A fantastic cornice, curling up at the ends, serves as a pedestal for a huge cloudburst of gilded bronze rays interspersed with a wheeling *mêlée* of putti, clouds, and the archangels Uriel, Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel. Their poses are free and daring. Raphael's outstretched arms seem to check his fall as he swoops down from heaven. Crystal panes behind the hub of a window shed light over the chamber (*camarín*), built of marble and translucent alabaster, where the Eucharist is exposed to be seen from the front side of the altar. Above is an alabaster *Last Supper*, a popular subject in eighteenth-century altars, and still higher a famous theme of Toledan hagiography: a gilded bronze relief of the Virgin descending from heaven to bestow a chasuble upon St Ildefons. At the very top are Hope, Faith, and Charity, and on the vaults are painted the Lamb of Seven Seals and the Twenty-Four Elders of the Apocalypse as well as the story of Gideon and other Old Testament parallels of the Eucharist.

Diversity, surprise, and imagination distinguish this masterpiece. The illusionistic perspective magnifies the size of the work and the stage-set lighting draws the eye upwards to the hovering marble clouds, the gilded rays of the sun, and the multicoloured jasper and glass. Tomé brought heaven to earth. The grandeur of his composition has been compared to that of Bernini's Baldacchino. Celebrated at the time of its completion as the eighth wonder of the world and damned since the Neo-Classical period as a sign of the worst degeneration, the Transparente is considered today one of the most original inventions of the eighteenth century.[29]

Seville and Granada

The most significant altar architects in Andalusia were Balbás, Hurtado, Duque Cornejo, and Costa. Jerónimo Balbás, in his high altar (1706–9, demolished in 1824) for the Seville Sagrario, further developed the type created by Pineda. Balbás's altar (80 by 40 feet) was of pine-wood and had 'four large *estípites*, pilasters, lots of angels prankishly tumbling about and a cornice broken and interrupted in a thousand places with tortuous projections and recesses, the whole topped by a huge arch'.[30] The profusion of angels over the entire surface is typical of early eighteenth-century work. The altar was promptly imitated all over Seville. Balbás's choir stalls at San Juan, Marchena (1714), show the joyous playfulness of his style in their activeness and use of the *estípite*. Typical of both Mannerism and Rococo, this support never entirely disappeared from Sevillian architecture.[31] In 1717 Balbás left Andalusia for Mexico (p. 168).

Meanwhile Hurtado [32] had designed the altar of Santiago at Granada Cathedral (1707), stressing the upper part, so that the altar would appear top-heavy were it less light-hearted. The *estípite* is used and the centre figure sheltered by a pavilion, that is a curtain arranged like a tent. Instead of Baroque concentration, the architecture begins to dissolve. These anti-Baroque tendencies may be called neo-Plateresque, and link many eighteenth-century altars to Mannerism.

Pedro Duque Cornejo adopted both the *estípite* and the pavilion in his opposite altar of the Virgen de la Antigua (1716–18). He took the pavilion motif to Seville. It became a central feature of Rococo altars in Spain and Mexico. His Novitiate altar at San Luis, Seville (*c.* 1730; Plate 87A), seems almost in one plane. Concave and convex volutes dominate visually and give elasticity to the composition, as if a hundred springs were pressing against each other, pullulating, trembling, in most precarious, precious balance. The Moorish world-image comes to life again, though in a different way. Paintings and statues act as insertions, almost as intrusions, like dark pebbles in an elaborate golden ring. The *estípite* is found here, but it is an exception in Duque Cornejo's *œuvre*. In his main altar in the parish church at Umbrete near Seville (1733), architectural elements fuse in an ensemble of the utmost decorative splendour. The main body has four large Corinthian columns almost disappearing under mouldings, garlands, and medallions. The central section has five superposed parts, the largest (*Ascension of the Virgin*) at the top beneath a pavilion made of fabric dipped in glue. Typical of Cornejo are oval or even more elongated medallions in the narrow lateral sections, and the huge upright volutes shifted sideways on top of the entablature above the capitals. These volutes begin in a concave curve with a countercurve ending in a spiral. Duque Cornejo's choir stalls [33] at Cordova Cathedral (1748–57) are the century's best. Immense, with over a hundred mahogany seats, they are Rococo in delicacy, animation, and lightness of touch. Decorative detail wings upward in blithe profusion: colonnettes, medallions, fringes, scrolls, and leaf work. Particularly successful is the middle wall with the bishop's seat under a huge relief of *The Lord's Ascension.*

Cayetano Alberto da Costa (Oporto 1711–Seville 1780) dominated the second half of the century. His main altar of Santa Rosalia at Seville (1761–3) follows Duque Cornejo's Umbrete altar in basic design, but the specific elements differ. Fantastic *estípites*, composed of rocaille, zigzag like flashes of golden fire. Six other altars at Santa Rosalia serve as rich frames for sculpture, which in Costa's altars recovers some importance. His masterpiece, the portal of the sacramental chapel at San Salvador (1765–70), has in the centre of the attic a canopy sheltering the Eucharist and resting on the most slender, graceful nerve-strands of angels and rocaille.

Galicia

Though most original, the eighteenth-century altars in Galicia are insufficiently known.[34] Only a few monuments in the capital, Santiago de Compostela, will be mentioned. During the previous century Mateo de Prado, a pupil of Gregorio Fernández and a delayed Mannerist, had carved the choir stalls at San Martín Pinario (1644–7), among the best in contemporary Spain. Probably Canon José de Vega y Verdugo projected *c.* 1658–67 the canopy above the high altar of Santiago Cathedral. His clumsy though ingenious variant of Bernini's Baldacchino was improved by Domingo de Andrade's execution, *c.* 1680. A pyramidal, voluted shape on a large cornice rests lightly on four angels seemingly in flight. Virtues and other statues are subordinate to an equestrian *St James* topped by a many-tiered pinnacle. In 1700–10 Francisco Canseco designed the relatively plain high altar at San Pelayo de Antealtares. Fernando de Casas created a fine Italianate (S. Maria Salute) altar of jasper, marble, and other precious stones in the Pilar Chapel of the cathedral in 1718 and projected in 1730 the greatest of all Galician altars (Plate 87B), the main altar of San Martín Pinario, carved in 1733 by Miguel de Romay. Placed between nave and choir, it is open towards both sides on the precedent of the cathedral baldacchino and many altars in neighbouring Portugal.

Catalonia

Luis Bonifás[35] (1730–86) at Valls effected the transition from Rococo to Neo-Classicism in fifty altars, as many statues, a dozen altar projects, and one hundred and three choir stalls. Most of them were burnt in 1936. Bonifás's altars, concave or sometimes convex in plan, have a high base in two parts, a taller middle section, and an attic as high as the base. The altar table, fitting in design, supports on a stepped pedestal a tabernacle shaped like an upright oval cartouche with volutes. On it rests the main statue under a recessed arch. Sometimes three columns are used, wedge-like, at the corners, their lower part half hidden by statues. Pilasters in the attic uphold a three-part winged pediment. The high altar at Cubells (1764–9) derives from Bernini's Cathedra of St Peter. That at Golmes (1770–6) is less ornate, and the Dolorosa altar at San Juan Bautista, Valls, entirely unadorned. The Neo-Classical style has arrived. Bonifás's choir stalls at Lérida Cathedral (1774–9) are masterful in form and composition. Though he never left Catalonia, Bonifás's elegance was European, perhaps helped by a study of French and Italian engravings.

Over two hundred years of inventive, imaginative growth were cut off in Spain, as elsewhere, by the Neo-Classical altar type. By royal decrees (1777 and 1789) retables had now to be in brick or stucco, and in the new style. Parishes that could not afford these materials used wood painted like marble. Many Baroque or Rococo splendours were destroyed to make room for these sterile affairs.

Figure Sculpture

Andalusia

Seville and Granada, the two principal cities, often mutually influenced one another. Montañés was trained at Granada, Cano at Seville. The leading sculptor there during the second half of the seventeenth century was Pedro Roldán[36] (1624–99). He was born at Seville and died there, but was trained at Granada by Alonso Mena (1638–42). Sculptor, painter, and architect, Roldán promoted the closer unity of the three arts in the altar (p. 157). Theatrical and somewhat superficial, he often transgressed the boundaries between painting and sculpture, and thus is typical of the Late Baroque. Sevillian artists do not favour severity. Rather than the tragedy of the Passion, Roldán showed in the *Burial of Christ* (Plate 86B) graceful movement and rhetorical persuasion, gentle as in a dance.[37]

Roldán's pupils were his daughter Luisa [38] and his grandson Pedro Duque Cornejo (Seville 1678–Cordova 1757), the leading sculptor during the first half of the eighteenth century at Seville, Granada, Madrid, and Cordova (p. 160). At Granada his gigantic statues of the Apostles in the Angustias (1716–19) and his *Magdalen* in the Cartuja convince through dynamic volume, rhythm, and grandiloquence. The *Magdalen*, in matt ashen greys and pale blues, conjures up an air of penitence.

Duque Cornejo's counterpart at Granada was José Risueño [39] (1665–1732). Both as a painter and a sculptor, Risueño developed from Cano and from engravings after Van Dyck a language of voluptuous forms fitted into fluttering draperies. His art has a happiness which is typically Rococo. His bland figures seem to be modelled in soap. His textures sometimes recall frothy waves. Sensuously polychromed terracotta figurines gained him much fame.[40] On a monumental scale, his stone *Annunciation* above the main portal of Granada Cathedral is pictorial and yet dramatic in its volume.

Risueño's successor was Torcuato Ruiz del Peral [41] (1708–73), with whom the school reached a brilliant though untypical end. Influenced by Mena's choir stalls at Malaga, Torcuato in 1741 designed a model for those at Guadix Cathedral and completed between 1746 and 1770 about thirty of the cedar figures on top of these stalls. The bulky *Founders of the Orders* have almost outgrown the Rococo and seem to be linked back with the Classical Baroque. The movement, though elegant, is insistent and restrained rather than violent. Realistic in pose and expression, these figures suggest character studies. A pathetic note dominates, as in the *Virgen de las Angustias* (a group of the Pietà) at Santa María de la Alhambra, Granada. Carved in wood, its broad planes break into angular folds recalling paintings by Zurbarán. Distorting the body of Christ, Torcuato dramatically created a feeling of anguish, daring in the Rococo.

Valencia and Murcia

Fiske Kimball [42] defined the Rococo as a 'linear organization of surface through the transformation of the frame on the suggestion of the arabesque indifferent to spatial or painterly effects'. The frame matters more than the thing it encloses. Except for its pronounced painterly effect, the definition fits Ignacio Vergara's [43] fantastic alabaster doorframe for the Palace of the Marquis de Dos Aguas at Valencia (1740–4; Plate 22B). The design was by Hipólito Rovira Brocandel. Two Michaelangelesque giants, said to represent Flora and Fauna, emerge from a luxuriant growth of plant and animal life. They empty water vessels, signifying the two rivers of Valencia but also alluding to the name of the owner. The group of the Virgin and Child is not by Vergara.

Francisco Salzillo [44] (1707–83) has been considered the greatest Spanish sculptor of the eighteenth century. More fairly, he may be called an excellent folk artist. He spent his life in provincial Murcia and never learned to create significant form. His figures seem cloyingly sentimental, yet somewhat vapid. Even in his best statue, a realistic *St Jerome* at La Ñora near Murcia (1755), Salzillo blurs the religious significance by an injudicious scattering of attributes.

Madrid

Under the Bourbon dynasty, the climate at court,[45] though at first foreign to the Spanish tradition, became by 1750 deliberately Hispanophile (see p. 45). From 1720 to 1724 Carlier, Fremin, Thierry, Pitué, the Brothers Dumandre, and other sculptors from the court of Louis XIV decorated the gardens of the palace of La Granja with fountains and mythological figures in the French taste. These gardens were even larger than those at Versailles which they sought to imitate, 'in order to remind the monarch [Philip V] of past innocent pleasures and provide him with a site to atone in solitude for his own shortcomings and those of his Spanish subjects'.[46] Meanwhile, the Spanish tradition lingered on precariously. Luis Salvador Carmona [47] (1709–67) continued the art of polychrome wood carving. A late echo of Gregorio Fernández, though inescapably more *virtuoso* and sweeter, Carmona excelled in anatomy and body movement, ably enhanced by the verve given to the draperies. Cut in deep furrows, they flow freely and suggest vitality as well as largeness. Pedro de Mena's statues may have taught Carmona how to impart character. He was a prolific worker. Some of his best statues are in the churches of La Granja.

The rediscovery of Pompei (1748), the founding of the Royal Academy of San Fernando (1752), and the custom of sending deserving academy pupils to Rome decisively favoured the development of Neo-Classicism. The first director of the Academy, Felipe de Castro (1711–75), created coldly idealistic marble reliefs and portrait busts of a certain Neo-Classical grandeur, though sympathetically observed (Madrid, Academy). The next generation at Madrid stepped over the threshold of Neo-Classical art. Manuel Alvarez (1727–97), a pupil of Castro, had good taste, elegance, and measure (Statues of the Four Seasons, Apollo Fountain, Madrid). Though these qualities brought him the nickname 'the Greek', this amateur antiquary was too sensitive, animated, and painterly to succumb entirely to classical formulas. Francisco Gutiérrez (1727–82), a pupil of Carmona, was trained in Rome. He combined imagination, grandeur, and movement in his statue and chariot of the Goddess Cybele (Madrid), derived from a print of this subject in a Spanish translation (*Panteón mýtico*) of Pomey's book on the antique gods. The last eighteenth-century Spanish sculptor of quality was the Valencian Tolsá who represented the Madrid Academy in Mexico.

CHAPTER 9

SPANISH AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

PRE-CONQUEST carving, often more accomplished than painting, produced some of the world's great sculpture. After the Conquest, too, sculpture is often less imitative, freer, and more creative than painting, though usually European prints or statues were copied. In sixteenth-century sculpture there were true indigenous survivals in Mexico and Peru. The Colonial style favoured simplicity of motif, richness of pattern, and flatness of form.[1] This can be seen in widely separated areas; Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Architectural decoration and altar-carving show considerable invention throughout the Colonial period, especially in the eighteenth century.

As for single figures, the greatest monuments of Colonial sculpture are lacerated, blood-stained statues of Christ. The oppressed Indian identified himself with the suffering Christ, often gave him Indian features, and created a powerful folk art around this theme. The most moving efforts show Christ at various stages of the Passion.[2] Paired angels and God the Father Blessing are also frequent motifs.

Often local pre-Conquest techniques survived. These are closely related to Far Eastern methods. In Mexico, the Crucifixus and other statues were made by combining corn, paper, and wood.[3] Spain ordered these images, about 5 feet tall and weighing 10 lb., for processions. Arms, legs, hollow head, and trunk were formed separately, each of layers of moist glued sheets of paper. This cylindrical core was covered lengthwise with peeled corn stalks glued together and then wound with an outer layer of paper. A pine stick connected arms and legs to the trunk. The statue was moulded by finger pressure before the corn dried. The extremities were carved in light-weight wood from the coral-tree (*Erythrina*). Then the figure, uniformly coated with plaster, was polychromed. The corn probably held religious meaning for the Indian. Light balsa-wood was used in Ecuador and Peru. In Ecuador statues were made by gluing together many small pieces of maguey, so as to form a sturdy shell, which was then carved on the outside, and the same was done in Peru with pieces of cactus. Head and hands were, however, often of cedar wood. For reliefs and often also for figures Peruvian artists kneaded a paste of gesso, charcoal, cow bile, and flour.

Even the best Colonial artists, painters and sculptors, remained far below the best European standards. In comparison with Europe, a greater proportion of painting and sculpture is to be considered folk art, which is often expressive and interesting. It would be difficult to determine the race of the artist by looking at his work. Some of the best and most 'European' work in South America – the paintings by Miguel de Santiago and the carvings by Caspicara – were done by mestizos or Indians. Though in Mexico City and in some other capitals the Indian was excluded from artistic participation, both as subject and object, his spirit influenced Colonial art. The recently arrived Spaniard was energetic and arrogant. Gradually he assimilated the submissive courtesy, grave passivity, and gentleness of the Indian.[4] Colonial art preferred decorum to violence and sweetness to passion. Tranquillity, placidity, and orderly measure set the tone. Vivid movements are as rare as they were unseemly in actual life. Profiles and frontal faces are avoided in favour of three-quarter views, which are less abrupt and easier to do. Features are idealized and tend to be beautiful rather than individual or ugly.

MIDDLE AMERICA

THE CARIBBEAN

The earliest Hispanic monuments in the Americas survive on the islands first settled: Jamaica and Santo Domingo.[5] Siloe's Italianate style is evoked by the remains of a church portal at Kingston, Jamaica (*c.* 1525–34), and the frieze and pilasters of the main portal of Santo Domingo Cathedral (1536–44). The Renaissance is represented there also by several wall-tombs which have splayed arches with coffering in perspective, supported by ornate columns, balusters, or plain pilasters. The ornamentation includes medallion busts, candelabra panels, and, in the Bastidas tomb, an effigy lying beneath a relief of the Baptism. The finest example of Siloesque wood carving in the Americas is the mahogany episcopal chair (1540), probably by a master who knew the stalls of San Jerónimo at Granada (Plate 69) or the carvings of Seville Town Hall. Various Caribbean cities received minor works direct from Seville.

MEXICO

The Sixteenth Century

Soon after the Spaniards set foot in Mexico,[6] the Mendicant Orders embarked on a vast building programme (p. 69), generally executed under their supervision by Indian artists and workmen. Between 1520 and 1550 little energy remained for sculpture. It was restricted mainly to decoration outside and inside doorways, and it was done in a retardataire Gothic or in the new Renaissance style. In Mexico City the Franciscan Pedro de Gante (Pieter of Ghent) set up a school for Indians (1527), where he taught them to make altars and images for all Mexico. Like their Far Eastern blood-brothers, the Indians were not only admirable craftsmen but had remarkable gifts of imitation. They eagerly learned European ways.

From 1550 to 1570 the sculptural decoration of doorways continued to be simple, but was often of fine quality in relation to the background, as in the carved compositions on the *posas* at Calpan (1550–5). These derive from German or Flemish Late Gothic woodcuts. Thus their style is flat [7] and graphic, as is, for the same reason, that of the Mexican frescoes.

A masterpiece of native sculpture is the jambs and arches of the unfinished open chapel at Tlalmanalco (early 1560s; Plate 88A). It is the principal example of *tequitqui* style. This word means 'tributary' (as does *mudéjar*) and designates Mexican Colonial works showing distinct pre-Conquest traits. The jambs at Tlalmanalco [8] have Christian motifs such as the winged seraph head in the centre (right panel), the two angels holding a drapery in the left panel, and the debased escutcheons towards the top. But Aztec echoes also occur: in the right panel, the skull and the two figures flanking it, the mask-like head covering his ears between the dolphin snouts, the glyphs $\frac{\wedge\;\wedge\;\wedge}{\bigcirc\,\bigcirc\,\bigcirc}$, and the open-mouthed Xipe Totec heads next to it. There are monkeys, dogs, $\vee\;\vee\;\vee$, and the tassels of Coatlicue's skirt. Heads like Aztec masks loom in the capitals and arches. Here is a living synthesis of European and indigenous art, extraordinarily rich and ingenious, but medieval in flavour. In contrast to the frequent flatness of *tequitqui* carving, the Aztec feeling for volume is preserved.[9]

From about 1570 European artists increasingly worked even in the monasteries, replacing Indian labour and substituting for the earlier frescoes carved altars with images and oil-paintings. The foundation of a European wood carvers' guild in 1568 suggests that previously most carving was done by Indians. Now, Europeans carved and painted the great Late Mannerist altars at Huejotzingo, Xochimilco, and in other convents. Except for fragments, only the first two survive. For the high altars at Yanhuitlán [10] (*c.* 1575) and Huejotzingo (*c.* 1584) the model was Briviesca in Spain (Plate 76A), with its five-storeyed, seven-part composition and, in the four narrow sections, standing images of saints flanked by columns. The lower third of the Mexican columns was covered with relief figures. At Huejotzingo and Xochimilco dignified statues, grave and tranquilly repetitious, accord with the Romanist style in Spain. The most impressive retable fragment is a *God the Father*, 8 feet high, at Yuriria. Now bare of polychromy, the weathered wood enhances a Michelangelesque feeling of stern benignity.

The Seventeenth Century

Between 1580 and 1600 Mexican wood-carving had been influenced most by Andalusian sculpture from Granada and Seville. This influence continued during the seventeenth century, as in the other Hispanic colonies, and for the same reasons: the Andalusian school was the best in Spain, and Seville the port of embarkation for colonial trade. Although a considerable number of altars and images must have been imported, very few survive, and for Mexico even documentary evidence is meagre. The *Blessing Christ Child*, a nude statue called *El Niño Cautivo*, at Mexico Cathedral since 1629, is the finest example. It must belong to the circle of Montañés. Two busts by Pedro de Mena at the Profesa (*c.* 1675) are the only signed works in Mexico by any renowned Spanish Baroque sculptor.

The outstanding sample of Mexican sculpture at the beginning of the Baroque is four Evangelists, each astride a huge eagle, in the dome spandrels of Santiago de Tlaltelolco, a Mexico City church built in 1605–7 by Fray Juan de Torquemada. Like Rubens's *Ganymed*, they have an expansive, soaring vigour. The medium, stucco, during the next two hundred years was to produce some of the most original Mexican decoration. Prime examples are the Rosary Chapel in Santo Domingo at Puebla and the church of Santo Domingo at Oaxaca.[11] The vault underneath the choir at the latter church bears a huge, festive Tree of Jesse. Gaily polychromed, these designs foreshadow the exuberance of Mexican eighteenth-century decor.

Most surviving Mexican sculpture of the seventeenth century is 'Mannerist Late Baroque' (1660–1710), for the same reasons as the painting (p. 310): reliance on Mannerist prints. Besides the stucco work, there are four main categories – reliefs and statues on façades, altars, choir stalls, and free-standing wooden sculpture.

At San Agustín in Mexico City (1677–92, now the National Library), and at Oaxaca, the same Flemish late sixteenth-century print was copied, in a severe style though with delicate detail at Mexico, at Oaxaca naturalistically, with deeper shadows and greater turbulence. The crowded Oaxaca relief, probably a few years later than the Mexican one, is less expressive and has lost the abstract, symbolic quality of great architectural decoration. Numerous examples of façade reliefs and stone statues, dating between 1675 and 1720, remain at Mexico City, Oaxaca, and the other major colonial centres. They are effective in the intense Mexican sun for their strong, simple patterns, and a feeling of mass and form suitable to their purpose. Varying with the local stone, each city developed colour preferences. At Puebla, for instance, reliefs of white stone are incrusted in grey walls.

The seventeenth-century altar stressed proportion, harmony, and dignity even to the point of dullness. One of the most elaborate, designed by Martínez Montañés at the Chapel of Kings in Puebla Cathedral *c.* 1650, is dominated by paintings and isolated statues in their niches. Horizontals and verticals are balanced almost in one plane. Except for twisted columns in the second and third storeys there is little action of any kind. Baroque desire for movement and airiness, sparked by Bernini's Baldacchino, produced by the middle of the century several free-standing, multi-storeyed altars, with columns of jasper or cypress wood and dozens of statues in silver or gilded wood. Still standing is the fine altar of the Rosary Chapel of *c.* 1650 at Santo Domingo in Puebla. It consists of twelve plain columns below and twelve spiral ones above (striated or overgrown with thorny branches) of *tecali*, the white Mexican alabaster. A dome with lantern supports a statue of St Gabriel.

From the last third of the seventeenth to the end of the first third of the eighteenth century, the Mexican altar achieved a high degree of movement and complexity by means of twisted columns, usually draped with vegetation, preferably grapes and vine-leaves. In Spain, Cano in the Lebrija altar, followed by Pineda in the one at the Caridad (Plate 86B) and Churriguera in the St Esteban altar at Salamanca, had created the single monumental order. In Mexico, excessive reliance on small compartments continued throughout this period, resulting in a lack of dominating accents, as in Pedro Maldonado's altar of Santo Domingo at Puebla (1688–90).[12]

Outstanding choir stalls had been carved at the old cathedral and at Santo Domingo in Mexico City by Adrian Suster of Antwerp, who had come to Mexico about 1573 after six years' training at Seville and Cadiz. In 1598 he found himself in the dungeons of the Inquisition falsely accused of being a Lutheran, and was not released until 1600. None of his work survives. The extant stalls are of the Mannerist Late Baroque. Those at Xochimilco, from sixteenth-century prints, date from after 1670. They are in low relief, hard, dry, and monotonous, placed in round arches without ornamentation, a mode followed in subsequent stalls. The ones at the cathedral (begun in 1696) are influenced by Mena's stalls at Malaga, but they are in quality below Spanish work. Little money was available for this commission. Facial expressions are unvaried and draperies lack feeling. The best panels show archangels in the poses introduced in Mexico by Vázquez (Plate 167A) and exalted by Villalpando (Plate 167B). They were carved by Juan de Roxas, who in 1715 also did the lost stalls at San Francisco. One wonders whether he was related to Pablo de Rojas of Granada (p. 148). The best Mexican stalls, those at San Agustín, were commissioned in 1701 from the Indian Salvador de Ocampo. More decorative than the ones at the cathedral, they gain in effect by not wholly reproducing the Mannerist prints but abstracting, abbreviating, and leaving blank spaces. The clouds become stylized S-curves, and the draperies as well as the design on the whole are lively and rhythmic. By exception in the Colonies, Old Testament subjects prevail, some after a Spanish Bible engraved early in the century by Juan de Jáuregui in the Flemish manner, others after a Paris Bible Commentary.[13]

The most expressive free-standing wood sculpture in Mexico is a head of St Diego of Alcalá in the Cathedral Museum in Mexico. The polychrome surface, large eyes, eyelashes, and ivory teeth echo the art of José de Mora. Movement, fluidity, tension, and muscular effort create a pathos parallel to that in the paintings by Villalpando. Statues of saints are usually less distinguished than Christ in various aspects of the Passion. A blood-stained *Christ* at Tlalmanalco seems ghost-like, wounded, as if risen from the grave. At San Miguel Totocuitlapilco is a *Christ at the Column*, fallen to the ground, an emaciated old man, skeletal as the victim of a Nazi concentration camp.

Tomb sculpture was forbidden by the First Mexican Church Council in 1555, though effigies of great benefactors were permitted in the chapels they endowed. Shown kneeling and praying, they are usually in a niche near the altar to partake eternally of the Sacrament of Communion. Most of the few surviving statues are mediocre and date from the seventeenth century. Two at Puebla (Santa Mónica) are European in feeling, one, a provincial *Knight of Santiago*, at Churubusco, must be singled out for a fine quality of bulk. Similar statues constitute the only portrait or tomb sculpture in the other Hispanic colonies (Plate 192A).

The Eighteenth Century

Jerónimo Balbás's altar of 1718–37 in the Chapel of the Kings at Mexico Cathedral freed Mexican retables from the Late Baroque rut. As he had done at the Sagrario of Seville Cathedral (p. 159), Balbás used a monumental order of four *estípites*, 'bursting like sky rockets, broken into polyphonic rhythms, dissolved in dynamic shadow in a golden cave aglow with radiance'.[14] The worshipper is overwhelmed by such richness, swallowed up in the mystery of multiple, complex forms and disintegrating walls. The plan is bent into a half-circle so that the altar could not be comprehended at one glance even were it less varied. The experiment was soon repeated at Tepotzotlán (1755) and Taxco, where the altars, though not curving, are just as luxuriant and complex. There is no undecorated area, no surface at rest. The eye moves up, down, across, and deep into this golden cage, carved to a depth of 6 or 8 feet. To the poor here is surcease from poverty and to the rich a hope for life eternal by conspicuous almsgiving. The style inaugurated by Balbás was fruitful for Mexico, because it gave at last an opportunity for creative imagination. A great many variations were produced. Typical are prominent curtained pavilions and a projecting show-case in the centre. On the sides the *estípites* are sometimes absorbed by the wall, while the sections between them project, flare out, contain statues and incrusted paintings, and become pseudo-*estípites*, By 1750, if not earlier, ovals become frequent and rocaille forms appear. The most inventive school is now centred at Querétaro, where the Rococo engravings made by the Klaubers at Augsburg were as influential as they were to be at Quito. The Querétaro altars strike a feminine note, and absorb motifs from basketry, textiles, and lacework, but particularly rocaille. Here, at San Agustín, Salamanca, Gto., and at the Carmen, San Luis Potosí, are the most original late eighteenth-century Mexican altars, carved only just before invention was killed by the imposition of the Academy. These altars reflect the opulent and mundane luxury of eighteenth-century convent life led by rich novices surrounded with personal servants.[15]

One of the best examples is the altar of St Joseph (Plate 88B) at San Agustín, Salamanca, Gto., attributed to Pedro Joseph de Roxas, who in 1768 executed the companion altar of St Anne.[16] The sensual exuberance and superb decorative quality of this composition have been noted.[17] Some ideas came from Duque Cornejo (p. 160). The altar is typical, with its emphasis on niche tableaux, veritable stage scenes. These are set into an expanding, pilaster-like form, the 'niche-pilaster', while pseudo-supporting elements, the monumental *estípites*, either shrink or dissolve in an anti-tectonic rocaille effect. Three crowns simulate plastic depth, yet, when one looks at the altar as a whole, the impression is not so much of deep space as of an ecstatic, vibrating surface. As in Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century, the figure sculpture again begins to play an important role. One should in this context note especially the *St Michael* silhouetted against a window (half shut at this moment) so that he seems to float on the incoming light.

GUATEMALA

Colonial Guatemala excelled in sculpture, not painting. After the earthquake had destroyed the first capital, Antigua, most of the remaining sculpture and painting was moved to Guatemala City. Guatemala exported its sculpture to the neighbouring countries. In contrast to Mexican, Guatemalan statues even in the Baroque and Rococo are not lost in the altar but preserve their own significance. Many excellent sixteenth-century wooden images survive, though it is more difficult to find altars of that period. The *Cristo de los Reyes* in Guatemala Cathedral is perhaps a European work, transitional to Early Mannerism (*c.* 1530–40). Its noble, majestic anatomy is accentuated by elongation, protruding veins, and curling hair. A *St Peter* at Chichicastenango, Mayan Inn, not polychrome, exemplifies Late Mannerism. There is the gravity of the Romanists, but the body is still elongated, and folds and figure movement lead the eye upward in zigzag rhythm. Around 1600 religious statues have idealized, oval faces, large eyes, and small mouths. The draperies are more ample and realistic than before, though fairly quiet. The style recalls that of Pablo de Rojas at Granada and is parallel to contemporary statues at Xochimilco (Mexico) and Tunja (Colombia).[18]

Later, bulk and volume increase, as in the Franciscan saints of *c.* 1640 at San Juan del Obispo (formerly in the main altar). They are Colonial interpretations of Montañés's sobriety and facial realism. Two richly polychromed reliefs of Archangels from San Pedro de las Huertas (*c.* 1645, Antigua, Museum) are more lively than previous work. They float amid swirling arabesques of leaves which recall the style of decoration in the Founder's Chapel of Tunja Cathedral. Possibly to this period belong two equestrian figures, a *St Martin* and a *Santiago* (both from Ciudad Vieja and now at Antigua), folk art at its most appealing, archaic, vigorous, and inventive. A *St Christopher and the Child Christ* (Antigua) might date from as late as 1650. The anatomy is well developed and the poses are well resolved. Fluttering draperies follow a rhythm which strengthens and yet negates the feeling of weight. Textures are sensuous and varied. An even better piece, perhaps by the same artist, is a bust of Christ in Santa Rosa, Guatemala. Towards the end of the century, movement increases further and polychromy becomes more brilliant, lighter in colour, and higher in intensity. A silver layer extends beneath, or replaces, the leaf gold upon which the bright greens, blues, and reds of the *estofado* are applied. Sometimes areas of silver are exposed. A certain plumpness of shape persists as late as 1700 in the *St Catherine* at Santo Domingo, Guatemala, and the *Archangels Michael* and *Raphael* at Antigua, graceful in movement and charming. One is reminded of Villalpando (Plate 167B). The polychromy is rich and gay. Perhaps of this phase, early in the eighteenth century, is the sensitive *Pietà* group (Antigua, Calvario). The values of carved surface are as expertly rendered as the mood of resignation and silent sorrow. All figures discussed are anonymous, like the vast majority of Guatemalan wood-carvings. Archival search for documents has begun.[19] If supplemented by photographic campaigns throughout the country, attributions to specific artists will become possible, as well as surer dating. The dates suggested above are tentative.

The foremost sculptor whose name can be linked to a given work is Quirio Cataño (d. 1622), who may have arrived from Italy *c.* 1580. His black *Christ of Esquipulas* (1595) is the most famous pilgrimage figure in Central America. In the seventeenth century there is Alonso de la Paz y Toledo (*fl.* 1665–86) and in the eighteenth Juan de Chávez. The latter's theatrical *St Sebastian* of 1737 at Guatemala Cathedral is placed against a tree, partly suspended and partly twisted round it. The unheroic proportions and the facial expression typical of the Rococo counteract a deep impression. A correct, somewhat cold *St Francis de Paul* (Cathedral) has been attributed to Chávez and might date from *c.* 1740–50. More successful a statue in mass and weight is the *Virgin and Child* in the Merced of Guatemala, similar to Rococo figures by Alonso Gómez de Sandoval in Cordova, Spain. It has warmth, and strikes a balance between realism and idealism. The polychromy is bright and happy.

Rococo retables in Guatemala exhibit some features not found elsewhere. The twin transept altars at the Merced in Guatemala were commissioned in 1758 from Francisco Javier de Gálvez. They have rocaille, grotesque profile masks on the doors leading to the sacristy, and vigorous baluster columns sectioned like *estípites*, ending in round arches in the top storey. The cornices are fairly straight. In the retable to the right of the main altar five paintings are embedded in very irregular frames. The orders are fantastic, shaped like attached half-columns and composed of putto heads and rocaille, perforated, peeling, and pierced with a variety of other motifs. The half-circle of the upper storey shows forms resting on heads and looking remotely like *estípites*. Resemblances to contemporary Querétaro altars came perhaps through engravings by Klauber and other Rococo ornamentalists. Francisco Javier's son Vicente (*fl.* 1748–80) went about 1761 to Honduras, where he carved the main altar of Tegucigalpa Cathedral in a florid Late Rococo style, graceful and dynamic. Here and in the altar of San Francisco, lacy, looping rocaille is developed as flat plaques. Another Guatemalan, the mulatto Vicente de la Parra, designed in 1708 the altar of the Rosary in Comayagua Cathedral, Honduras, with superimposed brightly polychromed reliefs of a folk style in the side sections. Until Independence, Guatemala supplied southern Mexico and the rest of Central America with figure sculpture and altars.

THE NORTHERN ANDES: NEW GRANADA AND QUITO

The Sixteenth Century

Except for Vázquez's imported Crucifixion group at Tunja Cathedral (1583), it is doubtful whether any sculpture of this period survives in the former territory of New Granada, or any altars in the ten Quito churches founded before 1600. Polychromed atlantes and caryatids (*c.* 1570–90) in the library of Santo Domingo at Quito, probably fragments of an altar, reflect with considerable variation Vredeman de Vries's engravings.[20] Veiled Egyptians or Old Testament Hebrews, bearded men with female breasts or demoniac heads at the belly, grow from leafy *estípites* ending in a hoof.

A polychrome ceiling (*c.* 1590?) in the corners of the first cloister of San Francisco at Quito has wooden boards, painted red and blue with flower motifs. Superimposed are flat stucco reliefs of standing nude boys (wearing short trousers, perhaps added later) between gilded strap-work of Mannerist design *à la* Vredeman de Vries. These youths hold flowering vines issuing from fanciful suns.

Sixteenth-century polychrome figure carving at Quito was done by Spaniards. To Diego Rodríguez (*fl.* 1571) is attributed a delicate, nervous, and slender *St Sebastian*, at his church, influenced by Berruguete (Plate 72B). Diego de Robles (Madrid *c.* 1550–Quito *c.* 1594) and Luis de Rivera (*fl.* 1580–1619) carved and painted the pensive, massive, yet graceful *Virgin of Quinche*.[21] The archaic style and pose recall Pedro de Millán's Late Gothic work at Seville Cathedral.

The Seventeenth Century

Colonial art in New Granada, particularly Bogotá and Tunja, is often less gentle than that of Mexico, Guatemala, or Quito, perhaps because the climate is colder and less sunny, and because the population was European rather than Indian and often of Castilian rather than Andalusian stock. Until about 1620 Tunja was artistically more important than Bogotá. In sculpture, as in painting, a modified Late Mannerism flourished, pure, idealized, linear, and sensitive in colour. Grotesques occurred as a decorative motif. There were influences from Italy through the painters Medoro and the Milanese del Pozzo, but ties with Seville were stronger: J. B. Vázquez's Crucifixion group arrived at the cathedral in 1583, and in 1609 a nicely polychromed altar by F. de Ocampo and M. Blas Silvestre (Santo Domingo). About 1600 a local sculptor and a local painter, both unknown, created images of admirable plastic value and polychromy.[22] Swelling forms curve to a high waist-line, small torso, long neck, and oval face. The *estofado*, in red, green, and white, includes flesh-coloured angel heads and fine horizontal hatching disclosing the gold. It is among the best in South America.

When, in 1622–33, an unknown Franciscan lay-brother [23] and his assistants carved the reliefs for the main altar at San Francisco in Bogotá, the capital wrested artistic leadership from Tunja. Henceforth, creole painters and sculptors avidly studied the dynamic plasticity of these reliefs. Sixteen narrative compositions fill the middle row.[24] Above are twelve Virgin Martyrs and below a number of lascivious, wildly grotesque masks alternating with bacchic boys emerging from fruit-garlands. Pushing, exuberant forms amid lush wilderness distinguish the main scenes. There is contrast of high and low relief, and variety and repetition of pattern as well as crisp, curling movement. In the *Baptism of Christ* (Plate 89A) not only the torrential waters but all shapes seem to flow over the surface, coming forth, disappearing, and forming anew in a wonderful kaleidoscope. Elegant, even tender anatomy is set off by garments with sharp-edged folds. Their warm, transparent polychromy – vermilion, scarlet, blue, and green – is framed by the vegetation as in a bower of burnished gold. This tropical growth, coconut-trees, fig-trees, avocados, and grape arbours, is alive with monkeys, ant-eaters, macaws, colibris, and other exotic beasts. The San Francisco Master was the first to interpret native flora and fauna. He also included a unicorn, an African elephant, and an Asiatic lion. His surface organization sometimes recalls Pisano's Siena pulpit, while the boldly frontal *St Jerome* derives from Torrigiani (Plate 63A). A follower of the San Francisco Master carved on a side door *Hercules killing the Hydra*. This theme, unusual in a church, paraphrases a favourite Franciscan subject, St Michael Slaying the Seven Sins, which are represented by the seven heads of the Apocalyptic Dragon.

Soon, fresh influences from Seville reached Bogotá. By a member of the school of Montañés is a nude *Blessing Christ Child* in polychrome lead, at the Museo de Arte Colonial. A specialist in this medium was Pedro de Lugo (*fl.* 1629–56), whose tormented Christs have the pathos of Andalusian Passion figures. The Italian Jesuit brother Mateo Luisinch carved the pulpit, tabernacles, and choir at San Ignacio. For the base of the main altar (1635–40), he used crisp panels of strap- and roll-work with relief insets, and leaf-brackets ending in heads, all in black, red, and gold. Antonio de Pimentel ornamented the façade of the Colegio del Rosario (1654) with five monumental clay statues covered with plaster, in a solemn and voluminous style that would have pleased Pompeo Leoni.

In contrast to Mexico and Bogotá, most of the leading artists in Quito between 1600 and 1820 were Indians or mestizos.[25] However, native influence is felt very rarely. An example is a head of the Dead Saviour of *c.* 1600–25, from Quito, in the Arocha Collection at Caracas. The face is oval, with eyes closed, and expresses terrible inward suffering.

Polychrome wood carving flourished. It imitated the school of Seville, except for a high gloss. Standing statues of Christ and of male saints, life-size, abound after 1650. Some, by Father Carlos[26] (*fl.* 1668), are in a quiet, classicist style, derived from Montañés and his followers. Others, also of Sevillian descent, are by unknown local carvers: ascetic, expressive figures of St Bernard of Siena and St Peter Alcántara, at the Cantuña, and St Diego of Alcalá, revealing Late Baroque *élan*, at Santa Clara.

Few seventeenth-century altars survive: four of *c.* 1600–20, in the cloister of San Francisco, and the imposing main altar there, rebuilt in 1713 (Plate 90A).[27] The predella, of *c.* 1620–40, has the Evangelists in cartouches of Antwerp style, supporting eight monumental columns. The second storey with caryatids and angels on brackets may be of 1650. Of interest in some retables of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia are grotesque profile sections beyond the altar columns. At Santa Clara in Quito, the first altar on the left, of *c.* 1680, has such side-view flaps showing a circular, scaly serpent holding by its fangs a bunch of grapes (Plate 89B). From its body hangs a sickle-shaped strap with a bizarre bearded head. The sickle runs through a loop and below is a bird ending in a spiral.

Quito produced the most sensuous and humorous pulpits in Latin America. Three early ones, of *c.* 1640–60, at the Concepción, Santa Clara, and El Quinche, have a slender column supporting a fluted shell, ribbed by wingless, smiling angels with nubby scrolls for arms. Their torso is exaggeratedly arched, pushing towards the congregation or the preacher. The entablature has roll-work medallions (at Quinche separated by brackets of squatting angels) and the main zone shows oval relief medallions of saints set in roll-work divided by unusual baluster supports – part figure, part vegetation – which are in section like *estípites*. The pulpit at Santa Clara is shaped in an elegant flare. Three later pulpits (1675–92) at the Compañía, San Francisco, and Merced, replace the fluted shell by a plain one, decorated with angel-heads. The entablature has fruited garlands. In the main section are columns of praying caryatids (Merced) or of chubby, arching angels sprouting from brackets (Compañía). At San Francisco two spirals compose hollow columns. Between them compartments of saints in niches flanked by small, twisted columns continue beyond the pulpit to the stairs. Another such niche, on the pulpit wall, leads to an octagonal canopy with scalloped skirt topped by a trumpet-shaped dome that supports a statue of a saint.[28] Many ornamental designs were undoubtedly taken from European, mostly Flemish, prints. Nothing surpasses the zest for living expressed in the Compañía pulpit. The peculiar luxury of art in Quito monasteries derives from the extraordinary wealth they enjoyed as chief landowners in Ecuador. Their sensuousness illustrates the lax, sinful, and dissolute life led by many religious communities, a life criticized by later generations of Quito churchmen.[29]

The Eighteenth Century

The Andalusian Pedro Laboria (Sanlúcar de Barrameda, *c.* 1710) was the foremost sculptor at Bogotá (*fl.* 1739–49). His life-size statue of St Agatha (1740, Santa Bárbara), in vermilion and gold, has sinuous movement and realistic expression. Her voluptuous breast is bared, bleeding from an inserted knife. An angel flies overhead, seemingly defying gravity. Another *tableau vivant*, on a larger scale and against a painted background, is the *Death of St Ignatius* (1749, San Ignacio), three-dimensional, illusionistic, and polychrome. The Loreto altar at the same church (1720) has apparently hollow columns covered with deeply undercut figures and ornaments. This mode was carried to the extreme at Tunja, where the altar of the Rosary Chapel at Santo Domingo has baluster supports with putti and carytids superposed as on totem poles.[30] A side altar at the El Topo church has hollow columns of grid-like ribs of various fluting, and caryatid *estípites* with loosely dangling flowers carved like bells and censers. These are copied from Mannerist prints.

Two early eighteenth-century pulpits at Quito and one in what is now southern Colombia are the most elegant in Latin America. The pulpit at Guápulo (1716, by J.B. Menacho) keeps the large niches and figures of the Compañía group (p. 173). Ornamentation is harmonized by suppressing all other figures and spreading exuberant foliage instead. Unified movement runs from the tip of the base through Solomonic columns to the huge dome with multiple round or octagonal mouldings. At San Diego (*c.* 1738), the foot and hemispherical base, resembling goldsmith's work, become an exquisite Eucharistic chalice. Across the Colombian border, at San Francisco of Popayán, a heavier foot (Plate 92B) supports a shorter base made less substantial by prominent openwork brackets of spiral leaves ending in putto-heads. By reducing space below and above the figures in the niches the whole pulpit from foot to rail seems one golden chalice. The niches, with their gracefully floating Franciscan saints, are divided by bracketed, foliated pilasters ending in cherub-heads. Similar pilasters flank the preacher's niche. The whole is topped by a domical canopy with masks, cascading volutes, candlestick urns, and heads serving as brackets for a projecting cornice. All three pulpits have stairs with elegant banisters, none finer than at Popayán, of the freshest pierced arabesque scrolls enlivened by grapes, birds, and nude figures growing from leaves. At the foot, popping from a pineapple shape, a polychrome caryatid balances a basket of fruit on his head. There is not a better newel in the Americas.

Like New Granada, Quito made a few notable contributions to the dissolving of architectural forms which characterizes the wood-carving of the century. At San Francisco (Chapel of the Santísimo or of St Martha) columns are divided in eight diminishing sections, each masked by crown-like open ribs. Next are pilasters of three superposed niches, each with a polychrome armless angel-bust inside. A side altar in the Chapel of the Santísimo (*c.* 1730) has as its main orders fantastic *estípite*-like brackets of concave-convex volutes resting on a mask with a bunch of grapes sprouting out of its mouth. Topped by a Corinthian capital, the volutes are most effective when seen in profile, recalling those invented by Vredeman de Vries. Similar though heavier volutes constitute the main order of a side altar at San Diego. The climax of ingenuity is reached in 1747 at the inner door (*mampara*) supporting the choir, just inside the main entrance of the Sagrario. The outer column has become an acrobat's act of foliated volutes, angels, and candelabra, all in profile as pierced openwork. The dominant colour scheme at Quito is red and gold. Sometimes birds are picking the Eucharistic grapes off the Solomonic columns.

Most colonial altars at Quito are of the eighteenth century. They are usually strongly architectonic and the twisted orders, introduced very late, dominate the ensemble, as in the main altar of the Compañía. Italian influence is uppermost. The altar of St Francis Xavier at the Compañía (*c.* 1700), copied from Andrea Pozzo's transept altars at S. Ignazio in Rome,[31] set a model imitated at the Hospital Church, at the Merced, and most gracefully at the Cantuña.

The foremost sculptors were Bernardo de Legarda (*fl.* 1731–73) and Manuel Chili, called Caspicara. Their sweet, delicate art shows no native traces, though Chili was Indian and Legarda Indian or mestizo. Legarda's fame is confirmed by his *Virgin of the Apocalypse* (San Francisco), a piece of intricate, unusual iconography.[32] Caspicara is even more Rococo in form and more tender in feeling. During his lifetime Quito maintained from 1771 to 1788 the only glazed earthenware manufacture in South America. Examples are in the Carmen Moderno, in clausura.

THE CENTRAL ANDES

The Inca Empire,[33] with Cuzco (Peru) as its capital, stretched over a huge area from present-day southern Colombia to northern Argentina, including Peru, Bolivia, and northern Chile. Before the white man came, artistic culture in South America centred in Peru, which remained the artistic centre during the Colony. With distance from Lima and Cuzco, artistic quality and quantity decline. Quito, La Paz, Sucre, and Potosí are secondary, while Bogotá, as a great administrative centre, is at least their equal. Other regions usually rank third. Most of the former Inca Empire, except for northern Argentina, is by culture largely Indian or mestizo to this day. Only in the towns has Spanish replaced Quechua and Aymará. Lima, however, was founded as a centre of European culture. From the beginning, no Colonial city, not even Mexico, was as attractive to Spanish and Italian artists. To Lima in 1555 went the Sevillian sculptor Cristóbal de Ojeda with five helpers. None of his work survives. The Florentine Pietro de Santangelo was active at Cuzco from 1583 to 1592. Even at Cuzco, at least before 1700, the important artists were usually not Indian, though they supervised numerous Indian aids hired on an annual basis.

The Sixteenth Century

The earliest known choir stalls in Latin America are at Sucre Cathedral, Bolivia. They were executed in 1592–9 by Cristóbal Hidalgo,[34] and are based on the strap- and roll-work engravings interspersed with grotesques of Cornelis Floris and Vredeman de Vries (1555–65, Antwerp). The same derivation is seen in the stalls at Tunja Cathedral (1598–1603, by Francisco Velázquez). Sucre also possesses the earliest documented altar surviving in South America.[35] It was carved in 1583 for the Merced by Gómez Hernández de Galván (*fl.* 1572–1602) and Andrés Hernández (*fl.* 1583–92). It is in relief and polychromed in gold, vermilion, blue, green, wine red, and sienna. Above a predella rise six orders, arranged in three storeys. In the centre is the tabernacle door with the four Evangelists, above *St Joseph with the Christ Child* and *St John Baptist* (this has been moved), a niche for the *Purísima* (lost), a relief of the *Bestowal of the Chasuble upon St Ildefons* (now in another altar), and finally a *Calvary*. Standing on banks of clouds in the lateral compartments are: at the top, the four major prophets; in the centre, *St Peter*, *St Paul*, *St Andrew*, and *St James Major*; bottom row, the four Doctors (these panels have been juggled). The predella has *St Barbara*, *St Anne*, *St Joachim*, and *St Lucy*, and on the pedestals six busts: a knight in contemporary dress, four Mercedarians, and a woman. Of appealing simplicity, the altar is Mannerist in repetition and relative flatness.

More able and sophisticated are surviving fragments of altars carved probably by Bitti (p. 321) at Acora (San Pedro) and Juli (Asunción, both *c.* 1584 and 1595). The main section of the left transept altar at Acora has oval roll-work cartouches, nude and dressed angels pressing their stomachs forward and pirouetting like ballet-dancers, other nude angels leaning on the frame or serving as caryatids, and finally the main relief of the Annunciation and a minor one above. The forms are idealized, refined, and sensuous. At Juli the fragments in the high altar comprise two paintings of St Barbara and St Catherine, six angels and saints in the round, shell niches now empty, and a grand relief of the Assumption. Majesty, reserved sweetness, beauty, and measured proportion seem typical of Bitti's fine Italian hand. The polychromy may be by a Spaniard.[36]

Figure sculpture at Lima was in the hands of artists immigrating from Seville, as seen in a *St John Evangelist* (Pedro de Osma Collection). Many images were imported direct from Seville. One of the best, a *Virgin and Child* of *c.* 1580, owned by the heirs of José de Riva Agüero y Osma, is related to the art of Jerónimo Hernández [37] (Avila *c.* 1540–Seville 1586). Survivals of Berruguete's spiritual quality are here joined to the breadth and movement of the Late Mannerists at Seville.

The Seventeenth Century

Choir Stalls and Related Carvings

Early in the seventeenth century a flood of good sculptors arrived from Seville and other Spanish cities. Juan Martínez de Arrona (Vergara 1562–Lima 1635), a late Mannerist, appeared at Lima in 1599. His *Apostolate* (1608), in relief, in the sacristy of Lima

Cathedral shows Italian influence. The figures are majestic, though with little suggestion of anatomy, individuality, or realism. Broken, angular folds and verticals crossed by diagonals create a restlessness intensified by the light. Candelabra on top of the cornice became a standard Peruvian feature.

The earliest surviving choir stalls in Peru, at Santo Domingo in Lima, were done *c.* 1620 by an anonymous Spaniard. In bold relief, filling their fields and almost bursting from them, they are more pictorial than linear. Folds are now realistic and anatomy is better understood. The best stalls have force of character and pose. Even more intense *tenebroso* distinguishes the cathedral stalls, of 1624–6 (Plate 90B).[38] Here, the High Baroque has arrived in variety of natural movement, twisting and curving, foreshortened and in profile. Heroic, sensuous, and voluminous figures gleam like polished bronze. Each head has character and each body articulation. Varying from rippling wrinkles to broadly enveloping planes, the draperies give sensitive effects of emotion and design. On the whole, the figures are superior to those of any Baroque stalls in Spain, except possibly those in Malaga Cathedral. Their author was Pedro de Noguera (Barcelona 1592–Lima 1655), who trained at Seville and arrived at Lima in 1619. He was assisted by Martín Alonso de Mesa (Seville 1573–Lima 1626), who came in 1603 or earlier, and by Luis Ortiz de Vargas of Seville (Lima 1621–8), who later commenced the Malaga stalls with their colonial flavour. Noguera also designed the architecture of the stalls in Lima Cathedral, relying on engravings after Vredeman de Vries.[39]

The stalls at the Merced (*c.* 1628) have a charming theme: the Virgin of Mercy presides over a choir of angels dressed as friars.[40] Each stall has an angel in relief, and in the centre is a statue of the Virgin. As they gathered for prayer the friars must have re-lived the heavenly vision. Fine, slender caryatid pilasters with sprightly acanthus leaves separate the seats.

Cuzco Cathedral boasts one of the most complete sets of stalls in Latin America (*c.* 1660–78), its columns overspun with the Mannerist strap-work of Antwerp found also in the oval medallions of the stalls of Trujillo Cathedral. The Franciscan stalls at Lima (*c.* 1669–75) have two magnificent Solomonic columns and otherwise caryatids with acanthus leaf bodies and strap-work apple baskets for capitals, the latter copied from Vredeman's *Caryatidum* (1565, plate 9). The figures are stocky and fairly lively and energetic.

Thus, from its inception at Sucre and Tunja, Andean choir-stall architecture was strongly indebted to Antwerp models, especially prints after Vredeman de Vries, for the ornamental decoration of roll-work, strap-work, medallions, cartouches, draped female heads, swags with apples, *estípites*, caryatids, and convex-concave profiles. The style of the figure sculpture, sometimes superb, was brought from Seville by excellent carvers, usually Andalusian, though the best was a Catalan.

Pulpits

The importance of preaching in the evangelization of the New World is reflected by the great number of splendid pulpits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Colombia to Argentina. The greatest quality and variety of types and styles are found in

Peru, closely followed by Ecuador. Unlike the ones at Quito, Peruvian pulpits as a rule are footless and end in a pendant knob. They usually lack the lusty Ecuadorian angel-brackets and *estípites*. The pulpits at San Francisco, Cuzco (*c.* 1628), and Santa Clara, Ayacucho (1637) are severely architectural, resembling *vargueño*[41] furniture with inlaid ivory and ebony. Ambos at Cuzco Cathedral (1656) by Martín de Torres introduce the double columns typical of Cuzco but never used in Ecuador. Complicated pediments of ovoid cartouches and webbed volutes are frequent from now on. San Francisco at Arequipa (*c.* 1660–70) brings further enrichment: volutes run along the sides of the niches and grotesque masks decorate the webbed supporting volutes. The mouldings below the main section increase in number, and draped heads along with swags of fruit appear below the capital at the Sagrados Corazones in Lima, *c.* 1669–74. Diego Martínez de Oviedo, Cuzco's great sculptor-architect, designed between 1665 and 1680 the pulpits at Santa Teresa, gilt-edged, and the Compañía, all gilt. The complicated entablature is now as high as the niche section. As at Quito, though exceptionally at Cuzco, brackets of nude female busts spring from acanthus leaves. Spiral columns increase movement. Upon the domical canopy a cascade of eight openwork volute sections leaps up to a lantern. Subordinate spiral columns, appearing simultaneously at Quito, are added in the cathedral pulpit of *c.* 1675–85. A forest of volute sections and candelabra covers the canopy. The climax of the Cuzco school is reached at San Blas *c.* 1680–95 (Plate 92A). There a pendant rises to a nest of eight radiating volutes,[42] then to six ribs with prone bearded men topped by fancy scroll-work, and finally grotesque masks with bunches of grapes. Between the ribs are elliptical bosses surrounded by scroll arabesques. The masks serve as brackets for groups of six curlicued rising volutes, and caryatid putti. The main section has undulating triple columns covered with fanciful arabesque decoration, putti heads, and at the top a chalice with the Host. The saints in their niches are flanked by small twisted columns supporting hemispherical domes of concentric skirt-like circles, topped by volutes. The wall niche, flanked by fern-like arabesque flaps, leads to a tremendous domical canopy of many skirts, above it statues of saints and angels in two rows, and finally a dominating image of St Paul. The impression is of teeming, crawling life and dynamic change of form.[43]

Altars

In the vast territory of the former Inca Empire only a handful of sixteenth-century altars survives. For the first half of the seventeenth the situation is even worse.[44] The magnificent high altar of Sucre Cathedral, executed in 1604–7 by the Italian Giuseppe Pastorello, is known only from a sketch.[45] It had two main storeys and in the broad centre section a pedimented attic, the storeys diminishing with height. Other Baroque features were the fluted pilasters at ground-level, the doubling of the inner orders, the use of figures in the round instead of reliefs, and the volutes in tabernacle and attic.

Lima was the chief colonial importer of Spanish altars and paintings, from particularly Seville. Nearly all are lost, including a retable by J. B. Vázquez (1582–4). Spain's greatest sculptor, Martínez Montañés, sent works by himself and his workshop from 1590 to 1648 to Lima and Chile. His only preserved altar at Lima, in the Concepción, dates partly from 1607 and partly from 1622, and is dedicated to St John the Baptist. It has many fine reliefs. That reliefs were then favoured is seen also in the Baroque former high altar of 1614 at Copacabana in Bolivia, just across the Peruvian border. The polychromy was done by Don Sebastián Acostopa Ynga, an Indian of royal blood.[46] The attic roughly corresponds to Pastorello's at Sucre, except that the triangular top pediment is broken and female figures sit on the curving broken volutes flanking it. The charming predella reliefs of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and of the *Birth of Christ*, both with views of Lake Titicaca and the snowy mountains, are probably derived from Venetian prints. Of about 1630–40 may be the lateral sections with fluted columns and excellent reliefs of St Jerome and St Ambrose (?) in the altar of the Señor de la Caña at the Compañía of Cuzco.[47]

Neither Cuzco nor Lima seems to preserve other altars done before 1650, when an earthquake destroyed most of the Cuzco churches. Characteristic of the numerous altars in the re-building of the city immediately after 1650 are pearled strips along the column flutings, straight down or herring-bone-wise; broken pediments curving upward in a semicircle or ellipse and centred by a niche or a cartouche; scale patterns, and webbed volutes. Columns double and treble in different planes. Subsidiary columns carry large curved niche pediments on top of each lateral opening. Ovals are prominent. Altars show increased spatial movement, like the Soledad altar at the Merced in Cuzco (*c.* 1660) and a side altar at Cocharcas. This trend was soon greatly accelerated. The spiral column appears in the subordinate order at Santa Catalina in Cuzco about 1665 and then in the main order at San Blas of Cuzco, *c.* 1673–9. There the altar of Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, finished and perhaps begun by Juan Tomás Tuyru Tupac, has only the upper two-thirds of column shafts twisted. Previously most Peruvian columns had the upper two-thirds different only in pattern from the lower third. Henceforth, until the advent of the Rococo, the Solomonic column governs Peruvian altar design and often extends over the entire shaft.[48]

The finest Peruvian altar is in the apse of the Compañía at Cuzco. This is of *c.* 1668–80, and probably by Diego Martínez de Oviedo, author of many retables and pulpits at Cuzco. Its foremost features are depth, mobility, height, and interpenetration of spatial elements, particularly the many niches, volutes, and brackets. Rounded segments dominate. The inclusion of paintings and sculpture in niches is typical of Colonial art. The whole seems a precariously balanced clockwork.[49] The virtually intact main altar at Cocharcas (1675) is unique. Interesting triplets of tortured semi-nude slaves support the twisted main order. There are twelve well-carved relief fields, round or with rounded top. The centre has three sections, as sometimes after 1700, and all except the middle part are on a slant. All surfaces are overgrown with arabesques, and angel-heads loom everywhere.

Related in design to pulpits and altars were the carved ceilings. A fine example is in a corner of the upper cloister of San Francisco at Cuzco. This dates from *c.* 1660–70 and is carved of red cedar. Eight sections of relief saints, framed by rectangles, webbed volutes, broken pediments, and cartouches, abut on an octagonal centre relief of the Stigmatization.

Figure Sculpture

Figure sculpture at Lima during the early seventeenth century remained subservient to Seville. Besides Montañés's altar (pp. 178–9) there survive several statues by him or his assistants: a *Crucifixus* at the Merced and a *St Francis Xavier* at San Pedro. At Cuzco, Colonial tendencies are more pronounced. A relief of the *Ecce Homo*, in red and gold, at San Sebastián (*c.* 1600) displays the Latin American urge to show blood. Numerous tiny rivulets stream over the face and chest. The *Christ of the Earthquakes* at the cathedral (Plate 91) might date from the early seventeenth century, but is medieval in spirit, like many other provincial Colonial crucifixes. Each part is hieratic, simple, and sculptural, though neither proportion nor organic movement is stressed. From the sunken head to the twisting legs, this famous black image must move everyone by its sincerity. More Spanish in feeling, though by the Indian Juan Tomás Tuyru Tupac, is the *Virgen de la Natividad* at the Almudena (1686). The pretty face contrasts with the breadth of the draperies. The best Peruvian portrait statue represents Viceroy Count Salvatierra, who ruled from 1648 to 1655. Kneeling in prayer, like all Colonial effigies, this cedar-wood figure (at San Francisco in Lima) possesses character and realism. The simple garments direct attention to the carefully executed wig and the benign, emaciated, and intense face (Plate 192A).

Oriental influence came from China via the Philippines to Mexico and the entire Pacific coast, often through the Jesuits and the Franciscans, the two orders active in the Far East. At San Francisco in Cuzco is a polychrome seventeenth-century statue of St John Evangelist with Indian–Chinese features. A fairly large seventeenth-century statue of a Jesuit saint, imported from the Far East, is in the Behrens Collection at Mexico. It is of polychromed wood. Many Philippine ivory-carvings survive in all colonial regions, usually of Christ on the Cross or of the Virgin. These are mostly of the eighteenth century and quite simple. The features are oriental and the mood is sincere.

The Eighteenth Century

While the eighteenth-century sculpture of Quito is more famous, that of Peru is better in quality. There is no mawkish sweetness and there is much truly sculptural mass and movement. Examples are four small statues of the Evangelists (Plate 192B) at the Buena Muerte in Lima or the Apostles *Thomas* and *Thaddeus* at Cuzco Cathedral, of fine gold *estofado*, exactly like the Cuzco popular style paintings (p. 324).

Peruvian pulpits and choir stalls saw no remarkable innovations. Unified sculptural articulation is reached late in the Rococo at San Carlos in Lima (*c.* 1760–6), where speaker's box and canopy are moulded in elegant, voluptuous concave-convex rhythms, enhanced by scalloped Rococo cartouches and flashing volutes. As in Mexico, at the end of the century a Neo-Classicist freshly arrived from Spain ripped out the insides of the most famous and gorgeous churches. Big bonfires made way for Neo-Classic abdication of invention.

Peruvian altars became opulent by the addition of mirrors, jewellery, and frontals of hammered silver. Altar figures wore silver crowns and dresses embroidered with pearls and gold thread. The outstanding feature of early eighteenth-century altars in the Hispanic world is that they are conceived as settings for stage tableaux with groups of figures against deep, broad niches.[50] An example at Lima is the altars of Jesús María by Joseph de Castilla (*fl.* 1701–39). At Lima feeling of three-dimensional movement through space was thus reinforced. At Cuzco and Trujillo there is much less depth and movement forward and backward, corresponding to the relative flatness of popular Cuzco painting. After 1720 the number of compartments diminishes. Border panels or crests of openwork in ribboned interlaced arabesques continued to be prominent into the Rococo period, as in the main altar of Jesús María at Cuzco (1733–5).[51]

After the earthquake of 1746 Lima altars were built in the Rococo style. Gilding is abandoned, rocaille cartouches loom everywhere. The main cornice has a flattened omega shape, paraphrased in the attic cornice (1783, Concepción, high altar). Here and at San Sebastián one sees baluster colonnettes, composed of swelling and contrasting portions, and in the attic wildly flaring crests. Unlike the Mexican, the Peruvian eighteenth century knew no true *estípite*. Armless bust-length caryatids or waist-length atlantes with arms appear after 1760 in a belated Mannerist revival. They spring from *estípite*-like brackets or volutes, as at San Carlos, which has orders set diagonally (*c.* 1758–66). In several altars at Cuzco atlantes grow from undulating rocaille. Shaped like Chinese dragons or exotic butterflies, polychrome rocaille forms mask the structural parts in an altar behind the cathedral sanctuary. A side altar at the Compañía (Plate 93A) has flat sections of wood imitating marble. A witches' cauldron of forms is crowned by an attic suggesting sea horses and disassembled dinosaur bones. At nearby Andahuaylillas, in a contemporary side altar seductive female caryatids with silver bodies dressed in black netting hold out their arms.

Provincial flatness in wood carving is found not in Lima and Cuzco, but in the Lake Titicaca region and in present-day Bolivia.[52] Ornament is two-dimensional, incorporating vegetable, animal, and human forms, coarse, yet luxuriantly rich. Many highland altars are gaily polychromed, more colourful, and considerably earlier than contemporary polychrome retables in Spain and Portugal. One of the oldest (*c.* 1600) is at San Jerónimo in Cuzco, behind the later wooden altar. A side altar at San Lorenzo, Potosí (*c.* 1680), is all in white and red with gilt edges and touches of greyish-blue. Columns have a lozenge pattern, and in the side flaps gorgeously plumed giant birds on webbed volutes are bitten by white profile heads looking rather like Japanese Nō masks. The high altar at Santiago de Pupuja (after 1760), an amazing spectacle in blue, white, red, and gold, transforms standard motifs with delightful inventiveness: the brackets look like tiger masks, conch shells like fans, and the Ionic orders have flat *estípites* of shells with fluting. Underneath the pulpit (*c.* 1750–60) of red cedar sprinkled with gilded edges like dew-drops, atlantes in dress uniform serve as brackets. The main altar at Santiago, Pomata (1722), has capitals of serpent-heads whose snouts turn into volutes. Side flaps, as at Santa Clara in Quito, have a volute filled with tropical fruit and standing on it a scaly dragon intertwined with more fruit, some hanging from its mouth. All these motifs may come from Europe, partly through Antwerp prints. Snakes run on top of the cornice in many eighteenth-century altars of the province of Badajoz in Spain. At

Azángaro and Santiago de Pupuja, both near Puno in Peru, nude boys and birds climb through perforated, scrolly leaf-work.

Repeatedly, this volume has pointed to the influence exerted by Mannerist grotesques, developed first in Italy, then in France, the Low Countries, and Germany. The grotesques present what never was, never will be nor can be, impossible and surrealist *caprichos* stemming from the world of dreams. In Hispano-American art they first appeared as an offspring of European Mannerism, but their greatest vogue occurred in the eighteenth century. The translation was favoured by the milieu, the fantastic dimensions, surpassing the human, which greeted the European immigrants. The New World offered to all, Europeans, creoles, Negroes, mestizos, and Indians, an outlet for suppressed desires and creative invention.

SOUTHERN SOUTH AMERICA

The viceroyalties of Chile and of La Plata retain scarcely any great works of sculpture.[53] Northern Argentina was settled and long ruled from Chuquisaca (La Paz). Thus the famous gilt and polychrome pulpit of *c.* 1680–1720 at Jujuy (Salta; Plate 93B) belongs to the High Andean circle centred at Cuzco and extending via Sucre into Argentina. Of special interest are the banister of the staircase showing the *Dream of Jacob*, and the elaborately framed wall panels flanking the speaker's box and representing the ancestry of Christ from Adam to Abraham and Solomon. The relief style is delightfully naive and direct. No better motif could be found for a church staircase than the angels climbing up and down from heaven.

Of polychrome figure sculpture the most moving examples in Argentina represent Christ Crucified, as at Iruya (Salta) and at Mendoza. They have the character of folk art, still medieval in feeling. Christ's features become an abstract pattern; painted blood in streams or in pearly drops is of poignant effect. A good example of the European tradition is the *Christ at the Column* at the Compañía in Santa Fé, probably of the late seventeenth century. The mission sculpture in Argentina, Paraguay, and southern Brazil remains to be studied.

CHAPTER 10

PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

The Sixteenth Century

UNTIL about 1500 Portuguese artists kept to a medieval manner, like the Basque and Galician stone-carvers in northern Portugal, as well as the Flemish and German wood-carvers at Coimbra, Évora, and Tomar.[1] Olivier de Gand [2] (*fl.* 1499–1512†) carved the last surviving masterpiece of the Flamboyant Gothic in Portugal: the main altar of 1501–8 in the Old Cathedral of Coimbra. Polychrome, somewhat caricatured figures are encrusted beneath delicately orchestrated filigree canopies, gold on blue. A Gothic upward thrust rises from six slender stone colonnettes of the base to the Calvary, high up in a golden bower under a rib-vault painted like a starry sky.

Meanwhile, about 1500–25, foreign and Portuguese carvers – working for the king at Coimbra, Tomar, and Belem under Boytac and João de Castilho – brought to a climax the Manueline style.[3] This mode of architectural decoration rather than figure sculpture lasted from 1450 to 1540. Its chief exponent is Diogo Pires the younger (*fl.* 1511–35), whose effigies (1514–20), stiff, brittle, and lifeless, are closer to the Gothic style than to the Renaissance. His fonts and angels are Manueline. Plump, heavy, graceless forms suggest tropical, obsessive fertility. The Manueline is a national style, with motifs from Portugal's heroic enterprise in navigation and discovery. Crocodiles, exotic plants, Negro angels, ropes, belts, buckles, sea-shells, and other nautical motifs join the medieval bestiary. Renaissance ornaments misunderstood and transformed give vitality. As a transitional style, admirably imaginative and fantastic though based on nature, the Manueline anticipates the *art nouveau* of Gaudí, which also seems to surge from the sea.

Nicolas Chanterene

The development from the Renaissance to Mannerism is seen in the art of Nicolas Chanterene (*fl.* 1517–51), a Frenchman or Walloon. The name is still frequent from Brussels to Liège. He is mentioned first at Belem.[4] As royal sculptor of King Manuel he worked at Coimbra from 1518 until 1528 and perhaps in *c.* 1535–6. Knighted in 1526, he was made a Royal Herald in 1535. In 1529–32 he was at Sintra Palace and from 1533 at Évora.

The south portal at Belem, designed by Boytac and João de Castilho, and much of the west portal, perhaps by the same artists, are Manueline: though the motifs are naturalistic, the over-all impression is Gothic in organic structure, exuberant growth, multiplication of detail, and purposeful complication. More than in contemporary Spanish art there is a feeling of space, of coming forth and retreating. This is even more pronounced in the parts of the west portal (1517) in which Chanterene broke with the

Manueline style, that is in all statues and pilasters, and most of the pedestals and canopies. The effigies of Manuel and his queen with their saints and the three Renaissance niches at the top are conceived as in a painting. Gentle and strong, the short figures have volume and dignity. The projecting top scene and the lateral ones move in and out. In the centre, angels drop into space.[5]

The royal monuments of Afonso Henriques and Sancho I at Santa Cruz in Coimbra were designed in their Manueline architecture perhaps by Boytac (1513) and later under the supervision of Marcos Pires (1517–24).[6] Chanterene did the effigies in 1518–21. They were formerly polychromed. Sensitively detailed and realistic, they suggest life, strength, and peaceful sleep.[7] Between 1522 and 1523, the façade figures of Santa Cruz may have been carved. One of Chanterene's and Diogo de Castilho's supreme achievements,[8] they are distinguished by freedom of movement, amplitude, vitality, and variety. Some walk, others shift weight from one foot to the other. Anatomy is suggested beneath the draperies. The faces are thoughtful, profound, and human.

A chaste, classical portal to the chapter house at the monastery of Celas near Coimbra (1526) with ornamented pilaster strips, fancy capitals (as on the Santa Cruz pulpit), and in the attic a triangular pediment between candelabra, is a documented work by Chanterene. Similar in several respects is the monument of Bishop Pinheiro (1525) at Santa Maria do Olival in Tomar, which is also related to the Santa Cruz pulpit (Plate 94B), perhaps by Loguin.[9] The Pinheiro monument as well as the more precious monument of João de Noronha[10] of *c.* 1526–8 at Óbidos (Plate 94A) are perhaps by both artists in collaboration, though probably mainly designed by Chanterene. The incisive, tragical statues seem by the same hand as Chanterene's on the Belem west portal.

The Pinheiro monument has balusters standing on fluted, half-filled columns, the whole attached to a plain pilaster and combining to an interesting double capital. Its compactness is Renaissance. At Óbidos, more Mannerist, the attic expands and the sides are emphasized. Supporting a statue and canopy (as at the pulpit of Santa Cruz and the altar of St Peter), the column-baluster projects between two ornamented pilasters topped by balusters. Light falling through a round window behind the group of the Pietà dramatizes the scene. The sculptural depth and complication of the Óbidos monument lead by way of the Luis de Silveira monument at Gois near Coimbra[11] (1529–31) to one of Chanterene's greatest achievements, the Sintra altar of 1529–32 (Plate 95A).[12]

In this transparent alabaster structure of pierced, brittle openwork the dissolving of form is carried further. Mannerism is now expressed by pulling side columns forward in exaggerated, splayed cornice perspective. An upward thrust moves towards the projecting oval *Nativity* at the top. Compartments move bewilderingly into each other, dynamically compressing and expanding. Heavy columns rest on slender ones. Columns are placed in front of figures or ornamented pilasters. Scenes are pictorially conceived. In the centre a beautiful, Bellinesque Christ, held by angels, seems to slide off his tomb. Around him the mysteries of his childhood unfold in most originally combined settings as in a medieval mystery play. Thus, from a central two-sided staircase St Gabriel descends on the left towards the Virgin of the Annunciation, while from the Epiphany on the right, where the Magi arrive in a cavalcade seen frontally, a Magus steps up to the Child Christ sitting high up in the centre on the Virgin's lap. Graceful putti loom everywhere. A tabernacle below Christ contains on a rotating inner drum low reliefs of the Passion, cut like cameos and, with their perspective views of palaces, as Florentine as the free-hanging garland supported by nude putti which frames the altar. The ensemble is so subtle and elegant that one surmises that Chanterene was trained in Florence. Its preciousness spells out Mannerism at a surprisingly early date.[13]

At the court in Évora among distinguished humanist friends, including the Belgian Clenard, Chanterene probably designed at least three monuments. Of *c.* 1533 may be the alabaster tomb of Bishop Alonso de Portugal (d. 1522) from the Graça church, now in the Évora Museum, which preserves splayed perspective windows and other remnants of Chanterene's decoration. The tomb is closely linked to the Sintra altar in movement, conception of space, splayed brackets, and colonnettes. Orders are boldly placed in front of niches. The Mannerist design stresses verticality and the wings. The marble monument of Álvaro da Costa (1535) reverts to the Pinheiro monument in a style more classical and restrained, though with imaginative details. Plain fluted pilasters are set beside small, fluted attached columns. Two monumental marble portals of 1536–7, moved from the destroyed church of São Domingos, share motifs with the Porta Speciosa at Coimbra, the Pinheiro monument, the Melo monument in Portalegre, the Costa monument, and that at Trofa. The portal now in the cemetery may be by Chanterene, while the other, now in the Colegio do Espírito Santo, may have been designed by Chanterene and executed by Loguin. Future research should discover works of Chanterene's last thirteen years.[14]

Jacques Loguin

The Frenchman or Walloon Jacques Lo(n)guin [15] was influenced by Chanterene, and was probably his collaborator in several commissions. Loguin died at Coimbra in 1559 and may have worked there, and at Tomar and Évora (from *c.* 1520). The Canon José de Cristo [16] in 1622 referred to Loguin as the author of the pulpit of Santa Cruz (Plate 94B), the relief altars of the Silêncio cloister there, and those inside the nearby Manga chapels (now in the Coimbra Museum). Compared to the Manueline pulpit at Belem (*c.* 1505), of similar shape and as crowded, the pulpit of Santa Cruz [17] (1520–2) shows an extraordinary change of style. A socket of a five-headed dragon with spread wings supports in widening circled mouldings a series of angel-brackets with candelabra and lion heads in the bays. Four niches with the seated four doctors (good enough to be by Chanterene) are framed by ornamented panels complicated by lettered friezes, medallions, and capitals. Tiny, delicate low reliefs of playing putti and Hercules are below the niches, and above are delightful compositions of putti with birds, fruit, and the royal emblems of Portugal. The corners are marked by two rows of pedestals and canopies with five prophets below and five sibyls above, suggesting influences from Chanterene but inferior to him in quality. If this pulpit is by Loguin, it would accord with his reported love for a small scale.

Of the relief altars in the Silêncio cloister at Santa Cruz, one of the Pietà (c. 1528) might conceivably be by Chanterene. It is related to the St Peter retable, here attributed to Chanterene, which also influenced the other two Silêncio altars. There figures are heaped and much attention is given to details of garments. This accords with Loguin's style. Adopted from Chanterene, but cruder, are the low relief backgrounds of architecture and landscape.[18]

Of about 1530 and possibly by Loguin is the excellent *Entombment* (Museum, from Santa Cruz) in life-size, polychrome figures which anticipate stylistically a Pietà altar at Montemor-o-Velho, in the church of Nossa Senhora dos Anjos (c. 1542).[19] The altar of the Miguel do Vale chapel of c. 1536 at Santa Iria at Tomar, probably by Loguin,[20] corresponds in crowded composition, upturned poses, and the curvilinear draperies to the *Via Crucis* of the Silêncio and to Loguin's only securely documented work,[21] an altar at Cordova Cathedral. Temporarily at Cordova, he was paid there in 1541 for the handsome, unpublished alabaster retable (Plate 95B) in the low, cave-like San Bernabé chapel of the *trasaltar*. Flanking fish-tail athletes show acquaintance with Michelangelesque forms. The carving of the hair, the slit eyes, and the slightly squashed upturned heads of the central figures suggest that Loguin, not Chanterene, executed the monument of Francisco de Melo at Évora of 1536, which in design also points to the lesser sculptor.[22] Compared to Chanterene, Loguin is conventional in treatment of space and surface. He prefers regular, rectangular compositions and fairly flat planes. His proportions are Renaissance; only the preciousness of detail bespeaks Mannerism.

Filipe Hodart (fl. 1522–34)

Mannerist fugacity, agitation, convulsion, and pathos are evoked by the Italianized Frenchman Filipe Hodart.[23] He had worked in Spain on the stalls of Santo Domingo de la Calzada in 1522–3, at Toledo Cathedral in 1522–6 in clay, stone, and wood, and he may have passed through Seville, about 1528. At Coimbra, where he appeared in 1530, Hodart's great work is the over life-size clay figures of a *Last Supper* (1530–4) for Santa Cruz (now Museum; Plate 97). They were seated round a clay table covered with the usual accessories. Hodart had undoubtedly seen the *Laocoon* and made copies from it. His Apostles move in profoundly pathetic attitudes. Heads turn in vital tension. Eyes, sunk deep in their sockets, are cut with much realism. Mouths open as if to speak, foreheads are deeply furrowed. Dynamic corkscrew hair falls like flames. The twisting, elongated bodies with small heads become even more restless by the draperies, which seem to peel like tree bark. Tortured and eruptive like molten lava, Hodart's style was foreign to the Portuguese temper. Traces of his influence are seen in Loguin and Tomé Velho.

João de Ruão (c. 1495–1580) and Tomé Velho

The adoption of the Renaissance as a popular style of figure sculpture was brought about by the French carver João de Ruão[24] (*fl.* at Coimbra 1530–80). He is perhaps the Jean de Rouen mentioned in 1510–12 at Gisors and in 1517 at work on the Cardinal d'Amboise's monument at Rouen, both times under Pierre des Aubeaulx. Born *c.* 1495–1500, Ruão came to Portugal with many other French, Flemish, German, and Spanish carvers who flocked to the then richest land in Europe and to the great buildings erected by Manuel and John III. Ruão's whole *œuvre* is at Coimbra and in its surroundings. When his name first appears in published Coimbra documents he has a Portuguese wife, sister of Marcos Pires, who there in 1517–24 directed the royal works. Documents establish a chronology of Ruão's *œuvre* from *c.* 1529 to his death. In 1529–30 he worked on the new choir arch at Santa Cruz. Its two portrait medallions and two fancy arch-springings are influenced by the pulpit. By 1530 he had made 'numerous good carvings' (which?) for Santa Cruz. His many single figures, usually of the Virgin (Plate 96A), and even his figure of Christ Crucified show little interest in anatomy. Draperies are slung across in conventional folds, often crude and thick, later apron-like. Female figures wear rich contemporary dress, painted pink, blue, and white with gold, as simply as in folk art. The body is not suggested, the pose always alike: there is a bulge where the right knee would bend, while the head turns slightly left. Faces and hands and the chubby Child Christ are modelled with care, elegance, and a French gracefulness, languid and gentle, which accorded with the Portuguese ideal of feminine beauty as seen in contemporary painting.[25] Ruão's art, easily understood, popular, and repetitious, was imitated all over central Portugal till the end of the century.

In his later years Ruão was mostly an architectural contractor.[26] Squeezing out of narrow bays or sliding off cornices, sculpture still dominates the high altar, begun in 1552, of Guarda Cathedral and the one in the Chapel of the Sacrament (1566) of the Old Cathedral of Coimbra, though architecture now becomes increasingly important. Both altars, attributed in their design to João de Ruão, though possibly carved by his associate Tomé Velho, follow the curve of the apse. João's son, the Late Mannerist architect Jerónimo (p. 189), carried the idea further at Belem in 1570–2 by making the altar, though with free-standing columns, a structural part of the apse wall – an ingenious feat of Mannerist ambivalence.

João de Ruão's associate at Bouças church in 1576 was Tomé Velho[27] (*fl.* 1561–1621), a better sculptor. Tomé Velho's works are influenced by Chanterene and Hodart in expression and movement, by Ruão in polychromy, gold on white. Pressing from narrow compartments, Tomé's figures suggest the lack of balance typical of Mannerism. Late Mannerist is the contrast between the light, delicate ornament and the strong, grave, and monumental style of his figures. His masterpiece, a *St Elizabeth* of *c.* 1566 in the Coimbra Museum, from the Chapel of the Sacrament of the Old Cathedral, has subtler and more elegant folds than Ruão's. The face recalls the contemporary portrait of a *Lady with a Rosary* (Plate 188A) in spirituality, warmth, serenity, and human understanding. Ruão's work is French, Tomé Velho's Portuguese in character.

In the Chapel of the Sacrament and in the San Teotonio chapel in Santa Cruz Tomé was apparently associated with Jacques de Buxe or Boucher (of Brussels, *fl.* Coimbra 1551–83), presumably a decorative carver specializing in roll- and strap-work cartouches derived from Vredeman de Vries and other Flemish ornamental designers of about 1545–60. These Antwerp cartouches are ubiquitous in Coimbra and its neighbourhood from *c.* 1550 into the first quarter of the following century.[28] In Portuguese painting Antwerp roll- and strap-work was popular in the third quarter of the sixteenth century (p. 341).

The best Portuguese example of Mannerist choir stalls was carved in 1551 at Belem near Lisbon, perhaps by the Spaniard Diogo de Çarça (Diego de la Zarza).[29] In the lower stalls subtle decorative panels of vases flanked by playful half-human grotesques are separated by witty fauns and satyrs on *estípite* bases. Less inventive, though technically competent, are the stalls of Évora Cathedral, dated 1562 and perhaps by a Fleming who copied among others an engraving by Cornelis Bos of a fantastic strap-work vehicle. This is dated 1552.[30] Other panels depict the Labours of the Months and Old Testament scenes.

An outstanding image is the *Dead Christ on the Cross*, polychromed and streaming with blood, which the French carver Filipe de Brias carved in 1551 for the choir of Belem. Its pathetic, realistic expressiveness anticipates the Christs by Montañés (Plate 81A). Mannerist, however, are the twisting outlines, the painfully elongated feet and slender legs rising to a heavy torso, and the delicate thin ripples of the windblown loin-cloth and of the hair.

FROM BAROQUE TO NEO-CLASSICISM

The Baroque (1590–1710)

The word Baroque is used here as a historical term comprising essentially the art of the seventeenth century.[31] Baroque forms are collected and self-confident, realistic, dignified and measured, neither nervous nor tortured or precious. Unlike Mannerism and the Rococo (until *c.* 1760), the Baroque returned generally to the classicism of the Renaissance, though it was grander, more melodramatic, massive, expansive,[32] and more concerned with subordination of all parts to the whole and particularly to the centre than with proportion. In sculpture and painting, as in architecture, the Baroque is not merely a phenomenon of form, but of light and colour as well. Through light the divine is sensed. Light tends to fuse everything in ever greater unity as the style passes from the Early phase (1620–90) by way of the High (1620–40) and Classical Baroque (1640–60) to the Late Baroque (1660–1700). Colours are usually strong and definite, in contrast to the uncertain in-between shades of Mannerism and of the Rococo which in France began not long after 1700.

During Spanish rule (1580–1640) the creative roots of Portuguese art withered for lack of nourishment. Even after 1640 unrest and poverty prevented growth. Seventeenth-century altar and figure sculpture falls short of the preceding and subsequent eras both in quality and quantity. Great altars are often designed by great figure sculptors. The only notable Portuguese sculptor of the period, Manuel Pereyra (p. 146), was active at Madrid. Until a new period of national splendour began late in the seventeenth century, Portuguese sculpture was heavily indebted to Spain.[33] For instance, the magnificent high altar in the former cathedral of Miranda do Douro was carved in 1610–14 at Valladolid, less than 100 miles away.[34] Its maker, the Basque sculptor Juan de Muniátegui (d. 1612), continued at Valladolid the workshop originally started by Juan de Juni and was married to a daughter of Juni's son Isaac.

Three factors distinguish the Portuguese wooden altar [35] of the late sixteenth century: the emergence of Early Baroque forms about 1590, close relationship to Spain through Venegas and the Coelho brothers, and the use of an incipient Solomonic column.[36] The latter is seen in an unpublished design [37] by Venegas of *c.* 1582–5. This is for a side altar in the apse of São Vicente de Fora. Paired columns twist in the lower third and are decorated with acanthus leaves and putti, while the upper two-thirds of the shaft are straight and fluted. The pediment consists of a series of semi-spherical mouldings. According to our present knowledge, it was not until 1625 in Spain, in the Reliquary Chapel of Santiago Cathedral, and not until the 1680s in Portugal that the large Solomonic column was used in altar design. Venegas (p. 342) was Castilian. With Jerónimo de Ruão, he designed in 1590 the high altar of Nossa Senhora da Luz in Lisbon, Early Baroque in its attention to proportion, emphasis on the centre, and the (broken) pediment holding a tondo. The orders are replaced by *estípite*-shaped brackets. These were to characterize Portuguese architecture and wood-carving until the eighteenth century, though after 1690 in competition with spiral columns.

The Luz altar found few direct imitators, in contrast to the contribution made by the Coelho brothers, Gaspar and Domingos. At Portalegre Cathedral they transformed the Late Mannerist design of Herrera's high altar at the Escorial (1582) into an Early Baroque scheme (*c.* 1590) by eliminating the double niches at the sides and by adding a great arch at the top which harmoniously counteracts the upward thrust (Plate 98A). This new classical solution they carried to Coimbra, geographical centre of Portuguese altar-carving, where they built the high altar at the Carmo (1599–1605). Alternating sections of painting and sculpture project and recede. The semicircular attic fills the barrel vault of the apse. Horizontal and vertical forces are balanced. From now on until the Neo-Classical period, altar tops in Portugal were usually rounded or had a broken curved pediment often embodying a pavilion or valence.[38]

The altars by Venegas and the Coelhos inaugurated in Portugal not only the art of monumental wood-carving but a style lasting till *c.* 1675 which has aptly been described as the architectural style. An original example is the altar of 1605–11 in the University Chapel at Coimbra. Though proportions are still elongated, the monumental centre controls the wings, while the orders and pediments project with vigour. The repetition of the central arch in the main tier (as at Espírito Santo in Évora) and the oculus (Lisbon, São Roque, chapel of St Francis Xavier, both 1634) are combined *c.* 1650 in the altar of St Ignatius at Coimbra Cathedral, Jesuit churches all three. Except for the prominence given to the central section, its orthodox design recalls Spanish Late Mannerist altars. Most of the nave altars in the New Cathedral of Coimbra repeat Mannerist decorative forms.[39] In Brazil the altars in the Jesuit College at Olinda, the oldest existing altars made of stone (*c.* 1620), are related to the main altar in the Jesuit church of São Roque, Lisbon. Further development can be traced in a series of altars in the Jesuit New Cathedral at São Salvador, Brazil, from 1665 to 1750.

Seventeenth-century figure sculpture in Portugal was, like the other arts, influenced by Spain. Related to Andalusian work in polychromy and plastic verve is the *St John Evangelist* in the Vilhena Collection at Lisbon, while a highly original *Madonna* (*c.* 1650, from Coselhas) in the Coimbra Museum is parallel more generally to Spanish art. Her monumental, pyramidal shape enfolds protectively the nude Child Christ, whom she holds up frontally. Draperies are arranged with a skill worthy of Cano.

More Portuguese in feeling than the wood-carving is the polychrome terracotta sculpture in the Cistercian abbey of Alcobaça, a treasure-house of sculpture since the thirteenth century. In 1669–72 the circular, domical sanctuary chapel was sumptuously embellished with polychrome statues and reliquary busts in wood or terracotta. Their Iberic spirit is closer to Zurbarán than to Bernini. Though mass and volume are Baroque, folds break in angular gothicizing rhythm. From 1675–8 may date a life-size *Annunciation* and a dignified group of the Apostles with Christ (from a *Bestowal of the Keys on St Peter*), all in sectioned pieces of coloured terracotta. Archaic poses and the stylized face of Christ recall medieval art, though the graceful *St John the Evangelist* reveals the Late Baroque. The most notable group at Alcobaça represents the *Death of St Bernard*. It dates from 1687–90. The Virgin, in an aureole of cherub-heads and with a court of eight angels all in high relief, is placed above the scene of her death, which is in the round. Most figures are sadly mutilated. This group, perhaps by the master of the Apostles, is Late Baroque in its decorative richness and restrained sentimentality.

A new style, the national style, distinguishes Portuguese altar design from 1675 to 1725. It is characterized by vine-covered spiral columns [40] and concentric arches, preferably also spiral and vine-clad. These concentric arches are typically Portuguese, while the columns have a precedent in Spain. To each vertical moulding or order corresponds one above in the arch which is radially tied, as it were, by ornamented strips.[41] The total organization resembles that of Romanesque church-portals. In unity and harmony of movement, as well as subordination of all parts to the whole, the national style is typically Baroque. Because of its small-scale surface decoration, it is Late Baroque.

One first finds at this time in the Luso-Brazilian area the idea of the 'igreja toda de ouro', the church interior almost entirely covered with carved gilt wood. This idea was carried to great length in Portugal and Brazil, though a few examples exist in Andalusia, Mexico, Ecuador, and Peru. An early instance of a large apse covered with carved gilt wood is San Francisco at Bogotá of *c.* 1630 (Plate 89A), while the earliest one in Brazil, in the Jesuit church of São Salvador, is of 1665–70. An entire church covered with carved gilt wood is the Capela Dourada of the Franciscan Third Order at Recife, in Brazil, of 1695–1702, another São Bento in Rio de Janeiro of 1693–after 1743, both by carvers from northern Portugal (Oporto and Braga).

The mode is related to that of São Bento da Vitória in Oporto, *c.* 1704 (Plate 98B), which is one of the finest examples of the national style. Here, the dominating upper part of the central niche shelters a multi-tiered stepped pyramidal base for the exposition of the Host. Such pedestals, chastely adorned with dozens of tiered white candles, are characteristic of Portuguese and Brazilian altars of the eighteenth century and give a majestic sobriety not found elsewhere. The lower section of the central space usually has minor statues in small niches. Sometimes, as at the Jesus convent in Aveiro, *Christ Crucified* appears on top of the pedestal, while the Host is placed in a niche below (Plate 99A).

Spiral columns harmonizing with the arch above in one monumental design give the national style a unity and dignity unknown outside the Luso-Brazilian area. Though space is now deeper than before, there is less movement than in contemporary Hispanic designs. The gilding and polychromy of the altars lining the church walls are abundantly reinforced by colourful Arraiolos rugs, 'the tones of the paintings, the revetments of coloured marbles and the brilliantly glazed tiles which complete the decoration. The resulting harmony, never subsequently surpassed, is one of the finest and most original expressions of Portuguese art.'[42] Favourite colours are green, yellow, lilac, and tones of blue, grey, and white.

The Joanine Style (*c.* 1715–35)

The Joanine or Early Rococo style was helped not so much by the accession to the throne of John V in 1706 as by the discovery of gold and diamonds in Brazil, producing conspicuous wealth both for the colony and the motherland. The new riches attracted foreign artists, especially Italian and French, in numbers not experienced since the Manueline period. The Frenchman Claude Laprade[43] (*fl.* in Portugal 1699–1730) did his best work in the monument to Bishop Moura (1699–1706) at Vista Alegre near Aveiro. Technically competent, Berninesque in verve, the reclining effigy is intensely realistic with its eloquent gesture and glance. Allegorical figures of the Faculties (1699–1700, at Coimbra), though less correct, more mannered and vivacious, arrest attention because of their slightly grotesque exaggeration. Among Laprade's last works are the clay figures of 1727 for the high altar of Oporto Cathedral.[44]

In 1732–3 a large group of over life-size marble statues was sent from Italy to Mafra Palace.[45] They were made by the most celebrated Roman and Florentine sculptors of the time, including Monaldi, Rusconi, della Valle, and Maini. Laprade and José de Almeida (p. 194) worked at Mafra. The four Evangelists, less important and in wood imitating marble, at the Jesuitas in Braga, recall the style of Giovacchino Fortini's statue of St Philip at Mafra. Earlier but similar in style are the Italian marble statues in the chapel of São Gonçalo in São Domingos de Benfica, Lisbon.

In keeping with Portuguese art, the mood is tender, harmonious, and architectural in the virgin saints which Jacinto Vieira of Braga carved for the monastery of Arouca (Aveiro) in *c.* 1723–5. Their aristocratic, almost coquettish elegance betrays the eighteenth century. Life-size polychrome angels as candle-bearers represent the most original achievement of Rococo wood-carving in Portugal. Two, dated 1726, belong to Commander E. Vilhena in Lisbon (Plate 96B), and two more, of about the same date, to the Jesus convent at Aveiro. The first – with tall feathers, escutcheon, and spiral candleholders – wear the garb of Roman soldiers, like Villalpando's contemporary Archangel in Mexico City (Plate 167B). Draperies are treated with a sculptural power and imagination comparable to the T'ang period. The stylized faces recall the manner of Josefa d'Aiala.[46]

With Joanine art, an anti-Baroque, Rococo disintegration of form begins, as in the high altar and the transept altars of the New Cathedral at Coimbra and at Oporto Cathedral. Stability is deliberately reduced by shifting the centre upward and by emphasizing the attic, thus returning to a Mannerist and pre-Baroque formulation. Instead of the closed concentric arch form of the national style, the Joanine attic – at its rare best – opens flame-like in broken, segmental bits of pediment, sometimes flanked by upright fragments of volutes as seen in Spain since *c.* 1705 in the work of Hurtado and his contemporaries. Most often the attic arch is combined with, and masked by, a pavilion or at least a valence. These extravagant canopies are the special glory of Joanine altars. A Brazilian example in the church of São Francisco Xavier at Belém (Pará) of *c.* 1730 has volutes and countervolutes in rhythmic opposition recalling Pedro Duque Cornejo's art at Umbrete.

As in Spain, not only the upper area but the brackets become increasingly important. Human figures, their anatomy better understood than in Portuguese seventeenth-century carving, now fulfil architectural tasks. They load the pediment or give scale and module to the structure. Life-size crouching figures carry on brackets those columns which are set before the others to direct the movement into space and thus rivet the attention of the faithful on to the altar. The effect is dramatic and architectural. The new style was influenced by Roman designs. Even the Joanine column, called quasi-Solomonic,[47] is close to Roman prototypes – Raphael and Bernini – since it entirely omits grapes and birds and, in the swelling surfaces, all decoration. Striations reappear in the lower third of the shaft, which is crested, as at Rome, by an acanthus band. An example of the Joanine style is the high altar of Oporto Cathedral (1727), designed at Lisbon, probably by Laprade (p. 191).

The centre of the Joanine style was Lisbon,[48] and the new Italian influences have been explained[49] by way of the writings and plates of Andrea Pozzo and of Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, the paintings by V. Baccarelli, the extraordinary Roman state coaches of 1716 (Lisbon, Museu dos Coches), and Italian church silver. Smith observed that in spite of Italian influences the Joanine altar generally avoids such theatrical Roman devices as the placing of bases and columns at an angle, 'separate sources of external lighting, isolation of columns and the opening of crowning members after the fashion of the Italian baldacchino. The Portuguese altar ... rarely departs from the scheme of a closed mass relatively unbroken by diverging planes which had developed from the national style.'[50] An exception is the Crucifixion Altar in the transept of São Francisco at Évora, with the poignant figure of Christ, dramatically illuminated by a side window.

Among the best examples of Joanine wood-carving are the altars in Santa Clara and in São Francisco at Oporto, the former more harmonious, the latter better in quality. The bracketed pilasters (*quartelões*), apart from sixteenth-century precedent in Portugal (p. 184) and elsewhere, have a parallel or are even anticipated in Spanish Sicily and in Andalusia as *estípites*. Rivalling São Francisco at Oporto is the church of the same name at São Salvador, Brazil, of 1723–46, the largest Luso-Brazilian church interior all covered with gilded carving. As in Joanine art in the motherland, there are putti and caryatids, and in the altars of the crossing angels seem to float in mid-air.

Certain Joanine altars relate to developments outside the Luso-Brazilian area. A Jesuit altar in the Azores, stopping-place on the way to the tropics, exhibits an inventive exuberance, a *horror vacui*, and a limitless surging as in contemporary Andean wood-carving. The orders in the high altar of the church of Senhor Jesus das Barrocas at Aveiro (1722–33) resemble to a certain extent Andean columns and exemplify a Mannerist revival typical of eighteenth-century art[51] (Plate 99A). In this church at Aveiro, as often in the Aveiro–Oporto region, as well as in São Francisco at São Salvador, Brazil, this revival is accompanied by neo-Moorish forms in the vault: interlacing ribs or mouldings of flowers and leaf motifs. In contemporary Spain *artesonado* ceilings came into use again. The popularity of Moorish forms during the early eighteenth century in Spain and Portugal may be explained by spiritual affinity even more than by a similar feeling for shapes. Both Moslem art and the Rococo search for surprise and emphasize not only fragility and lightness but also infinity, a linking of forms without beginning and end (see p. 125).

A typical American development in Brazil (Nossa Senhora do O', at Sabará, Minas Gerais, after 1710; Third Order of Carmelites at Cachoeira do Campo, Bahia, *c.* 1746), in Guatemala (Merced, Antigua), and elsewhere, are carvings with early rocaille or conch forms, painted red and gold and mixed with Far Eastern motifs in imitation of Chinese lacquer-ware. The ships returning from Goa to Portugal usually journeyed via Bahia.[52] Mexico and Guatemala received Chinese wares via the Acapulco galleons.

The High and Late Rococo (c. 1735–95)

As in Spain, the style retains the single monumental order, frequently with columns at an angle, and continues the elaborate upper structure, which grows high and narrow, often with a valence. Except in such transitional altars as at the church of Nossa Senhora da Esperança, twisted columns as well as human supporting or crowning figures are usually absent in Portugal (as against Spain). Ornament discloses more of the flat surface and tends to become *appliqué*. The most obvious feature of High Rococo design is the rocaille ornament of undulating, scalloped conch forms, popular in France from before 1730 and introduced in Portugal by Quillard (p. 344) and by ornamental engravings from France, Italy, and Germany. One of the finest Rococo altars,[53] in the apse of Tibães near Braga (Plate 99B), headquarters of the Benedictine Order in Portugal, is a last fling in the conquest of space. Though the columns are now straight, the pedestals flare like bells and undulating profiles ride up along the edges of the tabernacle pyramid, while in the attic there opens mask-like a huge form like a tropical butterfly. However, the pierced pediment has returned to being one and unbroken. Soon it and the altar as a whole will once more be flat and linear, a development favoured by the use of marble instead of wood in the reconstruction of Lisbon after the earthquake of 1755. This material spread to the rest of Portugal, just as happened in Spain after 1775. The Brazilian equivalent of Tibães is the main altar of São Bento in Olinda of 1783–6. This is in a monumental style of inflated muscular vigour which has been compared to the heavy rhythm of the naga serpents in Khmer temples.

The sculptor who best suggests the spirit of the High Rococo in Portugal is José de Almeida (1700–69), a pupil of Carlo Monaldi in Rome. His *St Onofrius* (Lisbon) and his *Christ Crucified between Angels* at Santo Estevão, Lisbon, have Rococo preciousness, asymmetrical outlines, and an undulant movement like running water. Surfaces are no longer broken in deeply cut folds.

Alessandro Giusti (1715–99),[54] a pupil of the painter Conca and the sculptor Maini, came to Lisbon from Rome in 1751. He settled at Mafra in 1753, where he founded and directed Portugal's first school of sculpture. In 1773 he went blind. The reliefs at Mafra attributed to Giusti and his pupils are pictorially conceived like translations into marble of paintings by Conca. Giusti's school produced excellent technicians. At least one, Joaquim Machado de Castro [55] (Coimbra 1731–Lisbon 1822), is an artist of a high order. In his teens he had been a pupil of Almeida. He then spent fourteen years at Mafra (1756–70) as Giusti's assistant. Machado's *Presepe* with many figures in Lisbon Cathedral (1766) is graceful, lively, and realistic in expression, movement, and composition. Rococo coquetry and a keen sense of humour enliven the pastoral theme. An acrobat stands on his head. Angels *à la* Roldán fly overhead. In 1770 Machado de Castro returned from Mafra to Lisbon to begin work on his masterpiece, the equestrian statue of Joseph I, finished in 1772. The artist made dozens of drawings and models in wax, clay, and gesso. The marble statues at the foot of the monument, including the horse and the elephant, were done from life. The king had to be portrayed from a medal. The casting of the equestrian group (1775; Plate 100) was difficult and expensive. Now an intense green patina adds life and belies the name Black Horse Square, given to its site by British sailors over a century ago. Horse and horseman, though dignified and monumental, have the decorative elegance of goldsmiths' work. Machado de Castro's other over life-size statues were also first modelled in small clay figures. Just as Rubens's sketches today are more appreciated than the large paintings finished with the help of assistants, so Castro's clay figurines are among his best work. The Lisbon Museum has a collection of fifty excellent clay statuettes by him, his helpers, and his colleagues.[56]

The Neo-Classical style developed in the metropolis from *c.* 1760, while in Brazil the Rococo lasted, especially in Minas Gerais, from 1760 to 1829. The fabulous gold and diamond rush which had begun in the early eighteenth century made this province suddenly very rich. The sudden end of the rush over a hundred years later left the altars undisturbed and not replaced by Neo-Classical or later structures. Though not the first in Minas Gerais to employ the Rococo style, O Aleijadinho was its greatest exponent. Illegitimate son of Manuel Francisco Lisboa, the Portuguese architect in Brazil, and a Negro slave girl, António Francisco Lisboa was born in Minas Gerais in 1738.[57] From his middle thirties, crippled by disease (leprosy, syphilis, or rheumatism?), he had to be carried and to have hammer and chisel strapped to his arms in order to carve. Hence his nickname, O Aleijadinho, the little cripple.[58] He died in 1814, the greatest architect and sculptor Brazil has produced (see pp. 118–19).

Among his sculptural work are the stone pulpits in São Francisco, Ouro Preto (1771–2); the main altar in São José, Ouro Preto (1772); the portal, pulpits, and caryatids in the nave of Nossa Senhora do Carmo, Sabará (1773–4); a new portal (1774–5), balconies

(1778–9), and main altar (1790–4) in São Francisco, Ouro Preto; and processional images of the Lord's Passion (1797–9) in the Bom Jesus de Matozinhos at Congonhas do Campo (all in the State of Minas Gerais).

His group of twelve prophets (1800–5) in front of the Bom Jesus is the most dynamic ensemble of open-air statues in the Lusitanian world (Plate 101).[59] The sanctuary overlooks the city of Congonhas and the valley bounded by mountains. The atrium in front of the church is approached by a monumental staircase (Figure 44). The formal harmony between it, the walls, and the figures is unsurpassed. Placed in strategic positions, the huge figures seem to dance a tremendous ballet as the visitor winds his way back and forth walking up the steps. He is made to see the statues from all sides and angles. From a distance all twelve prophets, in diverse attitudes, greet him. As one comes nearer, they act in ever-changing groups of different sets of eight, six, four, even two. They are sufficiently simplified to be effective from afar as well as nearby. Their features are harsh and sharp, their costumes fantastic, with Oriental overtones, their expressions prophetic. The contrast of ashen-grey soap-stone with a white wall, blue sky, and distant mountains accentuates volume of stone and expressive pose rather than realism of detail. The tectonic feeling is in line with the architecture.

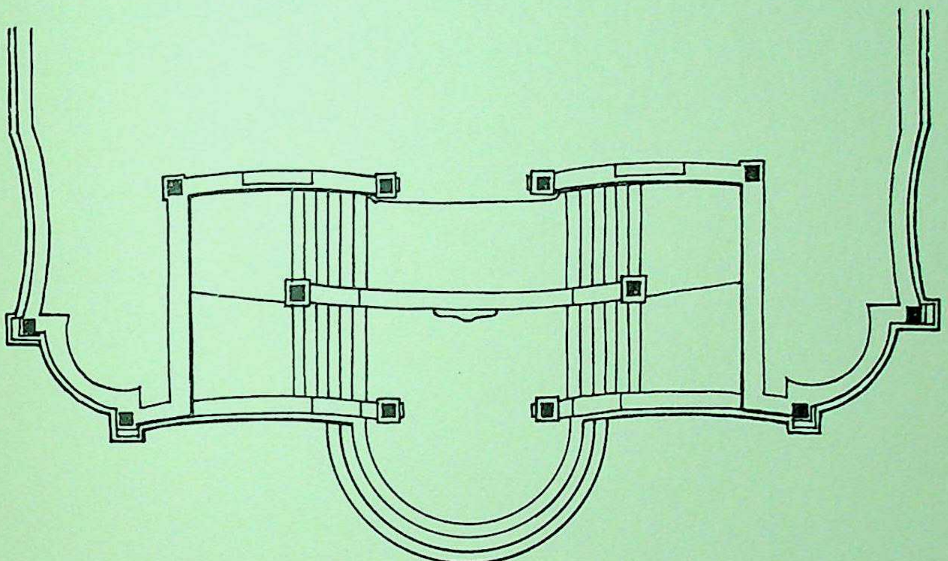


Figure 44. A. F. Lisboa (Aleijadinho): Congonhas do Campo (Brazil), Bom Jesus de Matozinhos, staircase and statues of twelve prophets, 1800–5. Plan

In his interiors, Aleijadinho reconciled the richness of Rococo decoration with the architectural dignity characteristic of Lusitanian church design. He simplified the altar structure by stressing the Roman arch and either suppressing the baldacchino or lifting it above the arch with a grandiose composition of statuary as if suspended in mid-air to link the altar with the vault.[60] Straight columns are used, and ornament on white or on red and gold ground. Vegetable, animal, and human motifs are avoided, except for the statues at the top. Aleijadinho's masterpiece, the *capela mór* (apsidal chapel) of São Francisco at Ouro Preto (1773–94), shows how successful he could be in compensating

P

contrapposto movement throughout an ensemble of architecture and sculpture both designed by him. Numerous other altars and some pulpits, all in Minas Gerais, were carved by him or after his sketches, the last in 1829, fifteen years after his death. Though his Rococo style thus subsisted well into the nineteenth century, the Neo-Classical transformation began in Brazil *c.* 1795. There was nothing like the sharp, destructive break by royal decree which we have found in the Hispanic lands; the transition in Brazil was gradual.

Neo-Classicism

In Portugal the best representative of Neo-Classicism was João José de Aguiar (1769–1841), who learned his art from Canova. His monument to Queen Mary I, of 1802, faces Queluz Palace. Imaginative figures of the four Continents guard the base. At Queluz, as earlier at Mafra and later at Ajuda, the statuary produced under Joseph I (1750–77), Mary I (1777–1816), and John VI (1816–26) is lucky in its enchantingly harmonious setting.

PART THREE

PAINTING

BY

MARTIN SORIA

CHAPTER 11

SPAIN: THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE HIGH RENAISSANCE IN VALENCIA, ANDALUSIA, AND CASTILE

PORTRAITURE at the court[1] of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic Kings who unified Spain, was in the hands of foreign artists. Michel Sithium (Reval 1469–1525),[2] of a Lübeck family and apprenticed to Memling at Bruges in 1484, was in Spain from 1492 to 1502 and again in 1515–16. He may be the author of the portrait of Ferdinand (1452–1516) at Windsor Castle, which came to England when Ferdinand and Isabella's daughter Catherine of Aragon married Henry VIII. The portrait of Queen Isabella (1451–1504) at the Royal Palace in Madrid was perhaps painted by a Flemish-trained Spaniard. These bust portraits on panel are strong, energetic, linear, and decorative in the Renaissance manner. Similar busts of ecclesiastics (Prado) were painted by Hernando Rincón de Figueroa (*fl.* 1491–1520).

The royal couple's daughter Joan the Mad (1479–1555) married Philip I the Handsome, son of the Emperor Maximilian. Thus Spain came to be ruled by the House of Austria from Charles V (Charles I of Spain), the three Philips, II, III, and IV (son, grandson, and great-grandson of Charles V) to Charles II, last of the line. Joan's court painter was Juan de Flandes, perhaps the author of her portrait at Vienna, gentle, soft, and transparent. Juan de Flandes was court painter at least from 1496 to 1504.

Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina

The foremost Spanish painter of the High Renaissance[3] was Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina (*fl.* at Valencia 1506–13/14, at Barcelona in 1515, and at Cuenca until *c.* 1531). With Fernando de los Llanos, he painted twelve scenes from the life of the Virgin (1507–10) on the shutters of the high altar at Valencia Cathedral.[4] Both Fernandos came from the recondite province of Don Quixote's La Mancha and had been schooled at Florence under Leonardo. 'Ferrando spagnolo', we do not know which of the two, assisted Leonardo in 1505 on the *Battle of Anghiari*.

Yáñez, a better painter than Llanos, presented sacred themes in a novel, imaginative way. He achieved a forceful illusion of space through boldly equilibrated horizontals and verticals. Tectonic figures and architecture fuse to a vital, organic unity. His *Resurrection* of *c.* 1510 (Valencia; Plate 102A) is contemporary with the cathedral shutters. Voluminous steps, built up of flat planes, exalt the rounded shapes of the figures. Yáñez's forms recall in monumentality those of Piero della Francesca, Fra Bartolommeo, and Bramante. In spite of their essential quietude and clarity, Yáñez's pictures derive from Leonardo their psychological preoccupations and formal refinements.[5] As exciting as the mental relationships are those of form: the clouds, the bands of the helmet at the lower right, the hands of Christ and of the standing soldier, his profile, and the ornamental pattern of his clothes, resembling Arab writing.[6] Yáñez had extreme sensibility for shapes and negative areas. Working prior to most Italians of the same stylistic stage, he also had greater vitality. As Post says, he was 'able to transcend the potent effect of contact with Leonardo and to infuse the borrowed style with the freshness and vigour that emanate from the very provinciality of his origin and environment'. Spanish art excels by its vitality, which is the prerogative of provincials, be they Spaniards or Germans, Vikings or Americans. Spaniards are concerned with the individual human being. Yet the best of Spanish art, literature, and life is often savage, in contrast to the French feeling for measure, balance, and elegance. Nor should one look in Spain for the qualities of Italian art such as the expression of philosophical, humanist traditions, attention to physical beauty, and technical perfection.

Alejo Fernández

At Seville, the major painter in the first third of the sixteenth century was Alejo Fernández (*c.* 1475–Seville 1545), who came there in 1508 from Cordova.[7] He seems to have been of German or Flemish extraction, though probably born in Spain. Alejo modified the Hispano-Flemish style of the late Quattrocento towards greater freedom, by incorporating the architectural spaciousness of the Renaissance and eventually features of Antwerp Mannerism: nervous, elongated, twisting figures, floating veils, and curvilinear patterns (Marchena, San Juan, *c.* 1521). Dulcet overtones distinguish his works. A *sfumato* quality and some influence from Pinturicchio suggest, but do not make certain, an Italian journey. Four panels for the main altar of Seville Cathedral (1508–10) are parallel in chronology and style to Yáñez's work at Valencia: monumental figures related to a space-building architectural system of horizontals and verticals, infusion with thought and significant form. In 1520 Alejo created the altar in the Colegio de Maese Rodrigo, forerunner of Seville's university. In the centre stands Our Lady de la Antigua, she who had appeared to St Ferdinand while he was besieging Seville and whose image Cortés and Pizarro had taken to the Americas. At her feet kneels Maese Rodrigo (copied a hundred years later by Zurbarán). The Virgin's face is of moving gentleness. This is typical of Alejo, who was the most lyric Spanish painter of the early sixteenth century.

Juan de Borgoña

In central Spain the dominating High Renaissance master was Juan de Borgoña (*c.* 1470–*c.* 1536, at Toledo from 1495).[8] He or his ancestors hailed from Burgundy, but his style owes more to Italy than to the North. Post surmises that Borgoña studied at Florence with Ghirlandaio (d. 1494) and that he knew the art of Castagno, Melozzo, Filippino Lippi, Piero della Francesca, and also of Borgognone. Borgoña's panels for the main altar of Avila Cathedral (*c.* 1508) are varied in lighting. Space is intimately felt and the composition interesting. From 1509 to 1511, in the chapter hall of Toledo Cathedral, he painted with competence, propriety, and careful finish the only great fresco ensemble of the Spanish Renaissance. The architecture, seen in a still and even light, is ornate, yet as mechanically arranged as a child's construction set; narrative clarity is achieved. Borgoña's grave, idealized models (e.g. *The Doctors of the Church*, *c.* 1510, Barnard Castle) assume rigid, ceremonious poses. Mantegnesque in expression and intensity is the *Holy Sepulchre* of 1521 at Toledo Cathedral.

THE SECOND GENERATION: VALENCIA, CASTILE, AND ANDALUSIA

Vicente Juan Macip and Juan de Juanes

The second third of the sixteenth century reflects influences from Raphael and his Mannerist followers. Their effect was felt deepest and longest at Valencia, a city which for geographic, political, and economic reasons always maintained close contact with Italy and Provence, though much less with Flanders. In this period the two most significant Valencian masters were Vicente Juan Macip (*c.* 1475–*c.* 1545) and his son, known as Juan de Juanes (*c.* 1523–79).[9] Little affected by the Yáñez–Llanos style, Macip nevertheless continued the use of sharp, vivid outlines. Quickly gathered folds as well as determined thrusts and counter-thrusts produce excitement. Large, massive figures fill the canvas, so that the background loses importance. A good example is the *Christ at the Column* (Alba de Tormes). It seems likely that Macip went to Italy and studied in the Veneto. Darby [10] suggested a derivation from Sebastiano del Piombo, and Post proved a close resemblance to Pordenone. Macip's foremost works are an altar of 1530 at the cathedral of Segorbe (Plate 102B), and the *Baptism of Christ* of 1535 at Valencia Cathedral. These compositions, arranged in a circular rhythm, are animated by Mannerist energy. The style created by Macip was continued by his son Juan de Juanes, who gave it a sweetness and feminine grace that are easily understood. Juanes has been among the most popular and most reproduced painters of Spain, a distinction surpassing his inherent qualities. Comparing Macip's *Holy Family* at Valencia Cathedral with that by Juanes at the Madrid Academy, the father's faces have expression and character, his types are human, his draperies and bits of landscape are interesting. Juanes painted less precise, blander *sfumato* forms by formula. Instead of arousing the observer's curiosity, he soothes him. The faces purposely lack individualization or human quality. Juanes produced 'ideal' images of the Virgin and Child, the Holy Family, the Immaculate Conception, and the Saviour. His Madonnas are based on Raphael's, and his architectural backgrounds also come from the Italian master, as well as from Flanders, thus paralleling contemporary painting in Portugal. In his *Last Supper* (from Marcantonio's print after Leonardo's fresco) and in the scenes from the life of St Stephen (Prado; Plate 103B), Juanes took up the thrusts and counter-thrusts as well as the *contrapposto* movement of his father and, under the spell of Quentin Massys, gave the faces more character than was usual with him. The landscape recalls Giulio Romano's and anticipates Poussin's. Juanes's colours are bright and intense.

Juan Correa de Vivar and Alonso Berruguete

At Toledo the style of Borgoña was continued into the next generation by Juan Correa de Vivar (*fl.* 1539–61).[11] His *Dormition* (Prado) and *Crucifixion* (Toledo, San Salvador; another Madrid, Countess of Portoalegre) exhibit influences from Macip and Juanes. Mannerist tendencies are seen in the windblown folds, the movement into depth, and the rhythmic pattern. One of the greatest sculptors (see p. 132) and painters of this period was Pedro Berruguete's son Alonso (*c.* 1488–1561), who arrived in Florence about 1504. There he studied Michelangelo's art and completed a painting left unfinished by Filippino Lippi (Louvre). Longhi,[12] who discovered a number of surprisingly advanced and Raphaelesque works of this Italian period, suggests that Berruguete influenced Pontormo and Rosso. Having returned to Spain in 1518, he painted four panels in 1529 (Irish College, Salamanca) and 1532 his masterpiece, the now dismantled Altar of San Benito (Valladolid). The *St Matthew* recalls Rosso in the facial types and elongation, the violent angles and movement, and the modelling of the billowing draperies. Since Berruguete was chiefly a sculptor, he concentrated expression in the human figure and face.

Pedro Machuca

Berruguete shared with another Castilian, Pedro Machuca (*fl.* 1517–50†) of Toledo, the honour of being among the founders of Italian Mannerism.[13] The style of these artists is similar. Their vigorous use of light and shade recalls Beccafumi, and their *contrapposto* Michelangelo, Machuca's teacher. He was also influenced by Correggio and Perino del Vaga. A capital work by Machuca is the *Madonna del Suffragio* (1517, Prado), done in Italy, where the artist may have stayed for ten to fifteen years before 1520. He began in 1526 to build the Palace of Charles V in the Alhambra at Granada (see pp. 10–11). The queen's boudoir in the Alhambra was frescoed (1539–46) by the Milanese Alessandro Mayner and by Giulio de Aquiles, son of Antoniazzo Romano. Scenes from the conquest of Tunis by Charles V (1535) were represented along with others from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, among delightful grotesque borders and putti taken from Italian ornamental engravings. The sadly neglected frescoes are parallel in style to the contemporary work at Fontainebleau.

Charles V had as his court painters Michel Sithium, Jacques de Battel, Jan Cornelis Vermeyen (d. Brussels, 1559), Alonso Berruguete (these two were not portraitists), Diego de Arroyo (*c.* 1498–1551, a famous designer of royal armour, porcelain, and miniature portraits) – and Titian. The emperor and Titian first met in 1532 at Bologna when the Venetian master painted, from a far less significant likeness by Seisenegger, a full-length *Charles V with Dog* (Prado). The ruler was so pleased that he appointed Titian his portraitist-in-ordinary on 3 May 1533. More moving in its dignity, loneliness, and forlorn melancholy than this first Titian portrait of Charles V is the *Emperor at the Battle of Mühlberg* (1548, Prado). This picture introduced the equestrian royal portrait in Spain, setting a precedent that was followed throughout the High Baroque, Late

Baroque, and Neo-Classical periods (Velázquez, Palomino, and Goya). Especially influential was Titian's posthumous portrait of the Empress Isabella (1545, Prado), imitated as late as the early nineteenth century by Goya's assistant, Esteve. Titian's full-length likeness of *Philip II in Armour* (1550, Prado) also established a standard for royal portraiture. Mor, Sánchez Coello, Pantoja, González, and Velázquez were to adopt the pose, the accessories of helmet, table, and column, and especially the feeling of royal worth and aloofness. Titian's 'ideal' Venetian style, vaporous and painterly, presented a mood of grandeur rather than emphasizing the sitter's features.

MID-CENTURY MANNERISM IN ANDALUSIA AND EXTREMADURA

Pedro de Campaña

Seville, Andalusia's most important artistic centre, maintained closer relations with Spanish Flanders than any other city in Spain. The trade with Antwerp and America, in which Flemings took an active part, brought to Seville Flemish settlers and influence, economic as well as artistic. Pedro de Campaña [14] (Pieter Kempeneer; 1503-*c.* 1580) was born at Brussels and lived in Seville from 1537 to 1562, after having studied in Italy, where his presence is documented in Bologna and Venice. That he saw Raphael's frescoes at Rome is obvious from his *Presentation in the Temple* of 1555 at Seville Cathedral, Raphaelesque in dignified movement, figure arrangement, and perspective. Through a darker middle zone one sees a lighted street in the distance, a Mannerist device taken over eighty years later by Zurbarán. Campaña was, like Savoldo, a Mannerist precursor of the Baroque; both were naturalistic in detail and masters of realistic chiaroscuro. Angulo [14] observed that Campaña's *Joachim taking Leave* anticipates Vermeer, and that the landscape in *Joachim and the Angel* (both 1555, Seville Cathedral) leads up to Rubens and Velázquez. The princess in the *St George* (1557, Seville, Santa Ana), nervous and psychologically profound, resembles the art of Tintoretto, who was fifteen years younger. Campaña's development towards an increased Mannerism is seen in comparing his *Descent from the Cross* of *c.* 1540 (Montpellier) with that of 1547 (Seville Cathedral; Plate 103A), where the group is elongated and concentrated by omitting one figure. The faces have more meaning, the folds are more agitated and expressive. Christ's head, now in darkness, reflects the mystery of his expiation. The rush into depth is speeded by placing the ladders closer together and turning them slightly. The *Seven Virtues* (Mexico, Academy, as anonymous) should be added to the list of Campaña's Sevillian works.

Hernando Sturmio

A contemporary Dutch painter, Hernando Sturmio (Ferdinand Sturm), did not quite achieve the mastery of Campaña. Born atZiricksee, Sturmio is documented at Seville from 1537 to 1557. Angulo [15] contrasted his linear, more exaggerated and violent Dutch manner *à la* Heemskerck and Scorel with the distinguished, graceful, and painterly style of Campaña. Sturmio was an exquisite draughtsman, pursuing fine detail and leaving no space unfilled. By the time Campaña created scenes large in mood and eschewing minutiae, Sturmio was still stuffing his backgrounds with tiny figures and minuscule incidents, as in his main work, the Altar of the Evangelists of 1555 in Seville Cathedral.

Luis de Morales (c. 1520/5–86)

Sturmio's modelling of faces, hands, and drapery folds influenced Luis de Morales, the greatest native Mannerist painter Spain produced. It is not known where or when Morales was born. Seville and Badajoz have been mentioned, and a birth-date of *c.* 1520/5 is quite likely. Perhaps he was a relative of the Sevillian painter Cristóbal de Morales. Morales's[16] earliest known works may be eight panels, including an *Epiphany* and a *Mass of St Gregory* (Cáceres, Montenegro Collection). Also early are five panels probably by Morales at Badajoz Cathedral: *Visitation* (hitherto unnoticed), *St Francis*, *Annunciation*, *Epiphany*, and *Pietà*. In some paintings the composition, facial types, background figures, and architecture resemble those in Sturmio's altar at San Pedro, Arcos de la Frontera (1539–42). Unless these similarities are explained by the 'Zeitgeist', one would suggest that Morales may then have been in Sturmio's workshop, perhaps continuing to serve until 1546. From then until his death there in 1586 Morales is documented at Badajoz, leaving only for brief journeys to fulfil commissions, including some for Elvas and Évora, in Portugal. In São Salvador at Elvas survive a *Visitation*, *Epiphany*, and *Presentation*, all hitherto unattributed. Morales's influence in Portugal remained slight, but he adopted from that country a tendency towards monumental size, as in the *St John Baptist* and the *Madonna* (Lisbon). Between 1558 and 1578 he painted, with assistants, many large altars, containing numerous panels and usually depicting the Passion. These works and his easel-paintings are of a fairly uniform style, further developing the manner of Sturmio's Altar of St Anne (1549, Sanlúcar, Santa María de la O). From this Dutch master come not only Morales's *sfumato* modelling, gentleness of feeling, and precise execution, but also the violent poses, the elegant, expressive hands, and the haggard male faces.[17]

Morales is indebted to Leonardo da Vinci, particularly for compositions.[18] The Montserrat-like crags and the wild, romantic mood of Morales's landscape backgrounds may come from either Leonardo or Sturmio. Morales's panels often have a plain, dark background, as in the half-length representations of the Virgin and Child, the Ecce Homo, and the Pietà. These subjects, treated with many variations, spread Morales's fame. Our Lady teaches the Christ Child to read or write, plays with him, or, wearing a wide-brimmed hat, holds him to her cheek. The Child may be asleep or contemplate a distaff suggesting his death on the Cross (a Leonardesque motif). Occasionally the Infant St John, St Joseph, or other saints are added. The *Ecce Homo* shows Christ as the Man of Sorrows holding a reed, tied to a column, mocked or carrying the Cross, sometimes accompanied by the Virgin and St John or by ruffians. Exceptionally fine is a full-length, seated *Saviour meditating on the Passion* (New York, Príncipe del Drago). In the *Pietà*, Mary kneels behind the bleeding, upright body of Christ at the foot of the Cross.

Sometimes only the two busts are seen. In a full-length version at Salamanca St John and the Magdalen are present.

An excellent example of Morales's art is the *Virgin and Child* (National Gallery, London; Plate 106). Mother and child are united by deeply felt human and spiritual bonds. Emotionally and formally the picture moves. The design leads the eye in many directions. Light and shade are sensitively varied and juxtaposed. The execution is of the greatest refinement. This is especially appreciated today, when surface appearance has become a major quality in painting. The gesture of the Child may be original with Morales, but the upturned head recalls Dürer and Campaña. Pacheco [19] said Morales lacked knowledge, draughtmanship, and art. He criticized him for painting sweetly and for his close-up view. Justi [20] called his works hideous caricatures ('scheussliche Karikaturen'). Though a classicist, Ceán more fairly praised Morales for representing the passions of the soul. Indeed, Morales's asceticism is filled with anguish and mystic yearning. He typifies both his century and his country.

Luis de Vargas

The last important Mannerist at Seville was Luis de Vargas (1506–68), who, returning about 1550 after twenty-eight years in Italy, introduced there the art of fresco-painting. Influences from Vasari and from Perino del Vaga are obvious in types and modelling. Vargas's best work, the Nativity Altar at the cathedral, contains four mighty, Michelangelesque Evangelists, pushing and yet balanced in energy. The *Epiphany* (Plate 104A) of the predella is set in ruins. Subtle in lighting and boldly conceived, it recalls the architectural backgrounds of Giulio Romano. The centre piece, a *Nativity* (Plate 104A), is signed: 'Tunc discebam Luisius de Vargas 1555', thus proclaiming the artist's modesty as still a learner. A crowded composition, it is filled with detail as naturalistic as any found in Flanders or in Veronese. The example of Campaña may have inspired Vargas. Contrasts in lighting appear everywhere, most intensely in the centre, where a break in the dark stable walls discloses distant shepherds against lighted clouds. Like his contemporaries Sturmio and Morales, Vargas took great care in finished execution, and in delineating hands and draperies.

PORTRAITISTS AT COURT

Alonso Sánchez Coello

Philip II (1527–98) had, besides Titian, two court portraitists: Antonis Mor van Dashorst (Utrecht *c.* 1519–Antwerp 1576) and Alonso Sánchez Coello (Benifayó near Valencia 1531/2–Madrid 1588). Mor met Charles V and his son at Brussels in 1550. Within the next four years (at Rome, Lisbon, again Rome, Madrid, and London) the artist portrayed royalty on orders of the Spanish court. His portraits – unlike Titian's – are linear, strongly modelled, and very life-like, showing a Nordic miniaturist's delight in precision and detail of skin, drapery, and jewels. Thus in London in 1554 he rendered Mary

Tudor (Prado), cousin of Charles V, just before her wedding to Philip II. Mor portrayed Philip II (Escorial) after the battle of St Quentin in 1557. Suspected of Protestant sympathies, the painter hurriedly left Spain in 1558, but continued to work for Philip II. The portraits by Titian and Mor set a style followed at the Spanish court until the house of Austria became extinct with the death of Charles II. They and the paintings by Sánchez Coello created a type of court portraiture imitated all over Europe, along with Spanish court ceremonial, language, and costume. The wide spread of the state portrait[21] during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is explained by its functions. Not only did it represent rulers, where in public buildings their portraits were needed, but it aided foreign princes and princesses in the choice of a spouse, gave advance notice to one already selected, or was dispatched to the far-flung dynastic relatives with whom such courtesies were customarily exchanged. An important group came thus to Roudnice, Czechoslovakia. These portraits impressed the might of Spain upon non-European rulers such as the Sultan of Turkey or the Emperor of China. The latter received in 1580, along with an *Immaculate Conception*, two equestrian portraits of Charles V and Philip II and another of Philip II standing, all by Sánchez Coello.[22]

Sánchez Coello,[23] taken to Portugal as a child, was sent by the Portuguese king John III to Flanders to study under Mor. He returned to Portugal about 1550 and appeared in Spain in 1555 sponsored by Princess Juana, Philip II's widowed sister, who had married Prince Juan of Portugal in 1552. Sánchez Coello soon became Philip's highly favoured court painter and a specialist in portraits. Sensitively and precisely drawn, these reflect the reserve, austerity, sobriety, and strict etiquette of the Spanish court. They aim at dignified but unpretentious representation. Costumes and jewellery are displayed in moderation. Space is indicated by various accessories, such as a red curtain, a velvet-draped table, or a leather-backed chair. The background is a limpid grey. Flemish, Italian, or Spanish sixteenth-century portraits are often incorrectly labelled Sánchez Coello, but the artist's authentic works have become rare, chiefly because disastrous fires swept the Spanish royal palaces in 1604 and 1734. In Buckingham Palace are four notable portraits (1552–71) by him in which shading is fairly pronounced and the modelling greatly influenced by the robust style of Mor.[24] Soon after, Sánchez Coello became much more draughtsman-like, delicate, and pale, as in his masterly likeness of Don Diego of Spain, aged two, signed and dated 1577 (London, Lord Northbrooke; Plate 105B). He was the fourth son of Philip II and his fourth wife, Anne of Austria, and lived only from 1575 to 1581. The portrait is extraordinarily perceptive in the frailty of childhood, the transparency of the face, the colour harmonies. The portrait of Philip II of *c.* 1575–80 at the Prado (no. 1036), recently doubted, is similarly pale and shy.[25]

Juan Pantoja de la Cruz

Sánchez Coello's pupil and follower at court, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (Valladolid 1553–Madrid 1608), continued the sharp outlines and meticulous technique of his teacher. Although just as dexterous, Pantoja was less interested in the study of character, and his portraits have less depth. His earliest may be a *Court Lady* (Lancaster), inscribed

AETATIS SUAE ANNO DNI 1589?[26] After the death of Philip II in 1597 and the accession of his son, the third Philip, Pantoja became very active. He accompanied the court to Valladolid, Burgos, Lerma, and the Escorial. Documents have been published for sixty-six portraits, depicting thirty-nine different members of the royal family, their ancestors and relatives, done for the king from 1600 to 1607.[27] He also painted courtiers and their wives. Of portraits of Philip III by him there are at least nine.[28] Philip III's Queen, Margarita (1584–1611), was portrayed by Pantoja eight times. The best version, of 1605 at Buckingham Palace, was minutely described and appraised at 4,000 ducats before shipment to the English court.[29] Another one is at Houston, Texas (Plate 117A). The fire at the Pardo Palace in 1604 destroyed or damaged many of the forty-seven royal portraits by Titian, Mor, Sánchez Coello, Lucas van Heere, and Sofonisbe Anguissola. The king then ordered Pantoja to restore some and to paint thirty-five new ones, most of them after the mutilated versions by Sánchez Coello. I believe that among these paintings by Pantoja are many attributed in modern times to Sánchez Coello.[30]

Of Pantoja's sacred paintings that include portraits, the most unusual is described in 1605 as 'Our Lady Expecting her Child, Eight days before Birth, St Joseph Kneeling, Surrounded by Many Angels'. It was painted for the Oratory of the king and represented the Madonna with the queen's features. In the *Birth of the Virgin* (Prado, no. 1038), Pantoja introduced three of the queen's sisters and her mother as attendants upon the Child. One of his most ambitious paintings, *St Augustine as Founder* (1606, Toledo Cathedral), includes fifteen figures and some portraits. The pose of Pantoja's sitters became a model for his successors, among them Velázquez.

LATE MANNERISTS AT THE ESCORIAL AND ELSEWHERE

Becerra; Navarrete (1526–79); The Italian Masters

Apart from portraiture, the last third of the sixteenth century was ruled largely by the example of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* and his paintings in the Cappella Paolina. Arfe and Pacheco, noticing this trend, pointed to Gaspar Becerra (pp. 140–1) as its first representative. Becerra entered Philip II's employ in 1562, after years in Rome, where he did frescoes with Daniele da Volterra and Tibaldi at the Trinità dei Monti and after Vasari's designs at the Farnesina. In the frescoes of Perseus at the Pardo Palace, he stressed grandeur and fullness of form and showed a convincing knowledge of anatomy. These are the first of many frescoes which Italian or Italianizing artists painted at the court from 1563 until Goya's ceiling of San Antonio (except for an interruption between 1610 and 1658).

Shortly before Becerra's death another eminent Spanish painter entered Philip II's service: Juan Fernández de Navarrete, called El Mudo because he was deaf. He too was educated in Italy, studying in Venice under Titian, and he too died young, in 1579, at the age of fifty-three. 'Navarrete began in the classicism of Sebastiano del Piombo (*Baptism*, 1568, Prado) and ended in the style of Tintoretto (*Beheading of Santiago*, 1571, Escorial; Plate 104B) and the night painting of Bassano (*Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1575, Escorial).'[31] He brought to Spain the Venetian manner, which emphasized sketchiness, effects at a distance, and colourism – instead of finished execution, a study of anatomy and depth of idea. After painting a cat and dog fight in a *Holy Family* (1575, Escorial) the king ordered him to depict 'neither cat nor dog nor any other indecorous figure, but only saints moving to devotion'.[32] One of his most personal creations is the *Penitent St Jerome* (1569, Escorial).

In 1567 Philip II engaged for his palaces the first group of six Italian artists: G. B. Castello, il Bergamasco (d. 1569), F. de Urbino (d. 1582), R. Cincinnato (d. 1598), N. Granello (d. 1593), F. Castello (d. 1617), and P. Caxés (d. 1611). Most of them were set to work in 1575 at the king's gigantic undertaking, the Escorial – palace, temple, and tomb – a day's journey from Madrid.[33] Urbino in his fresco *The Judgement of Solomon* of 1581 has a refreshing clarity of light, precision in draughtsmanship, and intensity of expression. Granello and Castello painted Pompeian frescoes *à la* Fontainebleau and illusionistic combinations of figure and architectural composition in a somewhat cold, academic style. Their huge battle fresco is rather dull. Cincinnato (at the Escorial 1584–9) harked back to the *School of Athens* and strove to overcome Mannerism by monumental foreground figures stabilized by massive architecture.[34] After El Greco (p. 213) had incurred the monarch's displeasure, a second group of six Italians was engaged in 1583–6: Luca Cambiaso (d. 1585), H. Cambiaso, L. Tavarone, F. Zuccaro, P. Tibaldi, and Bartolomé Carducho. By 1594 all except the last had been sent back to Italy. Cambiaso could be delicate and refined in execution and lighting, but was too straitlaced in composition to excite Spanish artists. Zuccaro stayed only three years, painting twelve pictures, and Tibaldi eight years, doing sixty-three frescoes and six easel-paintings. Zuccaro's linear style and his interest in problems of light may have influenced Pantoja, as Angulo observed. Tibaldi was by far the best of the lot. He was always affected by Michelangelo's late works, often borrowing directly, yet he developed a style through which his pupil B. Carducho laid the foundation for the Baroque school of Madrid.[35] Tibaldi's allegories of the Liberal Arts (1590–2, Escorial Library) are almost fully Baroque in their realistic illusion of space, their stress on volume, and their contrasting illumination. Bold perspectives, inventive compositions, and exciting effects of light distinguish him. He brought to Spain the best that contemporary Italian painting could offer, except for Tintoretto. Simultaneously, several Spaniards painted at the Escorial. Sánchez Coello did a *St Catherine* (1578, Prado), eight pairs of saints (1580–2, Escorial), and at Madrid a *St Sebastian* (1582, Prado), intense and Venetian, under the influence of Correggio, Parmigianino, Titian, and Cambiaso. Luis de Carvajal (Toledo 1534–1607) painted other pairs of saints (1580–90). Monumental in form, naturalistic in lighting and modelling, they belong to the best work then done in Spain. His *Presentation in the Temple* (Valladolid) and his other paintings at the Escorial, influenced by Zuccaro, show a refreshing Spanish interest in realistic detail. Lesser Escorial artists are the Spaniards Diego de Urbina (at the Escorial 1580–93) and Miguel Barroso (born Consuegra 1538, d. 1590), not bad but soon dwarfed by the great achievement of B. Carducho. As transformed and humanized by Carducho and Patricio Caxés, the Tuscan Escorial style was to live on in Eugenio Caxés, Jusepe Leonardo, and finally José Antolínez.

Also elsewhere in the Peninsula Italian painters were creating important fresco decorations. In the Bazán Palace at Viso del Marqués (Ciudad Real) the brothers Giovanni Battista and Francesco Peroli (from Crema, northern Italy) achieved the most complete and best-preserved Late Mannerist fresco decoration in Spain. As Angulo observed, the style is Venetian, influenced by Veronese. The city of Venice looms amidst stories from Ovid and illusionistic views of the Bazán ancestors gravely looking down from balconies. In 1583, fresh from painting at the Sistine Chapel and the palace at Malta, Mateo Pérez de Alessio did a gigantic fresco of St Christopher at Seville Cathedral as well as the main altar of Santiago church, and in 1587 sailed on to Lima.

Céspedes; Vasco Pereira; Blas del Prado; Mois

The most Italianized and best painter of his time in Andalusia was Pablo de Céspedes (Cordova *c.* 1538–1608). A graduate of the University of Alcalá, he was a clergyman, humanist, scholar, art critic, and poet. He practised the three plastic arts. At Rome (Trinità dei Monti) he painted from 1559 to 1566, and stayed on in Italy until 1577. Thereafter he lived at Cordova, travelling occasionally to Seville and Rome. Michelangelo and Raphael were his idols, the Zuccaros his friends. Angulo considers him a follower of Daniele da Volterra. Through his treatment of anatomy and through contrasts in lighting Céspedes built up strong plastic values. As a Mannerist, he emphasized movement perpendicular to the picture plane. His foremost work, the Altar of the Last Supper (Cordova Cathedral), though more linear, is a parallel to the proto-Baroque of Barocci.

A Portuguese, Vasco Pereira (from Évora), painted at Seville from 1561 until his death in 1609. His son-in-law became the father-in-law of Juan del Castillo. Pereira's works[36] (for instance *St Onofrius*, 1583, Dresden) are strongly Mannerist, influenced by Campaña, Vargas, and engravings after Titian and Tintoretto.

In Castile the last Mannerist besides Greco was Blas del Prado (Toledo *c.* 1545–*c.* 1600), who, modifying the style of Correa de Vivar, 'sought monumentality through tranquil forms clad in ample, sweeping and not very complicated draperies and by means of simple, symmetrical compositions and solemn architecture'.[37] Post surmises that Blas knew Fra Bartolommeo's paintings in Italy. His *Holy Family with a Donor* (1589, Prado) was inspired by a print after Muziano.[38] Lope de Vega[39] reported that the Sultan of Fez asked Philip II in a letter to send him a painter and that the king answered there were good ones and bad ones. 'The Moor replied that for kings only the best would do. Thus Blas del Prado, one of the best of our time, went to Morocco', probably in 1593, where, a second Gentile Bellini, he portrayed the Sultan and his family. Upon his return Blas startled Toledans by wearing Moorish dress and by eating, oriental fashion, on a cushion on the floor.

The 'Aragonese philosopher' Martín de Aragón (*c.* 1525–78), fourth Duke of Villahermosa, was a patron of art. Brother-in-law of St Francis Borgia and friend of Titian, from whom he acquired the *Rape of Europa* (Boston, Gardner Museum), he accompanied Philip II on his English journey. Returning from Brussels in 1558, he brought to

Aragon two Flemish painters, Paul Scheppers (d. 1579) and Roland de Mois (c. 1520–c. 1600), both pupils of Titian. Scheppers's scenes from Ovid are lost, but Mois's works survive: excellent portraits (Madrid, Duke of Villahermosa) and large altars (Tafalla, 1571–82; Saragossa, 1589; Fitero, 1590–1600). Mois repeated his compositions, each time with less care. His best work, the *Epiphany* (Barnard Castle, no. 31; Plate 105A), must be early, c. 1560–70. Stressing movement upward and into depth, it is a gay yet complicated construction. Venetian influences from Bassano and Titian are seen in the figure at the extreme right and in the landscape.[40]

El Greco (1541–1614)

Domenicos Theotocopulos, called El Greco, appeared on the Spanish scene in 1576 or early in 1577. A Greek and probably a nobleman, he was born in 1541 on the Venetian-ruled island of Crete. His first training was in the school of Cretan icon-painting, and perhaps in the monastery of St Catherine at Candia, a branch of the famous Mount Sinai cloister of the same name. It has been surmised[41] that he was in Venice from 1558 to 1570, painting at first hundreds of small panels in the style of the Byzantine *madonneros*, as the icon-painters who formed part of the large Greek colony in Venice were called. Greco copied and learned from the Venetian painters. Most of the time he studied with Titian. In Greco's Venetian paintings and in his Spanish works until 1600 there reappear motifs from nearly all of the pictures Titian had painted in the 1560s. Titian's production during that decade was almost entirely destined for the Escorial, and it is probable that Greco's attention was thus drawn towards Spain, the Escorial, and the honour of service to Philip II.

Greco's Italian period was perspicaciously divided by Waterhouse[42] into an early Venetian phase from 1558 to 1570, a short sojourn at Rome between 1570 and 1572, and a second stay at Venice from 1572 to 1576. Besides a few portraits and a few saints, during these years Greco painted almost exclusively scenes from the New Testament, of many different subjects. After his arrival in Toledo he was less interested in Gospel scenes, but added many religious topics popular in Spain. He always remained essentially a religious painter.

Some of his earliest known pictures suggest a beginner's imitation of Venetian art, especially that of Titian. He soon introduced sweeping elliptical shapes which bind the figures into more complicated forms. By 1564 he was not only borrowing motifs and compositions from prints by Bonasone, Caraglio, Parmigianino, and after Schiavone and Titian, but had begun to absorb the art of Tintoretto as well. Ovoid rhythms in dynamic relationship and continuous patterns increasingly expressed Greco's Mannerist credo. The brooding quality and passion of his later skies are seen here *in ovo*. He adopted Tintoretto's dramatic movement, especially through flickering light running along the edges of figures – a rhythmic ornamental effect well in keeping with Byzantine tradition. By thus assimilating Tintorettesque turbulence as well as Titianesque calm, Greco grew to maturity. The most important monument of this phase is a small polyptych of *c.* 1568–9 (Modena Gallery).[43] The *Last Judgement* panel of this altar expresses, in power and movement, the cosmic workings of the universe. Tintoretto's version (Venice, Academy) gives one a similar experience.

Greco studied Michelangelo already in Venice through sculptural fragments, bozzettos, casts, drawings, and reproductive engravings. Years later, in 1611, Greco told Pacheco that 'Michelangelo was a good man – alas, he did not know how to paint!' As to Greco's borrowings from Bassano, if any, these were limited to a few minor technical rather than stylistic matters.

In Rome, in 1570, as a protégé of the Farnese, Greco created his earliest extant portraits, monumental and almost of the breadth of Titian's in compact bulk and aristocratic dignity. Greco's *Self Portrait*, arousing the envy of the Roman painters, is lost, but Naples possesses his portrait of Giulio Clovio, the greatest miniaturist of all Mannerists, who was Greco's friend and teacher in Rome. Like other contemporary artists, Greco learned from the frescoes Raphael and Michelangelo had painted in the Vatican. He acknowledged this debt by inserting the bust portraits of Titian, Michelangelo, Clovio, and probably Raphael in his second *Purification of the Temple* (*c.* 1574–5, Minneapolis; the first one, of about 1572–3, in the National Gallery, Washington). Roughly summarizing, one might say that Greco took from Titian colour, from Michelangelo power and movement, from Clovio line, and from Raphael harmony, particularly harmony between the figures and the background. In the pictures of his second Venetian period, exemplified by the two *Purifications*, Greco embraced the richness and sensuousness of the Venetian palette (Veronese). These paintings sparkle in lucent blues and reds, interweaving as in a Persian rug. Greco's return to Venice after only two years in Rome may have been caused by his making himself objectionable to the jealous painters of Rome when he remarked to Pius V that if the Sistine frescoes were pulled down, he, El Greco, would paint better ones in their place. This haughty pride Greco retained all his life.

On his way to Spain, Greco may have stopped at Malta, about 1575. His finest portrait up to this time shows Vincentio Anastagi, Knight of Malta (1530–86; New York, Frick Collection; Plate 108, A and B). The broad, free handling of the brush, derived from Titian, foreshadows Velázquez and even Goya. Such bold immediacy and directness Velázquez was to acquire only in his middle period, after he had absorbed Greco's lesson. The bluff nature of the military man is brilliantly caught. In spite of a certain plasticity, Greco's Mannerist and Byzantine tendency towards patterning produces the continuous outline which runs from the left foot through pantaloons and elbow up to the curtain. In Spain, Greco created about thirty-five portraits, including three miniatures, all but three of men. Many are in the Prado and all share a nervous, spiritual, and moody quality, as if the artist was really expressing his own mind rather than the personal character of his sitters.

Although Greco came to Spain as a fully-fledged master of the Venetian school, he was endowed with the profound spirituality of his Greek background. At Toledo he persisted in combining formal and ideological elements of both worlds, the Byzantine and the Western. From now on Greco's Western sources comprised Flanders as well as

Venice and Spain. He was mentioned first in the summer of 1577 at Madrid but settled down at Toledo, probably that same autumn. The city had ceased to be the capital of Spain in 1561, when Philip II had moved the court to Madrid. An austere, intellectual, aristocratic, and churchly town, Toledo fitted Greco's temper and his learned mind. He was never again to leave it until his death there in 1614.

At Toledo, Greco immediately received an important commission, the altar of the Bernardine convent church of Santo Domingo el Antiguo.[44] For this he not only painted eight large pictures but also devised the magnificent architecture of the altar. Thus he put into practice the self-training in architecture and sculpture which he had been developing since his stay at Rome. The altar of Santo Domingo constitutes a break from gothicizing Spanish tradition and resembles Venetian altars, for instance that of S. Maria Formosa.[45] Five wooden statues above the altar as well as two carved angels were apparently also designed by Greco. His drawings were executed by Juan Bautista Monegro.

The central painting of the altar, a huge *Assumption of the Virgin* dated 1577 (Chicago; Plate 107), is the most important work by Greco in any American collection. Italianate in composition, this painting shows the influence of Michelangelo in the breadth and solidity of the bodies, and of Titian and Tintoretto in the application of colour, *alla prima* and with bravura. The immediacy with which Greco sketched the hands and feet foreshadows Velázquez and even Goya. In places, broad strokes of colour with darker rims have an inky effect and look as if they had been applied by thumb. On the other hand, the hues have the artificial mutations of the Mannerists. They are worked up from various depths, dark on light, light on dark. The light grey priming gives them an amazing luminosity. The *linea serpentinata* which Lomazzo [46] in 1584 praised as Michelangelo's ideal of beauty determines details as well as the movement of the entire body. Thus in the apostles on the right, zigzag lines jump from knee to shoulder, to the head, and then over to the other figures. The Virgin's body is given a torque emphasized by the scintillating angels at either side and by the grey funnel below. Not only does Greco thus speed the Virgin heavenwards, but the composition is also the beginning of that approximation of heaven and earth which was to lead in his late pictures to an ultimate mystic union of both. In the Chicago *Assumption* the Virgin is not yet fully above the clouds and thus still linked to earth. Teeming with intricate problems of composition, the picture is for painter and layman alike a source of radiant joy and strength.

Greco was working on the altar for Santo Domingo el Antiguo when, about 2 July 1577, he received a commission for the sacristy of Toledo Cathedral, Spain's primate church. The theme was to be the *Espolio* (the Disrobing of Christ on Calvary). The artist had painted a not very successful sketch of this theme a few years earlier in Venice (Munich, Dr Ludwig Justi). The finished canvas is more energetic and more naturalistic. Through intense colour, foreshortening, and massing of forms in a tight space it produces a sense of drama that anticipates the Baroque. Having thus gained the admiration of Toledo, the artist undertook to woo Philip II by presenting to him two small finished sketches on panels of equal size, one of the *Espolio* (once owned by Delacroix and now

National Arts Fund, Viscount Bearsted Bequest, Upton House, Oxfordshire) and the other of the *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus* (now National Gallery, from the Stirling-Maxwell collection).[47] The king thereupon commissioned a large version of the *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus* which is still in the Escorial. In obvious allusion to Philip II, the theme is taken from Paul's letter to the Philippians 2:10: '... at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things in hell'. By showing next to St Paul King Philip II, the pope, and the doge of Venice, all kneeling and in adoration together with multitudes of Christians, Greco foretold the victory at Lepanto won by the combined seapower of the Christian West against the Turks in that very year, 1579.

Philip immediately ordered Greco to paint an even larger and more important picture, the *Martyrdom of St Maurice and the Theban Legion* (Escorial; Plate 109A). This was not finished until 1582. Proceeding from Pontormo's painting of the same theme (Florence, Pitti Palace), Greco arrived at a more imaginative interpretation than in any previous work. The visionary flow of icy yellows and blues, of flaming carmines, vermilions, and pinks carries his conception far beyond Pontormo's design. The picture is more Mannerist and at the same time more mystic than anything Greco had done before. Ten years earlier, in Rome, he had drawn the curtains of his studio to shut out the sun and meditate in the dark. He explained to Clovio, who found him thus, that 'the light of the day impaired his inner light'. Now, reflecting on the destiny of mankind, Greco attempted 'to find within himself the beyond and to portend the eternal, man might possess'.[48] In the foreground of the *Martyrdom of St Maurice*, Greco represented the inner, rather than the external, process of martyrdom. As in many Mannerist pictures, this gory event is pushed back into the middle distance, where on the left St Maurice with his standard-bearer appears again. Standing next to the executioner and comforting each soldier of his legion at the moment of martyrdom, the saint is about to receive mercifully the severed head of each. Greco had drawn the violent poses of the martyred nude bodies from plastic models (in wax, clay, and also in plaster) suspended on string. Observing them from different angles and in various foreshortenings, he made sketches and preliminary drawings. But the king wanted unadorned gravity, not fire and movement, and he disliked this supreme creation where realism and imagination mingle. If Greco had come to Spain in the hope of becoming, like his master Titian, the permanent court painter of the king, he was to be disappointed. He never again received a royal commission.

In the *Agony in the Garden* (Toledo, Ohio; Plate 110), painted between 1580 and 1586, Greco scattered flowers and branches, as in the *Martyrdom of St Maurice*. But now they are painted and disposed in a more abstract manner recalling the crispness and delicacy of Chinese painting. Yet the heads, drapery folds, and vegetation are so close in style to the *Martyrdom* that the two may well have been painted in exactly the same year. In a fantastic landscape, haunted by dark grey-green-brown shadows, our Lord kneels in prayer before a cone-shaped rock. His robe of luminous, deep wine-red contrasts with the steel-blue cloak that is spread on the ground and is repeated in silhouette by a light-grey boulder at the right. To strengthen him appears an angel (Luke 22:43), wearing an ochre cloak over which is a light green, then a yellow glaze. This imparts an unearthly, sulphurous light favoured by Greco for heavenly personages. A cool sky balances the radiant colours in the centre. The general tonality is cool and reserved. On the left in the middle distance are St Peter, St James, and St John (Matthew 26:37) asleep; for the Lord had made 'their eyes heavy'. They are seen as if in a cave, but are actually surrounded by the cloud carrying the angel. Their voluminous robes are white, blue, pink, and yellow. On the extreme right, Judas Iscariot approaches, leading armed soldiers carrying torches. The voice of the Lord seems to descend with the ray of light falling on Christ, symbolizing the transcendent unity between father and son (John 17:21–2). His agony is spiritual rather than real. The translucent clouds are in dynamic motion, now almost hiding the moon, now suddenly unveiling the sleeping apostles (whose poses recall Michelangelo's Medici tombs). El Greco's art moves us so deeply because it suggests perpetual movement, and makes us participate in the unfolding drama, so that it becomes part of our own experience. Apart from Asia stretching from Byzantium to China, Spain is the country where thinkers and artists have forever striven for the translation of reality into the miraculous and of the miraculous into reality. Cervantes's Don Quixote succeeded in making the incredible so real that it became a way of life, and El Greco likewise possessed that capacity for transforming the supernatural into intangible truth.

The *Agony in the Garden* exemplifies many elements of Greco's art. A preference for angles instead of curves gives to this, as to all of Greco's mature works, a piercing force. Yet the great zigzag curve, which follows the outline of the mountain and sweeps round the apostles, helps to unite the composition. The picture is divided into a series of unconnected colour fields, each having individual decorative significance and each setting up exciting discordances with its neighbours. Unity is effected by the shape of the patterns, by the linking of lines to form continuous outlines, and by creating flat patterns through absence of foreshortening or superposition. In this patterning the spatial relationship between planes becomes unimportant. Background and middle distance are telescoped into the foreground. Large patterns are broken up into smaller internal ones, as in Christ's cloak. Light and dark edges of colour fields are joined in tempestuous rhythm. Through its mood, the linear arrangement and light and shade, the background actively takes part in the dynamic phenomenon of the main scene. The sharply delineated areas of colour set against one another recall Byzantine mosaics, and, as in mosaics, the landscape is reduced to a symbolic minimum. Short brush-strokes produce short, broken planes with keen angular edges resembling the facet-like quality of mosaic tesserae.

The *Agony in the Garden* is a theme much more frequent in Byzantine and in Venetian art than in Spain. Greco's *Agony* does not seem closely related to any Venetian version, but presents many Byzantine traits: the angularity of the design, the patterning of figures and background, the sliding, hovering position of Christ, and the inverted perspective of the blue mantle on which he kneels. The lines of flight meet in front of the canvas, below the lower picture edge. The trapezoid shape of Christ's mantle contributes to the effect of his floating between heaven and earth, of not being firmly anchored to the terrestrial sphere, and even of sliding towards the lower border of the painting. This Byzantine device was taken up in Western art by Cézanne, who was so fond of Greco that he repeatedly copied his pictures.

Other important Byzantine features are the avoidance of spatial depth and clarity, and the spiritualization of the whole and of details. For example, the strange shape of the rock, derived from representations of Mount Sinai on icons, echoes the outline of Christ. One is reminded of the 'plasma' form surrounding the Virgin in Byzantine Nativity scenes. Giving him strength beyond mere man's, the rock enhances and protects Christ. Saviour and mountain become a symbolically unified pattern. The rock 'is Christ' (1 Corinthians 10:4). The relationships between Christ and angel, angel and cloud, cloud and apostles, are kept purposely vague to establish the desired mood. The landscape too is expressed in symbols: sweet flowers spring up at Jesus's feet, while a rotting tree-trunk on the left marks the agony of his last vigil, and of the place scorned forever, Gethsemane. Strange by rules of Western perspective, the large size of Christ in relation to the apostles and the group with Judas is readily understandable in terms of Eastern symbolism. Nor is the human figure shown realistically: Christ's body is nowhere suggested by the draperies, his hands and face are neither organically nor in actual technique of paint linked to his garments. The light is symbolic, imaginary, and supernatural. A cloudburst of divine grace on the left balances the ghost-like night scene of impending doom on the right, while the large, quiet surfaces of the angel clash with the violent contrasts of light and shade in Christ's drapery which are meant to express his agony and sorrow.

This analysis of the *Agony in the Garden* was intended to explain general elements in El Greco's art and also his undoubted present-day appeal, justified by the many ways in which he anticipated, in form and spirit, the art of the twentieth century.

In 1586 Greco painted the most important of all his pictures, the *Entombment of the Count of Orgaz*, still in its original location, next to the main altar in the church of Santo Tomé at Toledo. The painting is his largest and measures 15¾ by 11¾ feet. A local legend furnished the subject: at the burial of a Count of Orgaz in 1323 at Santo Tomé, St Stephen and St Augustine descended to earth to lower the body into the grave. Greco was commissioned to paint this miracle 'as viewed by many spectators and with the heavenly hosts above', surely a theme that would be dear to his heart. In the row of portraits he has caught the aristocratic dignity of his Toledan contemporaries. On the left a young boy is pointing to the main scene and addressing the spectator directly by his glance. This must be Jorge Manuel Theotocopulos, later painter and architect of the cathedral of Toledo, who was the only son of Greco and of Doña Jerónima de las Cuevas. The date 1578, in Greek letters next to Greco's signature on a paper sticking out of the child's pocket, indicates the year of the boy's birth. In Greco's painting, as in Michelangelo's Medici Chapel, three zones are distinguished: the grave, life on earth, heaven above. The gold, carmine, and silver of the two centre chasubles and the rich gilded armour of the dead Count are held in check by the sombre blacks of the assembled nobles. Above, an angel in yellowish-green conveys the soul of the deceased through a funnel of intercessors to the throne of Christ. All glory is breaking open in a dynamic deployment of swirling clouds and clear, cool colours: white, steel-blue, and yellow, against flashes of wine-red, orange, and lilac. In homage to Philip II, then still alive, the king is placed between the apostles in heaven. Greco showed here for the first time his understanding of the Castilian milieu: his picture combines spirituality and pomp, hieratic solemnity and creative fantasy, ecstasy and factual description. The rhythm is so strikingly musical that one is not surprised to hear that the artist maintained an orchestra to play for him during meals. Forms and colours entwine with the decorative luxuriance of an oriental carpet, but, true to Greco's Byzantine birth, the spiritual meaning is triumphant everywhere.

Equally true to Byzantine traditions is Greco's growing concentration on painting as a vehicle for ideas, rather than for painting's sake. His realism is of the spirit, not of the flesh. Colour, abstraction, and dynamic motion are put in the service of a yearning for union with God. This ardent craving was shared by the Spanish mystics of the sixteenth century, by St Teresa and by St Ignatius Loyola, and explains why Spain suited El Greco and why his art was readily adapted into the mainstream of Spanish art. Both Velázquez and Goya are among his debtors. Thus, a detail of the head of *St Peter repentant* (Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum; Plate 112) – life that has become spirit in ecstasy and remorse – suggests the fascination Greco's work would hold for the direct and incisive insight of a Velázquez or a Goya. Greco's technique is violent, daring, and open to all to see. There are no tricks, no careful finishing; brush-strokes are jabbed boldly like dagger-blows. Intense expression is sought and achieved. Glazing, blending of colours, lively highlights all come into play. This is not a matter of learned technique, of formula or correct drawing, but of an untrammelled search for the most personal, spiritual statement. The flesh tones are built up of hues of grey, pink, and orange, and the shadows at the mouth, nostrils, eyes, and ears are mixed with madder (or Indian lake), a transparent, crimson-hued pigment Greco always used in his flesh shadows. With economy of effect, the priming of the ground is allowed to be seen in the marginal areas along the outlines, a method Velázquez and Goya were also to borrow.

Expressive of Greco's ever-increasing preoccupation with things incorporeal and of his growing understanding of the meaning of his own Byzantine past are his representations of St Jerome (New York, Frick Collection (Plate 109B) and Lehman Collection). The translator of the Scriptures is shown as an old man. His face is haggard from a life of penance and privation. Clad in a cardinal's rose *mozzetta*, he confronts the spectator with the insistence of a fiery ascetic. His long, bony hands, not without elegance, rest on the pages of the Bible. In a vision, the saint saw an angel blowing the trumpet of the Last Judgement, a theme frequent in seventeenth-century art. Greco by more subtle means suggests that we should conduct ourselves so as to be prepared to stand at any time before the throne of our Judge and Creator: St Jerome's glance is a relentless admonition. The thumb of his right hand presses down on the holy book as if to remind us that here lies the source of our salvation. The head of the saint, all skin and bones, has become as immaterial and insubstantial as those of Michelangelo's late *Rondanini Pietà*. It is all spirit and recalls in intellectual power and even racial type the Egyptian tomb portraits from Fayum with their strong association of perpetual life.

The draperies no longer have the fullness of Greco's earlier works. Instead of suggesting the body underneath, they are exciting vehicles of colour and design leading the eye to the all-important head. Zigzag lines and ovals become important, the collar being designed in an ellipse and another oval shape joining the arms from the finger-tips up to the shoulders and head. Oval shapes are equally telling in Greco's three great altar-paintings for the Chapel of San José in Toledo (*St Joseph*, still in place; *St Martin* and *The Virgin with St Agnes and St Martina*, both in Washington, National Gallery). These were painted in 1598–9.

Less well known but of the same date and of high quality is the *St Andrew* (New York, Clark Collection; Plate 113). St Andrew's cloak in its dynamic changes, its slithering, tongue-like shape, its hollows and its highlights, flowing like quicksilver, recalls the humanist abstractions of Henry Moore. The right hand of the saint, fingers reaching and spreading, are like tentacles of a sea anemone, or like the hands in Picasso's *Guernica*. Flaming ashen exhalations, heavenly fires of white clouds rend the sky. Below, zigzag diamonds of mountain shapes seem to dwarf the tall, yellow trees whipped by storm. The knots of St Andrew's cross bleed like the wounds of Christ.

On 26 December 1596 the Royal Crown Council of Castile commissioned Greco to paint several large pictures for the Augustinian convent of Our Lady of the Annunciation at Madrid, founded by Doña María de Aragón, lady-in-waiting to Queen Anne of Austria, the fourth wife of Philip II. The ground was given to the foundation by the king himself. Greco's pictures[49] were finished by 1600 and installed in the convent, popularly known as Colegio de Doña María de Aragón, where Rubens might have seen them on his visit to Madrid three years later. Rubens's pictures of 1603, and slightly after, indeed show distinct influences from Greco. In the *Baptism* heaven and earth are still separated. In a later version of *c.* 1610–14, for the Hospital of St John the Baptist at Toledo, an angel raises his arm in an ecstatic gesture and establishes direct contact with heaven, so that one passes from the scene on earth to the celestial glory without any intermediate zone.

During the last ten years of his life Greco continued to receive many important assignments.[50] The restless excitement of these late paintings is well exemplified by the small *Purification of the Temple* (*c.* 1603–4, New York, Frick Collection; Plate 115A). The date is established by comparison with the documented paintings at Illescas, which have the same colour scale, the same sparkling, jewel-like lighting, and similar vehement, zigzag strokes of a small brush. During this first decade of the seventeenth century, Greco's palette became more gleaming with light than ever, more glittering with the use of strongly contrasting hues of light wine-reds, steel-blues and lemon-yellows. This is Greco's most luminous period, not his most sombre, as has been claimed.

El Greco's 'teacher' Michelangelo and the sixteenth-century writers on art insisted that the most beautiful shape was that of a weaving flame, of a serpent in motion. No descriptions could express more vividly the energy of Greco's late figures, the frenzied, animated force of his line. He twisted the body of Christ and turned it until it assumed the appearance of an oblique letter S. Nothing is at rest; there is a continuous motion from the feet upward through the legs and body to the tilted head. Lomazzo[51] demanded a proportion between head and body of 1 to 10 for Jupiter and Venus, the most beautiful of all the gods. In this respect also El Greco was in accordance with the artistic ideals of his time.

Only two landscape paintings by El Greco are known, one of them among the great, unforgettable landscapes of all time, the *View of Toledo* (*c.* 1604–10, Metropolitan Museum; Plate 111A). This is a Mannerist portrait of a city: the ghost-like, white and blue-grey buildings seem strangely dead, petrified in a blossoming, light-green landscape. The atmosphere is charged with violent, dramatic emotion. Summer-lightning is in the sky. The pale buildings bite into the storm-rent clouds, painted in whites, blues, and grey. In the centre, the deep gorge of the Tagus river cuts funnel-like through the landscape. Juicy and grass-green hills swing back and forth like a giant omega, or like the curves of a guitar. All diagonals lead up to the cathedral and to the Alcázar. Below these buildings and near the river bank, where a tiny horseman on a white horse and several soldiers seem to bathe and where others seem to lay down a corpse in a white shroud, one can barely see the viaduct connecting Juanello's famous water-wheel and pump with the city. The warmth of the picture comes from the purple-brown bolus ground underlying the colours. In its combination of warm and cool, of life and death suggested in landscape and buildings, this picture is the sublimation of Greco's vision of Toledo, a city of the spirit.

As a young man in Italy, Greco had developed many of his paintings from prints, usually by North Italian artists, particularly Venetians. Even towards the end of his life, faithful to Mannerist and Baroque ideals and usage, he often adapted his works from prints, now mostly Flemish. For instance, one of Greco's best-known late works, the *Resurrection* (1608–10, Prado; Plate 114), is derived from Antonie Blocklandt's design on this theme, engraved by Philip Galle at Antwerp.[52] It has been overlooked that prints after Blocklandt's paintings, eagerly admired by the artists of Spain, are the source for some of the greatest works by Morales, Greco, and even Velázquez. During his Spanish period, Greco usually did not copy foreign compositions, but rather borrowed human poses or merely subject-matter. This is exemplified by his use of Blocklandt's *Resurrection*, confined principally to the cascade of six legs, kicking and approximately parallel, the central figure below in the foreground, the feet and raised forearms of the soldiers standing at either side, and the military equipment strewn about. Greco's originality is triumphant in the diamond-shaped composition echoing Christ's halo. By means of an intrinsically unstable Mannerist scheme, he thus accentuated the active movement of the event, the explosive effect of Christ's appearance upon the soldiers, and his upward thrust. In the helmeted man undisturbed in his sleep and resting his head on his left hand, Greco provided a motif which links Michelangelo's *Lorenzo de' Medici* to Velázquez's *Mars* (Prado).

One of Greco's last paintings shows increased preoccupation with abstract symbol, with pure spirit. In his *Visitation* (Washington, Dumbarton Oaks; Plate 111B), it is not the event he portrayed, but the portentous meaning of the scene. The faces and hands are purposely left vague, and both women are enveloped in the most transcendental folds ever painted by Greco: folds of a cold light-blue, melting under the impact of white sheet-lightning – folds of flame-like, searing intensity, of a violent movement that leaves one numb. Their extraordinary plastic power can be appreciated only when looking at the picture from below, since it was intended for a place near the top of an altar. When seen thus the distortion in folds and architecture disappears and both assume, with an unexpected three-dimensional conviction, their right place in space. As occurs so often in art, in his last years Greco recalls motifs of his early period. In this instance, the doorway and its moulding remind one of the background in the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, painted in Italy before 1570 (Copenhagen, Willumsen Collection). Greco was interested in architecture all his life, and not only designed some of the altarpieces for which his paintings were destined, but wrote books on the subject, unfortunately lost. In the *Visitation* and other late pictures such as *Christ in the House of Simon* (Havana, Cintas Foundation, and Chicago, Art Institute, Winterbotham Collection), he developed a new language of architecture, not always understood. As Raphael had done before him, Greco thus complemented the figures in subtle harmony and expressive force, greatly underlining the symbolic power of his compositions.

In his last years, Greco, the visionary, turned to the Apocalypse. For the Hospital of St John at Toledo he painted between 1610 and 1614 a scene of divine charity: the *Clothing of Martyrs* by angels sent from heaven (formerly Zumaya, now New York). Revelation 6: 9–11: 'And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held: And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them. ...' This scene, depicted by Greco, was often shown in series of sixteenth-century woodcuts of the New Testament, for instance by Bernard Salomon (Lyon, 1553) and by G. Ballain (Plantin Press, Antwerp, 1573). The angel on the left has been explained as St John seeing the mysteries of the Apocalypse, but may derive visually from one of the angels with raised arms 'holding the four winds of the earth' (Revelation 7: 1). This angel, encompassing heaven and earth, expresses Greco's ultimate aim: a mystic union with God. In these last paintings, figures are no longer material form, but burning, blazing movement, vibrating and freed of earthly weight, transformed into transcendent, livid flame. The artist suggested here with an artistic power equal to his high purpose the spiritual dissolving of man in God. Curiously enough, scientific preoccupations and mathematics play an increasingly important role in these paintings. Parabolas, hyperbolas, ellipses, coming from and going into the infinite universe, were for Greco a compositional device for binding this world to the next, and for connecting the earthly and the heavenly spheres.

Although El Greco's style is, as we have seen, very personal, it is none the less related to Spanish art in general and also to the Mannerist art of his time. All the great Spanish masters seem to have conceived their religious paintings out of their innermost spiritual experience. Mannerist art, as a whole, shared with Greco elongated, nervous forms, and emphasized twisting, serpentine movement. Chapter 12 discusses the influence Greco exerted through his Toledan pupils on the rise of Baroque painting in the heart of Spain.

CHAPTER 12

EARLY AND HIGH BAROQUE

THE PRIMERS: BARTOLOMÉ CARDUCHO (*c.* 1560–1608) AND ORAZIO BORGIANNI (1578–1616)

RIBALTA and Roelas are usually considered the first in Spain to paint in the new realistic manner of the seventeenth century; however, Roelas's Baroque pictures date from after 1605, and Ribalta's from after 1615. Ahead of these provincials and ahead of all other artists came two Italians: Bartolommeo Carducci (Bartolomé Carducho) and Orazio Borgianni,[1] both active at the court of Castile, the core of Spain.

Carducho was born about 1560 in Florence, where he studied architecture and sculpture under Ammanati. He later entered the Roman studio of Federigo Zuccaro, whom he accompanied as an assistant in 1585 to the Escorial, then under construction. In 1586 Carducho painted there *al fresco* an *Annunciation* and a *Massacre of the Innocents*. Although curtly dismissed by Philip II, he stayed on in Spain after Zuccaro's hurried departure in 1588, and ten years later was appointed court painter to Philip III with an annual salary of 50,000 maravedis (*c.* £200). Until his death, at Madrid in 1608, Carducho painted in fresco and in oil at the royal seats of the Escorial, Segovia, and elsewhere. When not required to repaint older frescoes, he was kept busy painting latticework for the royal gardens.

The *Death of St Francis* (Plate 115B), signed 'Bartolomeo Carducho Fe 1593' and based on the lessons of Tibaldi (p. 208), may be the earliest surviving fully Baroque painting executed in Spain. It was probably done at the Escorial, where Carducho is mentioned as late as 1597. Subject matter, composition, and treatment express the credo of the new century. Instead of Mannerist ecstatic distortion, here all is grave, straightforward, and down-to-earth, developed with simplicity and calmness. Objects of everyday life lead into the picture; a pair of sandals, a pitcher, a bowl of soup, painted humbly and without pathos. The poses and gestures are thoroughly believable. St Francis's bare feet and the cloth on which he lies suggest poverty. The composition is ruled by horizontals and by verticals, creating a stable framework in which everything finds its appointed place. A broad triangle further stabilizes the design. Natural light from a unified source (not the feverish, unreal light of the Mannerists) produces *tenebroso* contrasts. This device and the broad, massive proportions of the human figures do not stem from Caravaggio, because both occur in Tibaldi's frescoes of 1592 at the Escorial. The plastic and tectonic feeling favoured by Carducho's early training in these arts also reveals the influence of Tibaldi. Carducho's works in the Prado (a *Deposition* of 1595 and a *Last Supper* of 1605) anticipate in fluidity, breadth, and types the art of Jusepe Leonardo. His unpublished *St Francis* of 1600 (Madrid, Colegio de Santa Marca) is realistic and monumental. By Carducho may be the portrait of Father Sigüenza of 1602, in the Escorial. Of all Italian painters (excepting of course the Italian-trained El Greco) called by Philip II to the Escorial, Carducho became the most influential for the future of Spanish painting. He was an artist of independent style, of strong moral character, and of considerable effect on his brother Vincencio and other younger painters working with him until 1606 at the court city of Valladolid, and from 1606 to 1608 at Pardo Palace near Madrid.

The Roman painter Orazio Borgianni (1578–1616) was in Spain from about 1598 until 1605, when he returned to Italy. Of his sojourn at the court in Valladolid, there survive nine paintings at the Porta Coeli Church.[2] His *Crucifixion* (Cadiz, from a church in Madrid) reveals the influence of El Greco and may be called transitional between Mannerism and Baroque. His *Self Portrait* (Prado, no. 877) and his *David slaying Goliath* (Madrid, Academy) are, however, among the first, most powerful, and most characteristic works of the Caravaggesque movement in Spain. At this time originals by and copies after Caravaggio began to reach Spain, soon followed by works of Caravaggio's pupils.[3]

Early Baroque in Castile

Juan Sánchez Cotán (1561–1627)

Caravaggesque Baroque having thus arrived in Castile by 1600, painters active in that region led the further development: Juan Sánchez Cotán, Greco's three pupils Orrente, Tristán, and Mayno, and finally Angelo Nardi. Born in 1561 near Toledo, Sánchez Cotán there learned the art of painting from Blas del Prado (p. 209), the famous still-life painter. Toledo, the seat of the Spanish primate, was then Spain's spiritual capital, just as Seville was the commercial capital. Brilliant humanists, theologians, lawyers, architects, and poets lived in the proud old city on the Tajo. The writings of St Ignatius Loyola and of St Teresa gave the *leitmotif* for the spiritual life, but there existed also an extraordinary interest in astrology, astronomy, mathematics, and especially geometry. Vincencio Carducho relates that after the founding of the Academy of Mathematics in 1582 by Juan de Herrera, it became fashionable to talk mathematics, to read mathematics, and to write mathematics.

As in other centres of learning since *c.* 1550, two streams ran side by side, one of ecstatic mysticism, the other of sober rational thinking. This duality is evident in both Sánchez Cotán [4] and El Greco. Both were deeply interested in architecture and in mathematical problems (see p. 219). Sánchez Cotán owned a *Veronica* and a *Christ on the Cross* by 'Domenico', and, just like El Greco, he used plaster models in his work. It is, however, not in his figure paintings but mainly in his still-lifes that Sánchez Cotán led Baroque painting in Spain. In 1603, having made his will, he left Toledo to become a Carthusian lay-brother at El Paular near Segovia. Nine years later he was transferred to the Charterhouse at Granada, where he died in 1627. His will of 1603 lists eleven still-lifes, including one now in the Museum in San Diego, California (Plate 116B), which came to Philadelphia about 1820, where it influenced Raphaelle Peale.

Sánchez Cotán's art is distinguished by a sober draughtsmanship of painstaking realism, a dramatic insistence on weight and volume, a bent for experiments in descriptive geometry and three-dimensional space, a feeling for musical harmony, and, above all, by an ascetic idealism and a conscious mystic spirituality. It thus anticipated by thirty years many of the qualities of Zurbarán's *Basket with Oranges* (1633; Plate 127B) owned by Count Contini-Bonacossi at Florence. In *Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber* (Plate 116B) only two main colours are used: green and yellow, in alternation, against the light greys of the window and the warm deep brown-black of the open hollow. The five objects are arranged in a hyperbola, an uncompleted cone, a question mark into the infinite, set at a diagonal against the co-ordinates of the window-opening, like some of the hyperbolas in Archimedes's *Opera non nulla* (Venice, 1558).

Sánchez Cotán was playing with shapes and volumes. Slowly turning on their axes, like planets in a nocturnal sky, the quince and the cabbage, suspended in mid-air, offered ever-varying forms and planes, reflecting the light, that must have captivated the painter just as Alexander Calder's mobiles fascinate one today. Sánchez Cotán was greatly interested in things technical.

Formally the Baroque style proceeded from an intense study of the spatial relationship between various objects and a new consciousness of the dramatic possibilities of light and shadow. Still-life painting was praised by Pacheco as one of the best exercises in studying both problems. To achieve the illusion of reality, Sánchez Cotán used only one source of light, the sun, falling in from the upper left. At Granada he painted *trompe-l'œil* windows, and an illusionistic three-dimensional altar on flat canvas. In *Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber*, beyond the musical rhythm of fruit of this world, arranged like notes to be sung, there extends the unknown space, space that cannot be seen, that can only be felt. By contrast and implication, in accordance with his mystic nature, the painter makes one realize the value of abstract space as the unknown, infinite, and eternal. In this he was in harmony with traditional tendencies of the Spanish spirit. His fruit suggests a mood of humble religious devotion, a prayer-offering. He was known to eat almost nothing. At the feet of his Madonnas, as gifts to the Virgin, he painted a piece of bread, some cheese and celery, nothing else.

Pedro Orrente (c. 1570–1645)

The oldest of Greco's principal pupils is Pedro Orrente, born about 1570 in Montealegre (Albacete). Jusepe Martínez claims that he spent much time in Italy, especially Venice. This is doubtful. Although Bassano and Tintoretto strongly influenced Orrente, he could have seen their paintings in Spain. His numerous Bassanesque pastoral scenes from the Old Testament[5] gained him even in his life-time the sobriquet 'the Spanish Bassano'. He also painted many large scenes from the New Testament and scenes from the lives of saints, including martyrdoms. By 1600, at the latest, he was in Toledo, studying with El Greco and becoming a friend of Greco's son Jorge Manuel, to whose children, years later, he acted as godfather. Restless in art and in life, he travelled between Murcia, Cuenca, Toledo (1617–31?), and Valencia (1616, and after 1631, perhaps until his death there in 1645). Orrente left several hundred paintings, many preserved, but few signed and even fewer dated or documented, making it difficult to trace his stylistic evolution. Many pictures in his manner are by his pupils (*e.g.* Prado, no. 1018).

The Caravaggesque style, adopted by Orrente probably during the first decade of the seventeenth century, is fully mature in his earliest dated pictures: the *Ordeal of St Sebastian* of 1616 (Valencia Cathedral) and the *St Ildefons giving the Veil to St Leocadia* of 1617 (Toledo Cathedral). Orrente may have helped the rise of the Baroque at Valencia, where, in 1616, he also painted a *Martyrdom of St Vincent* (lost?). His pictures provoked a competition with Francisco Ribalta in which both were declared victorious, though only Orrente received the prize. Jealous Valencian painters quickly drove him away to Toledo.

Orrente probably influenced Ribalta rather than vice versa, because prior to 1612 Ribalta was a Mannerist. In his *Vision of Father Simon* of 1612 at the National Gallery in London, Mannerist and Baroque features are balanced. Mr MacLaren[6] rightly said: 'His supposed "tenebrism" is merely an imitation of the manner of the Escorial school and he shows no signs of true Caravaggesque influence until 1615 at the earliest, by which time paintings by Caravaggio's followers had certainly reached Spain.' Ribalta's truly Baroque works were painted after Orrente's stay at Valencia in 1616 (see below, p. 227). At that time Orrente also decisively influenced Francisco Ribalta's son Juan (see, for instance, the latter's *Adoration of the Shepherds* at Bilbao), while during his second and final stay at Valencia, Orrente was the teacher of Esteban March and cast a dominant spell over the art of J. J. Espinosa.

Orrente's compositions achieve drama, often by plunging scenes into darkness and illuminating them by oblique rays of light. These fall on the Christ Child or a martyr, on white fabrics or the light wool of sheep. Faces are often in the shadow, or lit only partially. Orrente likes unusual poses. He places kneeling, lounging, or bending figures in the immediate foreground and composes the main scene with people scurrying about or turned away from the spectator. They gesture with their hands, they look sharply up or down; only an occasional cow or camel notices the observer. Three-dimensional modelling is often abbreviated in a crude, quick technique, sometimes harsh, or hazy and imprecise. Draperies might be drawn in a nervous zigzag rhythm derived from El Greco, rather than closely observed from nature. Orrente is not a careful draughtsman, and his faces are frequently the least interesting part of his pictures. An intense mood and a dynamic movement distinguish him. Overhead, skies are dark, a cloudburst opens, angels rush down in violent flight. Conflict is often heightened by slanting trees set dark against the sky, by sulphur-yellow horizons, by huge rounded boulders or rocks piled high.

Luis Tristán (c. 1586–1624)

Another Greco pupil, Luis Tristán, was born about 1586 near Toledo and studied with the master from 1603 to 1607. Jusepe Martínez is probably wrong in stating that Tristán spent many years in Italy with Jusepe Ribera, because Ribera in 1607 was only sixteen years old and may not have left for Italy until about 1610. Furthermore, by 1612 Tristán is again mentioned at Toledo making a copy (Toledo, Seminario) of Greco's

Grand Inquisitor Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara (New York). Carrying out numerous commissions, Tristán stayed at Toledo until his death in 1624. Many of his compositions are based on those by Greco. One may compare the latter's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1598–1600, Bucarest Palace) or his *Trinity* (1577–8, Prado) with versions by Tristán (Cambridge; Seville). Only Longhi noticed that Tristán is even more profoundly indebted to another Greco pupil and a Caravaggio follower to boot, namely Borgianni, who, as stated, was at Toledo until about 1605.[7]

Tristán's *Holy Family* (Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi; Plate 117B) is signed and dated 'LVYS TR‡ĀN PṄ‡ (pinxit) D 1613'. There are only faint reminiscences of Greco, mostly in the robe of St Joseph. The colours – green, violet, deep blue, red-brown – are closer to Borgianni. The composition, lighting, drapery folds, and even the modelling of the faces instantly recall Borgianni, for example his *Holy Family* of *c.* 1608–13 (Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica). Tristán's picture is a full-blown Baroque work, of great naturalness, breadth, weight, and harmony. Carefully modelled are the hands, the dove, and the tiny shirt in the basket which in its devout and yet manly tenderness anticipates Velázquez and Zurbarán – for instance Velázquez's *Immaculate Conception* (Plate 130). One may compare Tristan's *St Louis of France giving Alms*, 1620, Louvre (Plate 120A). Palomino,[8] who used information received from Velázquez's contemporaries, stated in 1724: 'They brought to Seville paintings which encouraged Velázquez greatly to attempt to do no less by his own genius ... Those which to him were the most harmonious were by Luis Tristán ... because their aim was similar to his feeling, on account of their strange mood and lively presentation; and therefore he [Velázquez] declared himself to be his [Tristán's] follower (*imitador*) and ceased to emulate his master [Pacheco].' Still at Seville are Tristán's monumental *St Francis* at the Alcázar (as anonymous), a *Purísima* on loan to the Museum, a *Holy Family* in the Lupiáñez Collection, and the *Trinity* of 1624 at the cathedral. The artistic relationship between Tristán and Velázquez will be discussed further in Chapter 14.

Probably Tristán, and not Ribalta or Orrente, painted the *Adoration of the Shepherds* at Bilbao (Plate 119A). Although related in theme to Orrente, the composition and draughtmanship seem Tristán's, more careful and profound. The modelling of the Holy Family and of the peasant couple (extreme left) seems typical of Tristán and the draperies conform to the standard he had set in the shirt in the basket (Plate 117B). Night settings were a favourite device of Angelo Nardi, but the chronologies of Nardi and of Tristán are not worked out sufficiently to say who influenced whom. A shepherd at the right in the foreground has some of the placidity of Mayno. However, one need not assign priorities among the various pupils of Greco, as long as it is recognized that together, from 1600 to 1620, they form the vanguard of the Early Baroque: Orrente took the Baroque to Valencia, Tristán encouraged Velázquez's flowering at Seville. The third, Fray Juan Bautista Mayno, helped to establish the new style at the court in Madrid. All three were linked to the church; Orrente was an official of the Inquisition, Tristán a priest, according to earlier writers quoted by Palomino, and Mayno became a Dominican at Toledo after 1611.

Juan Bautista Mayno (1578–1649)

Based on Greco's precedent, Tristán, Mayno, and Velázquez created the manner that was to give the highest rank to Spanish seventeenth-century portraiture. In contrast to the preceding era, the sitter came to life physically and psychologically, in a unity of space, action, and mind. Tristán's portraits, introduced also in his religious scenes,[9] seem Early Baroque in their vitality and force of character. Their brushwork, derived from Greco and Sánchez Coello, made its impression on Velázquez. Mayno, an even better portraitist than Tristán, belonged wholly to the High Baroque. He produced incisive characterizations in the signed *Man with Gloved Hand* (Prado, no. 2595) and the *Monk* (Oxford; Plate 121B), spell-binding by their physical energy, plastic bulk, and spiritual depth. There are suggestions of influences from Velázquez.

Mayno was born, not near Milan in 1568, but in 1578 at Pastrana, fifty miles east of Madrid, the son of Bautista Mayno and the Marquise of Figueredo. He came to Toledo years before 1611, and studied under El Greco. He served Philip III and was the drawing master of the future King Philip IV, continuing to enjoy the confidence of that monarch until his death in 1649. In 1627, as one of the two judges appointed by the king, he declared Velázquez victorious over Nardi and Vincencio Carducho in a contest having for a theme the expulsion of the Moors in 1612. The three competing pictures are lost. Years later, Mayno also helped Alonso Cano to the king's favour. Since Mayno was an ecclesiastic and besides received an annual royal pension, he did not have to paint for a living. And since he was a friend of his ease, he painted little.[10] Tristán is strikingly Spanish in spiritual depth and inwardness with darker, less transparent shadows expressing a darker, more serious mood. Mayno, on the other hand, paints realistic facial expressions, skin, and drapery folds; three-dimensional poses and spacious light. His illumination and colour scheme are limpid, clearer, and cooler. Longhi and Lafuente-Ferrari observed that Mayno's art comes from the Caravaggeschi such as Orazio Gentileschi. Although, despite Jusepe Martínez's assertions, Mayno may never have been a pupil of Annibale Carracci nor a companion of Reni, one also feels in Mayno's works a search for ideal beauty, for crystalline, linear precision. His pictures such as the *Recovery of Bahia in 1625* at the Prado (Plate 119B), painted in 1635, are stage tableaux, interesting, accomplished, and carefully painted. His style owes so much to Italy that he must surely have trained there as easel and fresco painter.

Bartolomé González and Other Court Portraitists

Bartolomé González, born at Valladolid in 1564 and court painter from 1617 to his death in 1627, is a Late Mannerist in his *Virgin with Angels* of 1613 in the church at El Pardo (a replica in Madrid, Museo Cerralbo) and in the *St Isidro* of 1622 (Madrid, Municipal Museum). Mayno's and van der Hamen's influence is seen in the *St John the Baptist* of 1621, at Budapest, more realistic in modelling and lighting; and two of his most progressive works: the *Annunciation* of about 1620–7[11] (Madrid, Valderas

Collection), and the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* of 1627 at Valladolid. As a portraitist, González was Pantoja's immediate follower. If Pantoja's likenesses were detailed and truthful, though less original than those by Sánchez Coello, González's were uneven in quality and weaker than work by either predecessor; Pantoja's faces have some character and spirit, while those painted by González are 'prettier' and often stereotyped. González started to do portraits for the court in 1608, a few months before Pantoja's death. By 1621 he had been paid for ninety-one portraits of twenty-nine members of the royal family.[12] Many of these 'mass-produced' pictures were destined for royal relatives at the courts at Paris, Vienna, Brussels, or Warsaw. The two most attractive are *Philip III* and *Queen Margarita*, both signed in 1621, at the Royal Palace in Madrid.[13]

González was the last painter in the linear, draughtsmanlike style and meticulous detail of costume introduced by Sánchez Coello, a manner that lasted seventy years (1555–1627). González's contemporaries were Diriksen, Villandrando, Vidal, and A. López Polanco. Their mode is transitional. A son and grandson of Flemish painters serving Philip II, Felipe Diriksen was born at the Escorial in 1590 and still lived in Madrid in 1678. He rivalled González for royal favour and was the better painter. Philip III appointed him court painter, but the fourth Philip used him only as a member of the Royal Archers, a guard company. Diriksen's gorgeous portrait of Philip III at Lisbon, painted in 1619, is lost. His best rediscovered work, a *Lady of the Court*, signed in 1630 (Madrid, J. Fluxá), should become a core for rallying other important feminine portraits, now labelled 'school of Velázquez'. Rodrigo de Villandrando (d. before 4 September 1628) was a more sensitive and more sculptural painter than González. His style can be recognized from his signed portraits of Philip IV, his queen (Prado, nos 1234 and 1234a), Philip III, his queen, and Isabel of Bourbon (Madrid, Encarnación) and Maria Pacheco (*c.* 1619, Madrid, Cuerva). If he painted the Isabel of Bourbon at the Prado (no. 1037) it would be his masterpiece.[14]

Angelo Nardi (1584–1664)

Angelo Nardi also may have had a part in promoting the Early Baroque in Castile. Born near Florence in 1584, he arrived in Madrid in 1607. No early works have been identified, but he must have achieved a reputation by 1616 because he then began to work for the court, painting at the king's command *The Royal Weddings between France and Spain*, that is the simultaneous weddings in 1615 of Louis XIII and Anne of Austria, sister of the future Philip IV, and of Philip IV and Isabel of Bourbon, sister of the French king. The picture is lost. In 1625 Nardi was appointed 'painter to the king' without salary and two years later achieved a place on the royal payroll as a 'pintor de cámara' (court painter), succeeding the late Bartolomé González. When the king received pictures from Italy, sent by Velázquez and from other sources, Nardi was in charge of their inspection and proper attribution. In 1637 Nardi and Vincencio Carducho successfully led the fight of the painters of Madrid against the imposition of taxes payable by craftsmen and achieved recognition of painting as a noble, liberal, tax-exempt art.

Eighteen pictures, commissioned by the Cardinal-Archbishop Sandoval (d. 1618) for the convent of the Bernardas at Alcalá de Henares, are signed and dated 1620–1.

The largest of them represents the *Stoning of St Stephen.*[15] By way of Borgianni, Nardi was a slightly mannered Caravaggio follower who emphasized muscular bodies and understood some of the master's dramatic devices in lighting and poses, but who was realistic only in details. His paintings have a strange and not altogether natural aliveness and fascination. They are so jumpy in their spotty illumination and so contrived in arrangement that the late Romanists at the Escorial come to mind.[16] This impression is increased by Nardi's background views of fantastic buildings, *à la* Giulio Romano. Tintoretto also influenced him. Nardi's influence on Spanish painting was considerable and is felt even in far-away Cordova, in Juan Luis Zambrano's [17] (d. 1639) *Stoning of St Stephen* (Cathedral), a picture also indebted to Roelas. Pereda may have been Nardi's most gifted follower at Madrid.[18]

Francisco (1565–1628) and Juan Ribalta (c. 1597–1628) at Valencia

The Catalan artist Francisco Ribalta, born 1565 at Solsona (Lérida), is essentially a member of the school of Madrid, though he later absorbed some Valencian influence. He probably studied with Navarrete el Mudo (d. 1579) at the Escorial and Madrid. He certainly knew Navarrete's paintings. A single picture prior to 1603 survives, the Mannerist *Nailing to the Cross* at the Hermitage, done at Madrid in 1582. Ribalta left the capital (where his son Juan was born *c.* 1597) in 1598 to establish himself at Valencia and join the group of artists gathered round Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia 1569–1611 and a most liberal patron of the arts in the style of his distant cousin, Philip II. Ribalta's first great commission was the paintings for the huge altar at Algemesí (1603 and 1610), and these he composed by borrowing from Navarrete, Titian, Zuccaro, Sebastiano del Piombo, and also from prints by Dürer and by Cort, all seasoned with Juan de Juanes's facial expressions, sweet or violent, to endear himself to his Valencian clients. There is no originality in this eclectic performance, which Mrs Darby calls his worst. Indeed she feels that Ribalta's art from 1597 to 1611 is of disappointing mediocrity.[19] Surely the Hermitage picture of 1582 falls within this harsh but accurate judgement, so greatly at variance with the exaggerated, erroneous praise in the handbooks down to the latest.[20] In his last period (1612–28) Ribalta achieved originality and greatness, however: in the *St Thomas Villanueva* of 1616 (Valencia, Colegio de la Presentación, lost 1936); the *Vision of St Francis* (Prado); *St Francis embracing Christ* (Valencia), both *c.* 1620; *St Bernard embracing Christ* (Prado; Plate 120B); and various Carthusian saints and apostles (Valencia), all about 1627. Here Ribalta stirs us by monumental, enveloping forms, sobriety, earnestness, dramatic simplicity, and a realistic, flooding though tenebrist lighting. The painting is fluid, with attention to effect rather than to careful modelling. At times there seems to be a direct relationship to the spirit and forms evolved thirty years earlier by Bartolomé Carducho,[21] founder of the Baroque in Spain. Yet Mannerist tendencies recur also, particularly in technique, derived from the works of Greco [22] which Ribalta saw in 1616 during a brief stay in Madrid. We have discussed (p. 223) the impact of Orrente.

Francisco's son Juan (who, like his father, died in 1628) was an able *Caravaggesco*, as is seen in his *Nailing to the Cross* of 1615 at Valencia, and the small *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Preaching of St Vincent Ferrer*, signed 'J. Ribalta propia mano', a copper-plate for an engraving (both at Bilbao, often wrongly attributed to Francisco Ribalta) about 1625, and altar-paintings at Torrente (Valencia).[23]

SEVILLE

Alonso Vázquez (c. 1564–1608)

At Seville the transition to the Baroque manner was perhaps effected first by Alonso Vázquez, born at Ronda shortly before 1565. He is said to have studied at Cordova with Céspedes and Arbasia. His copious production[24] (in oil – much of it extant – tempera, fresco, and polychrome sculpture) is recorded at Seville from 1589 till June 1603, when he went to Mexico City, where he died in 1608 (Plate 167A and p. 307). His reputation is indicated by his collaboration with Montañés, Pacheco, and Vasco Pereira in 1598 on a catafalque for Philip II. Vázquez's best-known paintings, all three documented, are in the Seville Museum: two scenes from the life of St Peter Nolasco of 1601,[25] and – painted in the upper section by Juan de Uceda Castroverde – the *Death of St Hermengild* (1603).[26] Angulo[27] added the luminous *Last Supper* (c. 1590–3, Seville Museum, formerly as by Céspedes), a fireworks of wine-red, vermilion, orange, green, and ultramarine, composed from Mannerist prints. Vázquez's stature is raised even higher by *Lazarus and the Rich Man* (Plate 116A), unpublished, which came to light after centuries of oblivion. Painted for the Duke of Alcalá, it was praised by Pacheco and Palomino as one of the best Spanish still-lifes. By style it dates c. 1600–2, along with the Mercedarian series and the extant altars at Marchena, Santa Isabel (1599), and the Seville General Hospital (1602). Treatment, composition, and choice of objects (pewter platters with grapes and other fruits, earthenware jars, chalices, etc.) decisively – and much more so than Sánchez Cotán's contemporary still-lifes – influenced Francisco de Zurbarán, Juan de Zurbarán, and Juan van der Hamen. A sober, sensitive portraitist, Vázquez was interested in anatomy and body movement. His figures are large, his design sure and developed in depth. Variegated white draperies foreshadow Zurbarán.

Francisco Pacheco

Vázquez's friend Francisco Pacheco (1564–1654),[28] though less forceful and less progressive, is much better known. He was a man of erudition, a teacher, author, classical scholar, biographer, and amateur theologian. Born in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, he spent his long life in Seville among distinguished churchmen, writers, scholars, and aristocrats. His academy of painting was a cultural centre and attracted not only literati but such outstanding pupils as Velázquez and Alonso Cano. In his book *El arte de la pintura, su antiguedad y grandeza* ('The Art of Painting, its Antiquity and Greatness'), first published in Seville in 1649, along with chapters on sacred iconography and on the theory and practice of painting, Pacheco gives notes on contemporary painters which constitute our most important seventeenth-century source for the history of Spanish art.[29]

Belonging to a transitional generation between Mannerism and Baroque, Pacheco is only in theory inclined towards naturalism. When he wrote his book in the 1620s and 1630s, Mannerism was dead. His touching pride in the achievements of his son-in-law, Velázquez, makes him appreciate not only lowly pictures of birds, animals, and fish, but especially the naturalistic eating pieces, called in Spain *bodegones*, in which Velázquez excelled. In stressing the importance of plastic form and lifelikeness as compared to mere beauty and delicacy, he turns away from Mannerism and embraces a Baroque principle. However, he is not in favour of the materialistic concept of imitation of nature. His is a spiritual, not to say mystic, outlook: painting shall lead men away from vices and to the true veneration of God. This point of view is not only very Spanish, but the most important tenet of the Baroque. Naturalism is used to achieve a passionate spirituality.

In his writings as well as in his art, Pacheco was a pedant. His instructions on the proper way of painting sacred themes and images curiously mix exalted religious prose (he was the chief censor of the Inquisition at Seville) with heated polemics on dogmatic points: for instance, whether Christ was nailed to the Cross with three nails or four, or whether St Anne should be painted teaching the Virgin to read, seeing that it is more probable that Our Lady was instructed by the Holy Spirit. His prescriptions are important, however, because they were often literally followed by Sevillian artists.

Early in his career as a painter, in 1589, he copied (Seville, Count Ibarra) Vargas's *Via Crucis*. Long after, Pacheco continued to be influenced by Vargas, Céspedes, and Raphael. Three Mercedarian scenes of 1600–2 at Seville and Barcelona are still Mannerist in lighting and drapery-folds. The composition also follows Mannerist principles in sweeping quickly into the distance, as in his hitherto unattributed *Martyrs of Granada* (Granada). The *Embarkation of St Peter Nolasco* borrows the boat from Stradano's *Fishing on the Arno*, engraved at Antwerp.

Pacheco's marriage inventory (1593) gives a glimpse of late sixteenth-century training: many prints from Italy, including several after Michelangelo and Veronese, copies after Bassano, Muziano, and Greco, books of prints by Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, panels by Martin (de Vos or van Heemskerck?), over a hundred wax or plaster models, a lead lay figure, Vasari's and Vignola's books.

When Pacheco painted a Christ after the Flagellation, a wag wrote:

¿Quién os puso así, Señor	Who painted you thus, O Lord,
Tan desabrido y tan seco?	So dry and so insipid?
Vos me direis que el amor	You will say it was pure love,
Mas yo os digo: Pacheco.	But I say: Pacheco did it.

Pacheco painted by formula. Correct but not life-like, his *St Albert on the Bier* (1617, Seville, Count Ibarra) derives from a Th. Galle print of St Norbert. His *St Sebastian* of 1616 (formerly Alcalá de Guadaira, destroyed in 1936) reflects the seventeenth century only in some clothes hanging over a chair in the foreground, and the neatly wrapped bundle of arrows on the wall. Under the influence of Velázquez, whom he accompanied to Madrid in 1623, Pacheco became more interested in natural objects.[30] This is confirmed by his many drawings, carefully inscribed with the day, month, and year.

Spain brought forth no greater portraitist than Velázquez. For this, some credit is due his teacher Pacheco, who specialized in portraits himself, though otherwise a mediocre artist. His unfinished *Libro de Descripción de verdaderos retratos, de ilustres y memorables varones* ('Book Describing the True Portraits of Famous and Noteworthy Gentlemen') glorified outstanding Spaniards, especially Sevillians, and contained 170 portrait drawings, some necessarily reproduced from other sources. Besides, Pacheco painted ten full-length figures in oil and a number of busts, including a *Knight of Santiago*, dated 30 July 1626 (Williamstown, Massachusetts, Lawrence Art Museum). He bequeathed to Velázquez his favourite pose and the patience of sympathetic, objective observation.

Juan de Roelas (*c.* *1558/60–1625*)

Throughout the first quarter of the seventeenth century there was only one really great painter in Seville: Juan de Roelas, who has remained virtually unknown beyond that city. Less than half a dozen of his pictures, none of them major ones, can publicly be seen outside Andalusia, which boasts at least fifty, and there are none in the Western hemisphere, none in London, Paris, or Madrid. Ceán said that if Seville had cared to spread Roelas's fame by making engravings after his paintings, he would be more celebrated than the Carracci. He has been called the Spanish Tintoretto; rather, he was the Spanish Veronese: for he is less Mannerist than Tintoretto in organization and lighting, and comes close to Veronese in circular, harmonious composition and in softer painterly qualities. In Roelas's huge altar-pieces, bright and deep colours carefully accord and blend to achieve an *estilo vaporoso* two generations before Murillo. Roelas's compositions are eloquent, lively, and filled with people, sometimes purposely common-looking, but always treated with great elegance. These qualities are typically Sevillian. However, Roelas was born, between 1558 and 1560, probably at Valladolid, where his father, Jacques de la Roela (possibly a Frenchman or a Walloon), lived in 1603. It is not known whether he studied in Italy, but if he did it would have been before 1597, when he engraved an *Erection of the Cross* showing Venetian influences, possibly from Veronese, along with scrubby, vulgar types perhaps borrowed from prints after Stradano's scenes of the Passion. From 1598 to 1602, by now an ordained priest, Roelas was in Valladolid, where he painted at the side of Bartolomé Carducho and Orazio Borgianni, then the two most progressive painters in all Spain. From 1603 until 1606 and from 1621 until his death in 1625, the artist served as a priest at Olivares (Seville). In the intervening years, 1606–20, he painted at Seville, except for a stay of more than a year (1616–17) at Madrid. He hoped to become court painter in succession to Fabricio Castello, but the appointment went to the mediocre Bartolomé González, who 'qualified' by being a portrait painter. Roelas was not, but the succinct characterization of heads in his paintings proves that he would have made a good portraitist if required.

The *Circumcision* (*Mystery of New Year's Day*) of about 1606 at Seville's University church, painted in rose, light red, yellow, orange, purple, blue, and violet, has been called his finest work. Mayer said it could stand next to a Titian or a Rembrandt. Compared to F. Ribalta's version of 1603 at Algemesí, the huge *Santiago defeating the Moors*

(18 by 12 feet) of 1609 at Seville Cathedral is more complicated yet more harmonious in composition, more interesting and realistic in lighting, shrewder in characterization of types, and vastly superior in colouring. In the *Liberation of St Peter* of 1612 (Seville, San Pedro) Justi detected Michelangelesque vigour. It is a night scene of the strongest realism and *tenebroso* contrast, yet of great simplicity: the two figures, a ladder, a candle, nothing more. About contemporary is the *Martyrdom of St Andrew* at Seville (Plate 118A), painted for the altar of the Flemings in the Dominican Colegio de Santo Tomás with two predella panels (Bilbao), one of which has not hitherto been reproduced (Plate 118B).[31] Longhi was reminded of Casolani and Vanni. The picture recalls Veronese's *Martyrdom of St George* (1566, Verona, San Giorgio) in the soft and yet fully three-dimensional modelling, the incisive characterization of each figure, the crowded foreground, and the wide vista of white buildings and light sky in the centre. The circular motion and tumbling angels above give an air of musical rhythm and *fiesta*. The intense activity reminds one of a pompous *paso* (religious float) in a crowded Sevillian street at Easter. An enormous cross not only holds the saint, but ties the picture together, a construction typical of Roelas. Dark shadows are replaced by joyous yellows, oranges, and carmines. Most original, in spite of all the realism, is the dream-like mood produced by the strong contrast of light from different depths of the painted space, as well as by the broad and bland pictorial handling. Roelas's pictures are robust yet delicate, forceful yet graceful. He was the first in Seville to join realism and mysticism, those elements which were to distinguish the Sevillian art of the succeeding generation. In front of the *Pentecost* (1615, Seville) Justi experienced an intense, almost gay feeling such as accompanies a true access of spiritual power. He observed that the extraordinary celestial state which took possession of the assembly is made apparent in their quiet, blissful happiness. Roelas's inventive pictures are a feast for the eye as well as for the mind.[32]

Francisco Herrera the Elder (*c. 1590–1656*)

'Roelas really began the movement of which Herrera, by pushing it to greater limits, was to gain the reputation of being the originator.' The role of the two artists and the primacy of Roelas as the real innovator were thus accurately described in J. Thacher's study of Herrera.[33] Thacher's findings deserve acceptance. For instance, contrary to Palomino's dates, Herrera was probably not born until about 1590. He was active as a painter, engraver, and miniaturist and a draughtsman with the hard reed pen.[34]

Allegedly born in Seville, Herrera stayed there at least from 1610 until about 1640. His earliest well-known painting, a *Pentecost* of 1617 (Toledo, Greco Museum), has Roelesque types and Mannerist composition, elongation, and movement. The *Triumph of St Hermengild* of about 1624 (Seville), basically derived from Roelas and Pacheco, is novel primarily in the freer application of solid pigment. In the St Bonaventura series of 1628, Herrera was influenced by Zurbarán, who painted half the set. Herrera's *Last Judgement* (1629, Seville, San Bernardo) is largely inspired by Marten de Vos's version of the theme (1570, Seville). During the mid-1630s Herrera reached his mature personal style in the *Temptation of St Jerome* of 1636 (Rouen),[35] the *Holy Kinship* of about 1637

(Bilbao),[36] and *St Basil dictating his Rule* of 1639 (Louvre; Plate 143), his masterpiece. Here the vermilion-red flesh shadows, the vigour, and the brushwork anticipate Fragonard, while the expressionist distortion, the dynamic mood, and above all the feeling of great power call Daumier to mind.

In about 1640 Herrera went from Seville to Madrid, where he stayed until his death in 1656. The *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* of *c.* 1647 at the Archbishop's Palace[37] and the *St Joseph with the Child Christ* of 1648 in the Museo Lázaro show influences from Vincencio Carducho and Jusepe Leonardo, both of the school of Madrid. In these pictures Thacher observed advances in composition, and yet a blander, softer, weaker brushwork and characterization. He summarized Herrera's contribution as the sovereign handling of pigments, juxtaposed with great freedom; the liquidity of brushwork foreshadowing Murillo; and dark, sombre, and yet rich colours, applied with a new violence that made possible the style of Juan Valdés Leal and ultimately the overcoming of the Baroque by an emotional approach heralding the Rococo. These achievements are largely technical and do not justify calling Herrera the founder or even co-founder of the Baroque in Seville, his earliest Baroque paintings being of the third decade of the century.[38]

Far more exaggerated are the claims made for the merits of Pablo Legote (1598–1671), embroiderer and later painter, sculptor, and contractor for numerous altar-pieces in small Andalusian towns. He was a mediocre artist. Mayer called him 'one of the most capable Sevillian masters of the seventeenth century, equalling Alonso Cano', and tried to justify this extravagant praise by attributing to Legote works actually done in Italy by Stanzione (Budapest and Leningrad), Giovanni Do (London), and Pietro Bellotti (Richmond, Cook Collection). Legote was born at Marche, in the now Belgian province of Luxembourg. From 1609 to 1634 and after 1648 he worked at Seville, where he may have studied with Roelas, and from 1635 to 1648 in Cadiz. His best work, a Riberesque *St Jerome* of *c.* 1630–5 at Seville Cathedral, has a certain monumentality and High Baroque expressiveness, but his *Adoration of the Shepherds* of *c.* 1640 at Cadiz Cathedral, influenced by Ribera and by Zurbarán's altar-paintings (Grenoble), is poor. Legote's altar-paintings at Lebrija of 1628–38 and at Espeja of 1652 (not 1665) depend on Zurbarán and Roelas, but show neither strength nor originality.

Juan del Castillo (born in 1584 at Seville, died at Cadiz in 1640), a collaborator of his uncle Legote, of Pacheco and of Cano, was greatly influenced by Roelas and Zurbarán. That his art also has idealizing, Mannerist tendencies may be seen in the Roelesque altar from Montesión (now at Seville) of about 1636, and in one of his best pictures, a *Nativity* (Mexico, F. Mayer Collection) of about 1630–40, strong in colour (cinnabar and wine-red), powerfully composed, and containing a characteristic repoussoir profile. Castillo taught both Cano and Murillo and thus provided a link between the first and the second Baroque generation at Seville.

HIGH BAROQUE BEGINNINGS IN CASTILE

Patricio (c. 1544–1611) and Eugenio Caxés (before 1577–1634)

Since art in Valladolid after the court's departure in 1606 is unimportant, we may concentrate on the founders of the school of Madrid, and Baroque painting there. Among the Italian artists active at the Escorial was Patricio Caxés (born at Arezzo about 1544), who, together with Romulo Cincinnato, had been contracted for Philip II at Rome in 1567. In the *Nativity with the donor Don Juan de Villela* (1603, Madrid, Adanero Collection), Caxés masterfully anticipated, in the vegetation and architecture of the right background, the airy fluidity of the later school of Madrid, of Carreño, Cerezo, and Escalante. His *Nativity with Ayala Family*, in the Barcelona Museum (as by Pantoja), seems typical.

Eugenio Caxés, son of Patricio, was born in Madrid before 1577. He collaborated with his father on the Old Testament scenes *al fresco* at nearby Pardo Palace (1608–10). After the elder Caxés's death in 1611 Eugenio became 'painter to the king', and for the next eleven years, until the appointment of Velázquez, he was considered the best painter at court. He has never been properly studied, and most of his once numerous paintings in the churches of Madrid seem to have perished. By 1605, parallel to Roelas, Eugenio Caxés drew bodies with vigorous realism in movement and lighting, as in his *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (Copenhagen),[39] a picture partly derived from his father's work. Later Caxés became curiously mushy and vague in design and definition,[40] though at times with interesting repoussoir effects. He died in 1634, leaving two unfinished *Battles* (Prado, nos. 653–4) for the Hall of Realms of the Buen Retiro Palace at Madrid.[41] These show interest in portraiture, romantic landscape, and a convincing over-all composition, including action in the middle ground.

Vincencio Carducho

Vincencio Carducho's *Battles* (Prado, nos 635–7) are too detailed and topographical for artistic enjoyment, but can profitably be studied by historians of warfare. They are among his weakest productions. Carducho (1576–1638) came to Spain from Florence as a nine-year-old child, accompanying his elder brother Bartolomé. Educated at the Spanish court, Vincencio considered himself a citizen of Madrid, and he was to all intents and purposes a Spanish painter. As a writer he exemplifies a generation of painters in the throes of the painful transition from Mannerism to Baroque. As a painter he works in the Baroque style. His book, *Diálogos de la pintura, su defensa, origen, essencia, definición, modos y diferencias* ('Dialogues on Painting, its Justification, Origin, Essence, Definition, Classes and Distinctions'), written on the classical pattern of a dialogue between master and pupil, was first printed in Madrid in 1633.[42] The author castigated the new dramatic realism, the disregard of 'beauty', the painting direct from nature as practised by Caravaggio, which seemed to him diabolic. He thus (and also more directly) attacked Velázquez, of whom he was intensely jealous. Under the influence of the Counter-Reformation, that great moving force behind the Baroque, Carducho stressed the moral purpose of art, insisting on the necessity of prayer and inner preparation for the artist about to paint a religious picture. Only paintings done in such a state of mind have power to stir the spectator, an effect which is the supreme aim of the Baroque artist. In his account of the proper subjects to be represented in churches and palaces, Carducho emphasized decorum, propriety, and gravity, minimizing the importance of Italianate grotesques and showing himself thoroughly imbued with the Spanish spirit.

Carducho's production as a painter is enormous; in the Museo de la Trinidad at Madrid alone there were seventy-seven paintings collected from various religious communities during the Spanish secularization in 1836, and after 1872 distributed to museums and schools all over Spain. The early *Preaching of St John* of 1610 at the Madrid Academy, influenced by Bartolomé and perhaps also the older Caxés, is an exciting composition, Mannerist only in the funnel-like view. Carried out with inventiveness and sincere realism, it made a deep impression on Jusepe Leonardo. Carducho's *Holy Family* of 1631 (Prado) shows even greater realism and spatial penetration, greater softness and naturalness suggesting flesh, and an emphasis on hues of vermilion, sienna, ultramarine, and lilac. A curious halo of red-and-orange circles connected by dark spokes hovers above the Virgin. Although lacking the largeness of Ribera, Zurbarán, or Velázquez, the picture is a respectable achievement that was greatly to influence Pereda. Three great Franciscan scenes are *St Gonzalo with St Francis and St Bernard* (1630, Dresden), *The Vision of St Francis* (1631, Budapest), and *The Vision of St Anthony* (Leningrad). Nardi's paintings of 1621 at Alcalá may have been in Carducho's mind, but Carducho is more intense and more interesting. His excellent, large *St Joseph carrying the Christ Child* of 1632 at Narbonne has never been photographed.

The measure of his qualities is found not in the fifty-two large and sometimes dull Carthusian scenes for El Paular near Segovia, mostly done in 1632 and now dispersed all over Spain, but in the small oil sketches for this series (twenty in Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi; one in Edinburgh, Plate 121A; one in London, Dr X. de Salas). This dramatic series moved Verdi in 1860 to the cry: 'What a subject for an opera!' These studies are so modern that some remind one of Goya's small oil sketches and others of the romantic illustrations of Gustave Doré. Their spotty, sharp, abbreviated accents and deftly suggested movement of tiny figures and their spirited vivacity are shared by Callot. Colouristically wonderful, in grey, lavender, pink, green, sienna, and other hues, they provide theatrical excitement and are unflaggingly inventive through fifty-two changing scenes. Silvery tones foreshadow Velázquez's *Medici Gardens*, and at times a geometric sobriety is parallel to Zurbarán. Links can be seen also with present-day stage-settings. Related to these oil sketches in technique are Carducho's drawings, including several that have been reproduced as being by other or unknown artists.[43] Carducho's influence was great not only as a painter at the court, 1605–6 in Valladolid and from then on in Madrid, with a regular appointment from 1609, but as the teacher of B. Román, Felix Castelo, and F. Collantes, and as a nation-wide traveller; he worked at Salamanca, Alcalá, Cordova, Granada, and Valencia. That he was outdone by Velázquez was the tragedy of his life. His late, pedantic *Self Portrait* (Glasgow, Pollok House) suggests the bitterness of defeat. Yet, except for Velázquez, he was the foremost seventeenth-century painter at Madrid before Leonardo and Pereda.

Still-life Painters: Espinosa, Loarte, van der Hamen

Between 1620 and 1650, important *bodegón* (still-life) painters flourished at Madrid. Juan Bautista de Espinosa, 'pintor del rey' (active 1616–26), signed a *bodegón* in 1624 (London, private collection)[44] and *Flowers with Fruit Basket* (Madrid, Duke of Valencia Collection). A Juan de Espinosa, *c.* 1640, has been credited with two still-lifes in the Prado (nos 702–3). On a light grey ledge are a green pewter dish reflecting the red and yellow apples, yellow grapes with blue shadows, a red-brown jar, and, suspended above, grapes in green, carmine, and blue as well as bluish- and greenish-yellow plums. Each fruit looks mouthwateringly real, and the sharply-defined leaves and branches look as if they were actually growing.

Better known is Alejandro de Loarte[45] (d. 1626 at Toledo). He preferred hanging birds or fish, or people buying or selling, as in a painting signed in 1626 owned by the Duke of Valencia. The design is crowded and unpretentious. Loarte deployed his best effort on the plumage of turkeys and wild fowl, as in a *Fowl Vendor* in the J. Rein Collection at Malaga. Erroneously attributed to Loarte, *The Cook* (Plate 122B) by Juan van der Hamen y León (1596–1631) in the Rijksmuseum has an immediacy and quality which place the artist at the top of Baroque still-life painters in Madrid. Son and pupil of a Flemish painter, Juan van der Hamen the elder, who was married to a Spanish woman, Juan was born and died at Madrid. *The Cook* (*c.* 1630), painted *en face* like one of Velázquez's slightly earlier *Topers*, appeals directly to the spectator. Objects, seemingly helter-skelter, are placed in studied relationship. Van der Hamen painted other still-lifes with figures, as in the *Offering to Flora* of 1627 at the Prado and a pendant in a private collection in Madrid, both showing influences from Sánchez Coello, Bartolomé González, and Mayno, plus a dose of Flemish precision and fullness of form. Van der Hamen also painted portraits.

His finest straight still-life, painted in 1627, is now in the National Gallery in Washington (Plate 122A). As compared to the Antwerp painter Osias Beert I (*c.* 1580–1624), to whom van der Hamen's paintings are sometimes attributed and vice versa, the Spaniard is the greater artist in composition, sparkling highlights, and the palpable suggestion of a mystic realism through air, gradation of light and shadows, and the surrounding space. Even his grey ledges and dark backgrounds are interesting. His glass goblets have a precious frailty and transparency. Their choice, like that of his other objects, is related to the art of Vázquez (Plate 116A). *Bodegones* by van der Hamen are in the Prado (no. 1164, of 1622); in Brussels; in the Lawrence Art Museum, Williamstown, Massachusetts; in Houston, Texas; and in the Román García de Blanes Collection in Seville, where the artist paraphrased a theme of Sánchez Cotán.

Francisco Barrera[46] (*fl.* at Madrid 1633–40) can best be studied in his four *Seasons*, signed in 1638, at the Hotel Madrid in Seville. The most refreshing part of *Summer* is the bathers jumping into the river by a mill. In his few remaining works he takes over motifs from van der Hamen and from Vicenzo Campi (1536–91), who spent some years in Spain. Even rarer is the art of Francisco de Palacios[47] (*fl.* at Madrid 1633–76). His two still-lifes of 1648 in the Count Harrach Collection at Vienna exemplify a later, Classical phase of the Baroque: blending atmospheric values, soft and avoiding contrasts; interest in unity, not in texture; calmness instead of drama. The arrangement is still that seen in Spanish *bodegones* since Blas del Prado and Vázquez: a table-ledge parallel to the picture surface, with objects distributed rhythmically and symmetrically.

CHAPTER 13

RIBERA AND ZURBARÁN

RIBERA (1591–1652)

In the Baroque there were two paramount values, the Church and the Crown, the one spiritual, the other secular. These twin values point to the restored bond between the two worlds, separated during the Mannerist period. Both Church and Crown are hierarchical and ordered pyramidally. Like Baroque compositions, they are held together by the principle of subordination, where the Renaissance, more democratic, had prided itself on co-ordination.

One might say that the Baroque had an ambivalent quality: it was oriented both heavenward and earthward. It is the tension between, and the reconciliation of, these two tendencies that make Baroque studies so rewarding, and it is as a bridge between them that realism became important in the Baroque. Realism might be defined as fidelity to nature or real life. The heavenward quality was expressed by spiritualism, the doctrine that all real existence is in spirit; while the earthward trend was found in naturalism, the doctrine denying that anything real has a supernatural significance. Realism overcomes this dichotomy, because realism occupies a midway position and recognizes the bond between, and interpenetration of, the spiritual and the natural. As a Baroque painter Ribera used natural models, but not for naturalistic ends. His aim was spiritual, as was that of El Greco. In Ribera the naturalist was in the service of the mystic. Those who stress only his naturalism miss the point of his art, which constitutes a complicated, orderly entity with aesthetic as well as spiritual aims.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries no Spanish painter was more famous throughout Europe than Jusepe de Ribera, 'Il Spagnoletto' (the little Spaniard). Later, Lord Byron [1] mocked: 'Il Spagnoletto tainted his brush with all the blood of all the Sainted'. Yet Ribera painted few martyrdoms, far more saintly ascensions and heavenly visions. He was a fertile inventor of new themes. In this lies his major contribution to Baroque art. He also painted Biblical themes and portraits. His beggar philosophers, ascetics, and penitents, his merry drinkers, gentle Madonnas, and realistic saints were as widely imitated as his mythological subjects.

Ribera's art proclaimed the dignity of the individual. Cervantes in literature, Ribera, Velázquez, and Zurbarán in painting made this a particularly Spanish contribution. No longer was the individual neglected in favour of the ideal, the archtype, as had been the case in Mannerism. Velázquez and Ribera declare that all men have spiritual value as human beings. Ribera suggests that the rest of humanity is only a little less ugly than his tramp, shown as a Greek philosopher, or his club-footed dwarf begging alms. Thus the artist pricks the bubble of vanity. He put his painstaking draughtsmanship, his dramatic *tenebroso*, and his naturalism in the service of a virile faith. E. P. Richardson [2] stated that 'Ribera was an artist who found a profound and moving poetry in the heroic age of Christianity, in the martyrs and the first hermits who had the stern will-power to turn their backs on the luxury and decay of the Greco-Roman world and seek, in a life cleansed to the bone, a more spiritual vision of life through asceticism, solitude and meditation'. Ribera's strong art appealed to the strong convictions of the men of the seventeenth century. He was a master in representing the personal, inner drama of his heroes. They move us by their controlled and yet profound, impassioned pathos.

Though Ribera is far less sensuous than his Italian contemporaries, he excels in the imitation of human skin, the soft bloom on the cheeks of women and children, and the withered wrinkles of older men. He was also a master of the powerful architecture of heavy draperies. Caravaggio's canvases present smooth surfaces. Ribera's are deliberately corrugated and crinkly, reflecting his Spanish sense of touch and his Baroque emphasis on realism. Only those details are present that contribute to the central aim.

Ribera's art, serene and harmoniously balanced, set a new style. This is particularly true of his complete mastery of the brush, which influenced Velázquez, Zurbarán, Murillo, and Cano. Ribera painted with the utmost sureness, rapidly and directly, *alla prima* (that is wet into wet, allowing no time for drying between coats). Sheldon Keck[3] explained that the artist using this manner 'aims from the very start at the final conception of his finished picture, and he must consider colour, drawing, and modelling all at the same time. A freshness of touch is best achieved by a masterly use of this method of paint manipulation.'

As a Baroque master he continued throughout his life the search for more spacious and airy representation and for greater unity. He was concerned with large, massive objects engaged in a drama of space. Mannerist painters like Vargas and Juanes and Mannerist dramatists had crowded the scene with non-essential actors. By contrast, Ribera and Lope de Vega as Baroque masters achieved a heightened sense of the dramatic by keeping the stage empty of superfluous characters. The simplicity of Ribera's backgrounds suggests a Spanish aiming at the essential statement.

By combining an Italian longing for beauty – even his shabbiest vagabonds seem dignified and beautiful – with a Spanish desire for realism, Ribera exerted a powerful double influence: the South Italian painters absorbed his realism, while in Spain his paintings became paragons of precise, scrupulous drawing, plastic fullness, and fresh, vital modelling.

Ribera's biography can be told in a few words. Nothing is known about his early life and art, beyond the fact that he was born in 1591 in Játiva, the son of a shoemaker. He may have studied in nearby Valencia, but apparently not with Ribalta, whose influence cannot be detected. At an unknown date, probably shortly after 1610, Ribera went to Lombardy; he then worked at Parma, where he saw Correggio's work.[4] The jealousy of local painters soon drove him to Rome. There he spent several years as a painter and etcher, influenced by Raphael, the Carracci, Reni, and above all Caravaggio. When debts forced him out of Rome he settled in Naples. He became immediately fashionable and never again left the city (except possibly for a brief, unconfirmed stay in Rome about 1625, when he was elected to the Academy of St Luke). He died in Naples in 1652. In 1616 Ribera married the daughter of the painter G. B. Azzolino. The couple had seven children, born between 1627 and 1636. The papal Order of Christ was conferred upon the artist before 1631.

Ever since 1442 and throughout the seventeenth century Naples had been a Spanish possession ruled by Spanish viceroys. Most of those of his time favoured Ribera. Painter, draughtsman, and etcher, he worked in his Neapolitan 'Wahlheimat' for the local churches and the viceregal court, as well as the court at Madrid. Asked by Jusepe Martínez in 1625 why he did not return to Spain, he said that in Naples he was at ease, admired, and well paid, while in Spain he would be honoured the first year and forgotten the next. Ribera added that Spain did not respect her own artists and was a cruel stepmother to her own children, though a compassionate mother to foreigners.

Ribera's earliest known works (1621–4), apparently done in Naples, are etchings of saints, of grotesque male heads, and of various limbs. Their style is plastic and painterly, of great vitality, surety, and sensitivity. These etchings achieved renown and wide use among artists until the Neo-Classical period. They were often copied, in engravings, drawings, and paintings; for instance in Rembrandt's *Pietà*, and in Goya's *Duchess of Alba reflecting on Death* (Prado, no. 754, with the unsatisfactory title 'Una manola').[5]

Miss Trapier [6] distinguishes three periods in Ribera's art: 1620–35, 1635–9, and 1640–52.[7] Between 1620 and 1635 he preferred dark backgrounds and violent contrast of light and shade. Sudden movement surprises by its shock action. Faces and hands are drawn sharply, almost with the hardness of an etcher's needle, thus achieving meticulous characterization. The draperies are ample, presenting broad planes. The artist's technique seems relatively dry and tight.

Between 1635 and 1640 the shadows are more transparent, the light is softer, there is less chiaroscuro, and the backgrounds are usually lighter. The draperies are broken up into smaller areas, so that the effect is more agitated and sensuous, and thus less heavy. The line has become more calligraphic and more sensitive. Throughout this period, as he had done before, Ribera used a fine, dragging brush, letting (in Kristeller's words) [8] 'the marks of the hairs in the brush serve in the masses of colours as ridges on the skin or as texture on the cloth. ... One can almost always look at Ribera's pictures close at hand without losing the illusion of reality.'

From 1640 onwards the finely dragging brush-stroke is replaced by a looser, more liquid modelling, intent on large, monumental effects instead of striving for detail. This freer, more direct method goes hand in hand with the increasing spiritualization of Ribera's types. The scenes become calmer and ever more airy, preferably set outdoors, with silvery tones predominant. The colours, while sometimes restricted in range, are richer and more harmonious in the latest pictures, bathed in light and air. The draughtsmanship has become most intimate, tender, human, and spiritual.

Ribera's three periods roughly correspond to the general distinction between Early, High, and Classical Baroque. They are paralleled by similar developments in the art of the other great contemporary Spanish painters and of painters elsewhere in Europe.

Ribera's earliest extant dated painting is the *Drunken Silenus* (1626, Naples), developed like an antique relief. Not quite so intense and more open in composition is his etching of the theme (1628). Another classical subject, the *Triumph of Bacchus* of about 1630, was derived from a Greco-Roman relief still extant (Naples). Only fragments survive of this painting (Prado, nos 1122 and 1123; Pittsburgh, H. J. Miller Collection). Because he was residing in Italy Ribera painted more mythological subjects than any other Spaniard, but as a Spaniard he often painted them with mock realism and less respect than the Italians had for classical themes.

The artist's few Martyrdoms,[9] coinciding in date with Poussin's *Martyrdom of St Erasmus* (1627), are distinguished by strength, power, and virility. A conscious attempt is made to evoke compassion through the contemplation of the body about to be tortured.

The head of *St Peter*[10] (*c.* 1631–2; Plate 125A), a detail from a half-length figure, suggests – through modelling, lighting, and signs of thoughtfulness – the drama within the hero. This and the following painting exemplify Ribera's joy in the rendering of character. He combines monumentality of form with microscopic perfection of detail, plastic volume with expressive brushstroke. Sheldon Keck described the technique employed:

> Ribera used the ground as a middle tone and applied his light flesh tones to the areas in the light without extending them beneath the shadows or hair. The dark tones were applied in the same manner to the areas in the shade. The lines in the forehead and those of the hair overlapping the face were achieved by drawing a narrow brush through the wet flesh paint beneath. The way the counterstrokes break down the ridges of the brush marks which they cross, shows that the paint beneath was wet when they were applied. Using a brush loaded with white, Ribera deftly placed his highlights on the still wet brow, cheekbone, nose, and beard. The intensity and luminosity of the colours have been preserved because Ribera laid over the middle tone of the priming a heavy rich impasto in the lighter colour values and a thin, more translucent paint in his darker ones.

Ribera's luminous colours are particularly evident in one of his great and undoubted masterpieces, *Christ disputing with the Doctors* (*c.* 1630, Vienna). Another authentic work, needlessly doubted, is the *St Joseph with Christ Child* (*c.* 1631, Prado). His increasing airiness can be studied in *St Anthony's Vision of the Child Christ* (*c.* 1636, Madrid, Academy), a picture so typical of Ribera that it is hard to understand why anyone would think of Murillo or Zurbarán.

The *St Joseph and the budding Rod* (New York, Brooklyn Museum; Plate 124A) has been correctly dated by Baur and Keck about 1635.[11] According to apocryphal legend, Joseph's choice by God from among the other suitors of the Virgin was indicated by his rod, which alone bore lilies, thus prefiguring the birth of Our Lord. The saint, dressed in his traditional greenish-blue robe and yellow mantle, holds the budding rod. Keck, who cleaned and restored the painting, gave in a technical description the most detailed analysis ever made of Ribera's craft. The artist primed a coarse canvas in dark brown consisting of whiting and umber. For the flesh tones he used white lead mixed with ochres, umbers, and Venetian red, painting the head, hands, mantle, and background *alla prima*. An entirely different technique was employed for the flowers. They were finely drawn in neutral greys, and, after this underpainting had dried, they were glazed with thin lakes of red, violet, yellow, and so forth. Contrary to tradition, Ribera painted not lilies but anemone, daffodil, narcissus, and hyacinth.

A Laughing Girl with a Tambourine, signed and dated 1637 (London, Mrs M. H. Drey; Plate 123) may be a companion-piece to the *Laughing Drinker with a Bottle*, signed and dated 1638 (Madrid, Prince Carlos de Borbón). These pictures describe genre subjects with philosophical implications and belong to a group that has remained virtually without discussion by writers on Ribera. It includes paintings like the *Man with Bottle and Tambourine*, inscribed 'Moscatello de Saragosa' 1631 (London, formerly Tomas Harris), and the *Executioner*, perhaps with the head of the Baptist, about 1645 (Williamstown, Massachusetts, Lawrence Art Museum). In their appeal to the senses, and their suggestion of *Hearing* and *Taste*, the *Laughing Girl with a Tambourine* and the *Laughing Drinker with a Bottle* are related to Ribera's representations of *Touch* (Prado, no. 1112, erroneously labelled 'The Blind Sculptor Gambazo') [12] and *Sight* (New York, Emile E. Wolf Collection). The two pairs, if pairs they are, differ, however, in date and size and do not belong to the same series. It is known that Ribera, like other South Italian artists and perhaps following Flemish models, painted sequences of the Five Senses in five paintings. The head (Plate 123) of the *Laughing Girl with a Tambourine* is one of Ribera's greatest achievements in the art of characterization. Rude, robust, and rugged, it is intensely High Baroque, vehemently proclaiming enjoyment of life. The technique described by Keck for slightly earlier pictures is still used, but one now detects the specific features of the period from 1635 to 1640. Greater softness, blending, and transparency are particularly noticeable around the eyes, nose, and mouth.

Of about 1636–7 is the *Trinity* (Prado; Plate 124B), one of the artist's major creations. The composition is developed in double diagonals and carefully balanced by sweeping curves. The draperies are broken up. The dead Saviour, his head, hands, and feet a waxen grey, hovers in the dark middle zone, set off by light colours – white, pink, sienna, and yellow. A tiny trickle of blood stains the sheet. Even at this moment of climax of the High Baroque, the scene is much calmer and more weighty than in Greco's Mannerist representation (Prado). Small putti have replaced the numerous lamenting angels. God the Father addresses the spectator directly by his glance.[13]

Ribera was one of the foremost portraitists of his time. In a sense nearly all his paintings are portraits, because he painted from life and possessed to a high degree the ability to convey character and vitality. He also painted a number of portraits proper. Two of the most outstanding are the portrait of a Musician (1638, Toledo, Ohio) and a Knight of Santiago (*c.* 1640–5, Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi).

The *St Jerome*, signed and dated 1644 (Prado, no. 1096), exemplifies Ribera's late style in the free handling of the brush. As in the contemporary paintings by Zurbarán and by Velázquez, the effect is more monumental and more unified, and the surrounding air is felt. A comparison of the head (Plate 125B) with the head of St Peter (Plate 125A), painted about twelve years earlier, clarifies the stylistic change. In the latter picture detailed, fine brushwork has given way to a broad modelling even more three-dimensional in effect than before.

Groups are far rarer in Ribera's *œuvre* than representation of individuals. Excellent examples are three *Lamentations over the Dead Christ* (1637, Naples, S. Martino; *c.* 1644, National Gallery; *c.* 1644, Louvre, no. 1722) and the *Holy Family with St Catherine*, signed and dated 1648 (Metropolitan Museum; Plate 126). Five figures, larger than life-size, are arranged in a parabola. Ribera's colour is now richer than ever. The soft skin of the child is contrasted with the rugged hand of St Joseph. The sensitive drawing and modelling of the Madonna and the Christ Child disclose often-neglected resources in the art of the master: his gentleness and human tenderness.

In the *Communion of the Apostles* (Naples, S. Martino), painted in the year of his death, Ribera sums up the whole of his achievement. The mere expression of form by contrast of light and shade has been abandoned in the pursuit of the quality of light and its relation to form. The painter of *tenebroso* has become the painter of light and atmosphere. The inner drama within each personage is the real subject of the picture.[14]

ZURBARÁN

Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) has in turn been famous and forgotten. Philip IV called him 'painter to the King and king of painters', and he was known in seventeenth-century Spain and far into eighteenth-century Spanish America. His discovery outside Spain was a consequence of the Napoleonic wars; for the French generals liked his paintings (and those by Murillo) so much that from the churches of Seville they took carloads of them to Paris. This fact, and the secularization of the Spanish monasteries in 1835, enabled King Louis Philippe to open his famous Spanish Gallery at the Louvre in 1838, containing over four hundred Spanish paintings. One-fifth of these were attributed to Zurbarán, earning him general European acclaim. The Romanticists, in a not altogether accurate appraisal, esteemed Zurbarán as a painter of fierce, repentant monks and of virgin saints dressed as mundane ladies. After 1853, with the dispersal of the Louis Philippe collection and that of Marshal Soult, Zurbarán was again neglected outside Spain by all but some art historians. Their devoted labours have finally brought it to pass that Zurbarán has ceased to be 'caviar to the general'. He ranks today with Caravaggio, Rubens, Hals, Rembrandt, Poussin, Claude, de la Tour, and Velázquez as one of the greatest Baroque painters. He was surely the foremost Spanish religious painter in the seventeenth century.[15]

Zurbarán will be admired above all for the immense spiritual power in his paintings. Where he is concerned with objects (Plate 127B), he gives them life, treating them with a tenderness, a respect, a sense of uniqueness that is wholly refreshing, particularly to us who are usually blind to the intrinsic qualities of the things we handle.

When Zurbarán paints human beings, he shows them in quiet and serene reflection, monuments of intense, grave faith (Plate 129B). Our age finds security in the rock-like, unsentimental devotion and simplicity of Zurbarán. His art was monastic not only because he painted monks, but because he renounced all worldly trifles, directed all passion towards the divine, and longed for quiet, collected contemplation, for that great stillness which alone makes audible the inspiration, the word from above. His mysticism comes from his will towards the elimination of everything that is temporary. He saw only the essential, and this he saw with greatness. Thus Zurbarán's contribution as a Baroque artist is the extraordinary, haunting power with which he expressed mysticism in conjunction with realism, whether in a religious picture, a portrait, or a still-life. His figures are solidly modelled, like statues. His religious paintings evoke the solitude of seventeenth-century conventual Spain. Zurbarán's works impress us by their manly faith, their ascetic simplicity, their disciplined order and originality of composition, and particularly by their bold use of deep colours. These are placed side by side at full intensity and with surprising contrast. His colour and design are akin to contemporary art, because today, as in Zurbarán's compositions, two-dimensional relationships are emphasized by the use of flat areas of colour and by stressing design through the avoidance of a unified or fixed vanishing-point.

While Zurbarán painted not only religious themes but also on occasion a still-life, a portrait, or a mythological or historical scene, he was a religious painter, no matter what his actual subject. With the exception of those executed for the royal castle at Madrid, all his works breathe religious serenity, an all-embracing consciousness of the unity of creation. This is particularly true of his landscape backgrounds. His scenes from the New Testament deal primarily with the Crucifixion, the Immaculate Conception, and the Virgin with the Child Christ. Most frequently he painted single, standing figures of male or female saints. In their ecstatic vision, they are typical of the mystically inclined painter, but also of the demands of his patrons. When contemplating these serene, monumental figures, one remembers St Teresa's lines: 'Nothing disturb thee, Nothing dismay thee, All things pass, God never changes. ...'

Zurbarán's patrons were the austere, strictly regulated monasteries, then outnumbering the secular churches by three to one. This explains the 'primitive' quality of his art when seen against the Baroque splendour of rich cathedrals and luxurious palaces. His disciplined religious paintings suggest the ringing silence of monastic contemplation, and it is no wonder that they satisfied the chastised monks. Even in his draperies, one senses a fusion between the medieval and the Baroque.

The sources of Zurbarán's art reach from the Gothic style by way of the Renaissance and Mannerism to the Baroque; from Spain to Flanders, Italy, and Germany; and from painting to sculpture and to engraving. He was influenced by Gothic paintings in his bright, fresh, luminous colours, and in the angularity of his deeply-carved draperies. Like medieval painters, he and his busy assistants painted long series of narrative scenes. In part he recalls the Flemish Mannerists active at Seville around 1550 (Campaña, Sturm, and 'Frutet'), and in part the painters working there after 1595 in the style of incipient Baroque realism using *tenebroso* lighting (Mohedano, Sánchez Cotán, Vázquez, Pacheco, and the elder Herrera). His art is closely related to the style Roelas practised by 1612. It is therefore not necessary to assume a direct influence from Caravaggio. Although knowledge of Caravaggio's achievements had spread through Spain from 1595 to 1610 by way of reports of travellers from Italy, through copies of Caravaggio's paintings, and especially through paintings by Italian Caravaggio followers active in Spain, Zurbarán could have learned realism of detail and a classic breadth of narrative composition from the Flemish Late Mannerist paintings and prints seen at Seville.

In most of the artist's paintings one may recognize the use of engravings, usually Flemish, but some French, Italian, or German, ingeniously copied and transformed.[16]

Three contemporary Spanish painters influenced Zurbarán particularly: Velázquez in brushwork, draperies, and portraits from about 1626 onwards, again in 1634 and after 1657; Ribera from about 1632 to 1639, in types and a sketchy, wet-in-wet handling of the brush; Murillo, after 1650, in subject-matter and an increasing tenderness and mellow airiness.

The Sevillian school of Baroque sculpture was at its height throughout the lifetime of Zurbarán, and some of the altars for which he, Cano, and other contemporary artists painted canvases also contained painted and gilded images carved in wood. This may account for the peculiar plastic power of Zurbarán's figures and of their draperies. It is interesting to compare his art with the carved images by Montañés, Juan de Mesa, and Pedro de Mena (Plates 81–5).

Zurbarán ably combined traditional and progressive elements. While his models and his spiritual affinities point to earlier periods living on in his art, he searched for new solutions of problems of form, colour, chiaroscuro, and space. He was truly great, because he linked past and future. The development of his style during fifty years of artistic activity, while in accordance with the evolution of his spiritual and pictorial aims, is parallel to the changes in Baroque painting throughout Europe.

The son of a well-to-do shopkeeper of Basque descent, Zurbarán was baptized on 7 November 1598 in the small Extremaduran town of Fuente de Cantos (Badajoz) near the Portuguese border. At fifteen he was sent to Seville and apprenticed to Pedro Díaz de Villanueva, an obscure painter of religious figures on panel and on canvas ('pintor de ymaginería'), who was perhaps trained in Morales's studio. In 1616 all Seville hailed the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and it is in this year and in honour of this theme that Zurbarán painted his earliest extant painting (Bilbao, Felix Valdés Collection). In spite of a certain clumsiness in the realization of space, the artist's foremost qualities are already obvious: a blending of realism and mysticism as well as bright, luminous colours. The next year, his apprenticeship concluded, Zurbarán moved back to his native region, settling in Llerena, the most important town in lower Extremadura. There he was to marry twice and to stay eleven years, until 1628. No paintings that were done between 1616 and 1625 have so far been rediscovered, but two pictures (*St Lucy*, Washington, National Gallery; *St Michael*, Metropolitan Museum) might tentatively be dated about 1625–6. However, from 1626 to 1629 there exist twenty-seven paintings, many dated or documented, and probably all painted at Seville. These include commissions of twenty-one paintings (five extant) for the Dominican convent of San Pablo el Real (1626); the important *Crucifixion* of 1627 from San Pablo, now in the Art Institute of Chicago; an altar of eight paintings (three extant) for the Trinitarians (1627–8); twenty-two canvases for the Mercedarians (four remain; 1628–30); four paintings for the Franciscan Church of San Buenaventura (1629; two in the Louvre, one in Dresden, and one destroyed at Berlin in 1945). All these commissions were for

Seville, and the artist fulfilled his Sevillian commitments by travelling to and from Llerena, two days away. He already employed a fair number of assistants to help him. In June 1629 the town of Seville officially invited him to move there, assuring him that '... Seville would be honoured ... and favour him ... considering that the art of painting is one of the major embellishments of the State ...'. Consequently the artist moved with his wife, three children of his first marriage, and a staff of eight servants to Seville.

Examples of the style of these early years are the *St Serapion*, dated 1628 (Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum), and the *Crucifixion* (about 1628–9, Seville Museum, from the Capuchin Church; Plate 128A). Zurbarán was a master of life-like anatomy and of sculpturesque form. Dramatic *tenebroso* shadows make his pictures convincing and insistent. Progressively the light and shade were to become airy and subtle, the draperies more simplified, the paintings even more realistic. These paintings are great creations because they combine the utmost drama with essential stillness. The white draperies create a pattern suspended in mid-air, tranquil in death. Their meaningful purity is not matched by any other Baroque painter. One would have to go back to Roger van der Weyden to find their spiritual equal. From 1627 to 1639 Zurbarán worked mostly for various religious Orders – the Capuchins, the Mercedarians, the Carthusians, and the Jeronymites – all of whom wore white habits. Thus Zurbarán developed that masterful variety in the rendering of white materials for which he is renowned. No one else was so skilled in painting whites, crisp as frozen snow, soft as cotton wool, heavy as cream, 'une symphonie en blanc majeur' in the happy phrase of Paul Guinard. A prime example is the magnificent *St Sebastian*, attributed in the Lisbon Museum to an otherwise undistinguished Clemente Sánchez.

In the early style the drapery folds are generally soft and broad, never reaching out into space. Backgrounds are usually dark, although the St Bonaventura series presents small vistas on light grey architecture. In the *St Bonaventura refers St Thomas Aquinas to the Saviour* (formerly at Berlin; Plate 127A), the Franciscan saint points to the image of Christ Crucified as the sole source of his knowledge. Cool, clear colours predominate. Exciting problems of spatial relationship are solved, as the tightly massed monks on the left are balanced by the small figure of Christ on the right. In a gentle curve the hands of the friars lead to the Crucifix. Horizontal and verticals, an abstract mathematical construction in space, stimulate the eye, and are curiously akin to contemporary art. Here as in his other paintings, Zurbarán discarded the emphasis which Caravaggio and the Italian Baroque had placed on rapid movement perpendicular to the picture plane. On the contrary, like Cézanne, Zurbarán constructed a relatively flat box, in which most action occurs parallel to the picture surface. Thus he decreased the foreshortening required by Renaissance perspective. This is seen, in this instance, in the doorway on the left and the arm of the chair on the right. He arrests movement backward and forward by the background plane and by large, block-like forms in the foreground. He builds up emotional tension associated with the surface plane and related to the four sides of the frame, and does not permit these emotional plane relationships to be hindered by sensations of deep space; on the contrary, he encourages the experience of shallow, plastically modelled space, almost in the manner of high relief.

Zurbarán reached his greatest and most fruitful period in the 1630s. Taking his work as a whole, about thirty-four paintings can be dated before 1630, about 180 between 1630 and 1640, and forty-two after 1640. While Zurbarán always combined realism and mysticism, the emphasis changed: towards the beginning of the 1630s he did his most realistic work, and during the later part of the decade he painted what may be considered his most mystic pictures. Examples of his realistic style are the *Vision of the Blessed Alonso Rodríguez* of 1630 (Madrid, Academy; detail, Plate 128B); perhaps a giant head of *c.* 1630 (Prado, as by Carducho); the *Apotheosis of St Thomas Aquinas* of 1631 (Seville, Museum); three Carthusian scenes of about 1633 (Seville, Museum); *Still-Life with Oranges* (Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi; Plate 127B); and the paintings he did at Madrid in 1634. In these works he excelled in painstakingly precise draughtsmanship. Simultaneously his colour scale became more luminous, his hues lighter, and his shadows deeper. The greater *tenebroso* contrast made his pictures more dramatic. This development is observed in many outstanding painters during the High Baroque, particularly the 1630s. In the head of the Blessed Alonso Rodríguez (Plate 128B) he stressed plastic solidity. If one compares this painting to Greco's *St Peter* (Plate 112), one observes that Zurbarán holds his ecstatic visions in check by his sense of realism, while Greco's explosive eruptions succeed in making the strangest miracle more real and believable than an experience from everyday life.

Like many of his paintings, the *Virgin as Protectress of the Carthusians* (Seville, Museum) was adapted from a print. Yet the artist's intensity and simplicity, his colour harmonies, and his plastic organization give the painting an ethos towering above that of his source. The Spanish qualities of veracity and earnestness distinguish Zurbarán's paintings. In a companion piece, *Urban II with his Confessor St Bruno*, a supernatural life is felt within the figures. Each of the personages becomes a universe, everything that happens in the picture takes place in the inner world of the individual. Meditating quietly, Zurbarán's saints seem to be touched by divine grace.

The *Still-Life with Oranges* (Plate 127B), signed and dated 1633, appears to be a realistic and accurate visual description of objects. However, the full forms, the contrast of textures, hues, and lighting create an air of mystery. The spiritual feeling so characteristic of the Baroque in general, but seldom stronger than in Zurbarán and in Rembrandt, is poignantly created by the omission of all detail, the strict order of the objects, and the humility of their rendering. In their sober serenity, the basket and the pewter seem to have a mystical allusion, as a votive offering on the altar of the Lord. 'That thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the earth ... and shalt put it in a basket ...'; 'And the priest shall take the basket out of thine hand, and set it down before the altar of the Lord thy God' (Deuteronomy 26: 2, 4).[17]

In April 1634 Zurbarán went from Seville to Madrid, staying there until November in order to paint for the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro Palace ten *Labours of Hercules* (Prado) and two battle scenes, one extant in the Prado, the other lost. These pictures formed part of an ambitious decorative ensemble which included Velázquez's *Surrender of Breda* (Plate 133B), Pereda's *Relief of Genoa* (Plate 152A), Mayno's *Recovery of Bahia* (Plate 119B), Vincencio Carducho's *Victory of Fleurus*, *Relief of Constance*, and

Expugnation of Rheinfelden, Jusepe Leonardo's *Surrender of Jules* and *Taking of Breisach*, and finally two pictures, the *Reconquest of San Juan of Puerto Rico* and the *Reconquest of St Kitts*, commissioned from Eugenio Caxés.[18] From historic necessity, this series of battles from the Thirty Years War, intermingled with heroic scenes from mythology, was painted in the mid thirties. These very years saw the climax of the High Baroque throughout Europe. Rembrandt's *Self Portrait with Saskia* was painted in 1635 and in 1637 his *Blinding of Samson* (Frankfort), Rubens's *Kermesse* about 1637 (Louvre), and Jordaens's *Ferryboat* (Copenhagen) and Hals's *Hille Bobbe* in 1637 (Berlin). Callot's *Les Misères de la Guerre* are of 1633, and Poussin's *Rape of the Sabine Women* (Louvre) of 1637.

Combining epic virility, lyric melancholy, and a monumental plastic modelling of the bodies, Zurbarán's Hercules series is still unexhibited in the store-rooms of the Prado Museum.[19] It is probably because of his work at Madrid that Zurbarán was named 'Painter to the King', a purely honorary title. Returning immediately to Seville, the artist continued to reside there until 1658. He painted some of his greatest and most mystic works in the second half of the 1630s: the altar of St Peter in the cathedral of Seville; pictures for the Barefooted Mercedarians of San José; for the Carthusians of Jerez, and for the Jeronymites of Guadalupe; also the *Blessed Heinrich Suso* and *St Louis Bertram* for the Dominicans of Portaceli, Seville (now Museum). In these works the master's style was neither detailed nor sketchy, as in turn it had been previously, but pictorial and fluid. Placing his figures in a landscape, he gave more attention to air and atmosphere, and by a more evenly diffused lighting he decreased contrasts and mitigated realism in order to express spiritual qualities. In their eloquent silence, the Carthusian saints (Cadiz, Museum) are wholly withdrawn from this world.

Zurbarán's paintings reflect in mood the Quietist movement which was especially strong in the two places where the artist spent most of his life: Llerena and Seville. Llerena had been the centre of the Spanish Quietists from 1570 to 1582, and their influence may have lingered on even after 1617, when Zurbarán settled there. As for Seville, the movement was at its peak there from 1616 to 1630, during the very years of the master's artistic formation. The most eloquent literary expression of Quietism occurs very late, at a time when Zurbarán had died and the passion of the Quietist movement in Spain had ebbed; it is found in the *Spiritual Guide* by the Spanish priest Miguel de Molinos (1628–96), published in 1675, but based on the earlier teachings of Gregorio López and Juan Falconi, contemporaries of Zurbarán. With Molinos, as with Zurbarán, 'the inner withdrawal is faith and silence in the presence of God ... surrendering oneself and binding oneself to God with reverence, humility and submission'. If Zurbarán preferred to paint saints in mystic contemplation rather than cruel martyrdoms, one reads in Molinos that 'the soul gains more in ... prayer in complete withdrawal of the senses and mental powers ... than in penitent exercises, disciplines, etc. All this punishes only the *body*, but by withdrawal the *soul* is purified.' Molinos seems to contrast the religious approach of Murillo and that of Zurbarán by asserting: 'there are two ways of praying – tenderly, fondly, lovingly, and full of feeling – or humbly, dryly, without comfort, and darkly'.[20]

Zurbarán's way is exemplified by the *St Hugh of Grenoble* (Cadiz, Museum), where the profile is kept in half-shadow and set against a fairly dark background. Such use of dark against darks forces the eye to enter into the panel, to search, and, like the faithful, to believe. Mysteries no longer seen are felt. The background isolates the figure from active life. The light reinforces the airy *tenebrae* of the sombre setting. The folds suggest all-embracing tenderness.

For the main retable at Jerez, Zurbarán painted in 1638 the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Grenoble, Museum; Plate 129A). The figures are spread parallel to the picture plane in relatively shallow space. Massive and monumental verticals recall Piero della Francesca. A restricted measure of dignified movement is achieved by diagonals crossing in space. With incredible chromatic richness and phosphorescent overtones, whites, brilliant luminous greens, vermilions, and pinks set off light greys painted over darker hues. Throughout the 1630s Zurbarán's paintings grew ever more airy and more spiritual.

The death of the artist's beloved second wife in 1639 affected him profoundly. His production fell rapidly and his style became more solemn, classical, and pathetic. His subjects were now mostly saints reflecting on death, like the *St Francis* in profile (Paris, Robert Weigel). Of *c.* 1632 is a *St Francis* frontal (Milwaukee, Milwaukee Art Center). The change towards a calmer and broader manner is, however, not merely personal to Zurbarán but a general European trend. Everywhere between 1640 and 1660 the Classical Baroque produced a turn from Rubens's *joie de vivre* to a quieter, more solemn mood. The signed and dated *St Francis kneeling* (1639, London, National Gallery; Plate 129B) anticipates and represents a new largeness of conception in design as well as technique. By increasing volume and by simultaneously diminishing contrasts in colour and lighting, the total effect is more unified than ever before. Since the late 1630s Zurbarán had begun to paint for export to Spanish Latin America, particularly Lima and Buenos Aires. The increasing success of Murillo from 1645 onwards severely restricted Zurbarán's popularity at Seville and forced him more and more to rely on sales in South America. In 1649, for instance, he sold not only paintings from his studio but Flemish landscapes, and even paint brushes and colours.

The young Murillo was a pupil of Juan del Castillo, but was influenced even more by Zurbarán. After 1650 the relationship is reversed, and Zurbarán takes the younger master for a model, even copying him in at least one instance, the *Virgin and Child with St John* of 1658 (San Diego, California) derived from Murillo's version of about 1650 (Glasgow, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell). During the 1650s and 1660s Spanish painting as a whole excels in impressionistic, silvery, airy handling of atmosphere, and Zurbarán is in tune with the spirit of the times. Under the influence of Murillo, his art becomes more gentle and tender, the colours incline toward greys and browns, and as subject he favours the Seated Virgin holding the Child Christ. In the works of his last decade, Zurbarán was mellow and understanding, but weaker in organization and design and lacking in strength. The great painting *St Luke before the Crucified* (Prado), which in the first edition of my book[21] I had dated about 1660–4, should therefore more properly be assigned to the late 1630s.

In May 1658 Zurbarán left Seville and his third wife (he had re-married in 1644) for Madrid, where he hoped to repair his sinking fortunes by official commissions. There, in December 1658, he testified on behalf of his old friend Velázquez in the judicial inquiry admitting the latter into the Noble Military Order of Santiago, and there on 27 August 1664 he died in the arms of his wife, who had meanwhile joined him.[22]

Zurbarán's foremost artistic qualities may, perhaps, be described as a sober solemnity, strong and tender, born of the firm and settled faith of the rural people in his native Extremadura; a rustic and archaic dignity, purity, veracity, and simplicity; an essential stillness and static quality in the literal action (paralleled in France by Georges de la Tour); the avoidance of unnecessary detail; a sensitive draughtsmanship, bringing out the inner life of objects; a design stimulating and dramatic by its imaginative unaffectedness; a limited movement back and forth in depth, balancing the tense and vigorous structure in the picture plane; and finally, the integration, in a geometric pattern, of forceful outlines, broad areas, and sculptural forms.

In Zurbarán's art mysticism reached an intensity equalled in Spain only by El Greco, and the precision of his realism was surpassed only by Velázquez.

CHAPTER 14

VELÁZQUEZ (1599–1660)

STYLE AND MEANING

ZURBARÁN was born in 1598 and Velázquez in 1599. Both married at the age of eighteen. They learned the art of painting at the same time (1614–17) at Seville, and they died within four years of each other (1660/1664) at Madrid. Time and place are nearly identical, yet their circumstances differed. Zurbarán was provincial all his life, a shopkeeper's son who never ventured beyond Extremadura and Andalusia, except for one or perhaps two brief visits to Madrid, where he spent the last six years of his life. Zurbarán's friends were monks and his paintings religious in subject-matter as well as spirit. Velázquez was born into the small nobility in the great metropolis of Seville. In his early twenties he joined the court at Madrid, never to leave it again. He rose in the service of his king to the highest palace honours and duties. Velázquez daily associated with royalty, noblemen, courtiers, and distinguished visitors from foreign lands. He painted popes and kings. Two Italian journeys each lasting two years were the climax of his artistic career. Most of his paintings were secular in theme; yet so all-pervading was the religious spirit in the Baroque that, except for a few pictures, one senses in his art an underlying feeling of Christian values. In this spiritual relationship, rather than in any similarity of time or place, lies the true parallel between Velázquez and Zurbarán. Both, the aristocrat and the provincial, exalted the dignity of man and the supremacy of divine power comprehended through silent contemplation. Both aspects were insistently stressed by seventeenth-century Spain. As the great Spanish art historian Enrique Lafuente Ferrari has pointed out: [1] 'Velázquez seizes the Quid Divinum within the corruptible clay of mankind ... with reverential feeling for concrete humanity ... he endows his models with the highest ethical value.' Velázquez becomes a great artist for us because by seizing the personal he realizes the divine. In other words, for Velázquez man is always in the presence of God.

His art has meant different things to succeeding generations. The Impressionists admired him as a great technician. In his pictures, whether portraits, historic, mythological, or religious subjects, landscapes, genre scenes, or still-lifes, Velázquez set himself new artistic problems. Yet more important is the mood of his art. Those who profess to be bored by his 'cold, objective realism' fail to perceive what the Romanticists well understood: the Spanish master's paintings often 'become highly poetic while the artist only desired to be truthful and faithful to nature. Velázquez gave creative imagination and verve to the most humble portrait.' [2] Through ordered, selective arrangement and a supreme feeling for form as well as for relationships of colour, light, space, and air, Velázquez evokes 'an intense lyricism inspired by all reality'. He reached solutions far ahead of his time. He searched for the poetry of life, even in the common things, and was aware of the suggestive associations of reality. In this he came close to the discoveries of artists in our own time. Longing for spiritual as well as human values in the realm of art, we can today appreciate some of the most spiritual Baroque painters: Caravaggio, de la Tour, Zurbarán, and Velázquez.

The key to Velázquez's art lies not in its outward realism, admirable as it is, but in its meaning. While experiencing his paintings one passes through a sequence of artistic and spiritual mansions. Inviting contemplation, his pictures are in their unhurried thoughtfulness not merely realistic but representative of certain Baroque moods and ideas not obvious at first glance. While the feverish excitement of Greco's paintings arouses our subconscious mind, Velázquez's restrained works require our thoughtful participation. Justi[3] rightly emphasized Velázquez's depth and strength of religious feeling, slighted by many later writers. Far from lacking religious emotion, his two *Crucifixions* (Prado) are among the most profoundly stirring Spanish versions of this theme. Velázquez's religious pictures do not evoke the ecstatic mysticism of St Teresa but the disciplined and intensely contemplative faith of St Ignatius Loyola. Even some of Velázquez's 'genre-paintings' are, as we shall see, of deep moral implication, for instance the *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* or the *Venus and Cupid* (both in the National Gallery; Plates 133A and 135).

Velázquez has always been the most popular painter with Spanish people of all classes, as one may observe on any Sunday in the crowded main hall of the Prado. The artist possessed that democratic quality, found, along with pride, in all layers of Spanish society from the aristocrat to the beggar. High and low meet with a mutual respect, tact, and courtesy based on common human and noble values. Every Spaniard, though conscious of his own dignity, through the Christian tradition sees in his fellow man a brother. He will at times address Christ thus familiarly. Even Velázquez's most pitiful idiots preserve their humanity, and possess a soul, a divine spark. On the other hand even the king, for all his royal stateliness, remains a human being who has lived and suffered. Through Velázquez's genius dwarf and princess, fool and king immediately gain our participation, understanding, and compassion. Empathy with his subjects marks the born aristocrat Velázquez as a truly democratic portrait painter, in contrast to Greco, who projected his own personality on to his sitters. Not only are Velázquez's portraits extremely life-like, but they suggest the spirit, dignity, and natural movement of his sitters. Because of the artist's respect for the individual with all his worth and all his failings, and because of his anti-idealistic and anti-platonic tendencies, he stands in direct contrast to the Renaissance. Velázquez is one of the foremost representatives of the Baroque. He is the greatest of the masters of Spanish painting, greater even than El Greco, Zurbarán, and Goya.

Velázquez's style, although anti-classical, corresponds to the Greek viewpoint of realism, close to nature but not imitating nature superficially or merely externally. His realism ennobles nature, and it exalts rather than vulgarizes humanity. Like Titian and Rubens, he possessed an instinctive surety of balance and control, a harmony in composition, colour, and expression. His art is as great in its simplification as in its wealth. He achieves the unison of his creations by constant search for an accomplishment far beyond all that is casual. Yet it is the particular attraction of his art that everything seems at first glance accidental and that all problems seem solved with incredible ease. One is not aware of the thought and effort behind his work, nor of his care in selecting the sitter's pose so as to seem most natural and graceful. By this means he makes them reflect the traditional Spanish sense of measure and rhythm and a bearing conscious of personal worth. The nobility of Velázquez's style means dignity, reserve, and an art without phrases[4] in an age that loved grandiloquence. Mayer[5] suggested that Velázquez's extraordinary need for clarity led him to formulations anticipating Cézanne. Like Cézanne, Velázquez forces the beholder to traverse the entire picture space in every direction and, exploring it, to make it his own.

The Seville Period

Velázquez's paternal grandparents came to Seville from Oporto in Portugal. His father, Juan Rodríguez de Silva, and his mother, Gerónima de Velázquez, were natives of Seville. There on 6 June 1599 Velázquez was baptized Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez, usually shortened to Diego de Velázquez, the name of his mother. After a brief stay in the studio of the irascible elder Herrera, the eleven-year-old boy was apprenticed to Francisco Pacheco in 1611. Earlier in that year Pacheco had returned from a visit to Madrid and to Greco at Toledo with one or more of Greco's portraits. Pacheco was then the most renowned painter in Seville (see p. 228). His collection of prints and drawings used as models by his students was as comprehensive as his friendships among the intellectuals and aristocrats of Seville. In Pacheco's academy Velázquez moved in the city's most alert artistic circle. Palomino[6] described from contemporary sources, now partly lost, the training received by Velázquez. The young artist drew a model in many poses and expressions. He studied spatial composition and the relationship of forms and colours by painting low-life scenes, usually *bodegones*, that is eating-scenes with figures or simple still-lifes with food (birds, fish, beasts, or fruit). Still-lifes and *bodegones* had been popular subjects at Seville from about 1600. Velázquez constantly studied prints as models for compositions; befriended poets and public speakers to receive ideas; and read books on anatomy, architecture, painting, etc., for instance, Dürer, Vesalio, Vignola, Vitruvius, Vasari, and Zuccaro.

Two years after terminating his formal apprenticeship, Velázquez married at Seville on 23 April 1618 Juana de Miranda Pacheco, his teacher's daughter, who was to bear him two daughters, Francisca and Ignacia. The latter died young, but Francisca married at the age of fifteen, in 1634, Juan Martínez del Mazo (p. 284).

Velázquez derived sound technical training from Pacheco,[7] but only in his early portraits did the pupil follow – and quickly surpass – his teacher. Nor was the young artist notably influenced by any other Sevillian painter, though perhaps by the sculptor Martínez Montañés (Plates 81A and 84B). Establishing his own manner with assurance, Velázquez from the beginning spoke the new Caravaggesque idiom. By 1617 probably at least half a dozen of Caravaggio's paintings had been taken to Spain, and although it is not certain that Velázquez saw any of them, his *Musical Trio* (1619–20, Berlin) seems related to Caravaggio's *Supper at Emmaus* (Messina). The Spanish artist might have seen works by Ribera, whose *Crucifixion* was reportedly since 1620 at Osuna, fifty miles from Seville. Palomino [8] mentions that pictures by Reni, Lanfranco, Giovanni Baglione, and Cristoforo Roncalli were exported to Seville. Furthermore, several Caravaggesque Italian artists were in Spain before 1610: Borgianni and Nardi.[9] Bartolomeo Cavarozzi [10] lived in Spain from 1617 till about 1620. In types, composition, textures, and light and shade, Velázquez's art is vaguely related to the style of these masters. Yet his manner is so sure, serene, and accomplished that he surpassed most of them immediately.

Modern critics have slighted the strong influence exerted on Velázquez by Luis Tristán (see p. 224). Velázquez must have seen his paintings at Seville. Tristán's *Last Supper* of 1616 (Yepes) or his *St Louis of France* of 1620 (Louvre; Plate 120A) show how broadly he affected Velázquez not only in composition, lighting, and draperies, but even in types, modelling, and brushwork.[11]

Velázquez's early period is usually given as 1617–23, from the end of his apprenticeship to his final departure from Seville. Comprising about twenty-five extant works,[12] including religious subjects, portraits, and genre-paintings, it has been called Velázquez's Caravaggesque period. He used then strong chiaroscuro in his modelling, yellowish-brown flesh tints, rather thick impasto, a wealth of detail, and as his main compositional bond the circle. This style is powerful, virile, and monumental. Carefully observing the external form and appearance, he penetrates to the structure of things. The male figure, draperies, accessories become tactile cubic or spherical shapes. Lights are placed in spots. While the figures are painted in the most natural and naturalistic manner, the setting is usually kept vague. The last works painted at Seville are less compact. One begins to feel air affecting and surrounding the solids.

In one of his earliest paintings, the *Vintager* of about 1617, one can perhaps see reflections from the Cremonese Vicenzo Campi (1536–91), who closely followed the style of Aertsen and Beuckelaer, Flemish inventors of low-life genre. Campi is said to have spent some time in Spain, thus helping to popularize these genre subjects in both Mediterranean countries. Velázquez's paintings of 1619 and 1620 show increasing unity of design and understanding of depth. In the *Water Carrier* (Plate 132), the main compositional device is the parabola, linking the three figures and repeated in the shape of the main protagonist and of the various vessels. This masterpiece is essentially a still-life. The volumes, treated with discipline and yet expansiveness, are related to each other and create a compelling sensation of plastic space. The sharp precision of lines contrasts with the softness of areas and the roundness of shapes. The impasto seems heavy and wet, and the strokes unfused. Tanned, leathery skin and fairly thick draperies vie in textural illusion with the moist surface of the clay jar. Justi praised the weightiness of the water-carrier's pose, his serenity and gravity, as a general trait of Velázquez's figures. The artist occasionally repeated compositional elements, such as a pose or accessories: thus the three figures in the *Water Carrier* resemble in position and lighting the two standing figures and the St Joseph of the *Epiphany* (Prado). Both canvases date from 1619.

About a year earlier are the *Immaculate Conception* (Plates 130 and 131) and its companion piece *St John on Patmos* (both London, National Gallery). Both come from the chapter house of the Shod Carmelite Nuns at Seville. Though not over-large, these pictures are monumental in feeling. The Virgin surpasses Martínez Montañés's statues in sculptural strength and solemnity, as well as depth of expression, rounded softness, and mellowness. Except for changing the colours of the tunic from white to brownish lavender, Velázquez followed the iconographic prescriptions laid down by his father-in-law Pacheco: the very young and beautiful model is 'standing before the sun', a sienna space directly behind her and fusing with the sky. As Pacheco taught, under her feet the moon hovers, light and transparent with the points turned downward. Shrouded in darkness and containing some of the Marian symbols, the landscape below seems derived from Tristán and from the Greco school in general, as is the dark-brown bolus ground left partly uncovered.

Many of Velázquez's paintings show pentimenti, that is changes made by the artist either while working on the picture and developing its composition or sometimes much later, since at Madrid for years he was both his own curator and restorer. Such pentimenti can best be seen in X-ray photographs. In the *Immaculate Conception* one notices that the dark blue cloak was originally longer, flowing in swirling folds about the Virgin's legs and to the right. X-raying of Velázquez's paintings and publication of the resulting shadowgraphs would clarify the painter's working procedure. His habit of improving on his pictures as he went along explains why so few preparatory drawings survive: probably there never were many.[13]

Another religious subject, *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (*c.* 1619–20, National Gallery; Plate 133A), is derived either from an engraving by Jacob Matham after Aertsen (Bartsch 165) or from a painting of the Aertsen school of which several replicas still exist in Spain. As in the Flemish pictures, the scene in the background is suggested as taking place in the next room and is observed through a wall opening. This is proved by the stone embrasure, the location of the source of light in the farther room, and the pictorial incompleteness of the small scene, which would not make sense as a wall-painting.[14] It is significant for the religious climate of seventeenth-century Seville that Velázquez's painting is essentially a moral admonition. It is not a mere kitchen scene nor, as in the Flemish prototypes, a religious pretext for a worldly picture. To the disconcerted cook, obviously pouting and none too happy, the old woman points out the biblical 'Martha cumbered about much serving' (Luke 10: 38–42). The old woman in the foreground (not to be identified with Martha, since her features, head-dress, and the colours of her garment differ from those of the Martha in the background group) seems to tell her young companion that one may cheerfully serve the Lord by working, while in the background one sees Mary serve Christ by sitting at his feet. Paul (Colossians 3: 22–4) comes to mind: 'Servants, obey in all things your masters. … And whatsoever you do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men … for ye serve the Lord Christ.'

Greco's influence is only rarely felt in the young Velázquez and even then perhaps only by way of Tristán, as in the *Portrait of a Man* (Prado, no. 1209). This picture contrasts, in its spiritual face and wildly excited collar, with the confident, earthly, and energetic *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente*, signed and dated 1620 (Prado). She is shown at sixty-six years of age and on the eve of embarking for Manila to found a new convent.

The *Old Woman Frying Eggs* (Edinburgh), also related to compositions by Aertsen and Beuckelaer, is dated about 1618. Designed as an arrangement of circular areas, like most of his other works from the Sevillian period, the picture is extremely veristic. In the *Christ at Emmaus* (Metropolitan Museum) the still-life becomes insignificant before the great event, the tremendous recognition. In this last and one of the most accomplished of Velázquez's works before his first journey to Madrid, the artist creates a religious mood by expressions, drapery shapes, and colours. Through a soft glow on Christ's face, one realizes his transcendence. Velázquez leads one up to this cognition by evoking mystic sentiment even in the drapery folds and by designing the sleeve of Christ's garment with the care, love, and serene exaltation seen in the Frère pictures.

In April 1622 Velázquez left Seville for Madrid, where he saw the royal collections and painted, at Pacheco's wish and influenced by his style, a portrait of the poet Luis de Góngora (Boston). Velázquez tried in vain to get a commission to portray the king and queen. Back in Seville within seven months, he painted two pictures reflecting impressions gathered in Madrid. His *St Ildefons receiving the Chasuble* (Seville, Archbishop's Palace) has suffered considerably. Yet it recalls Greco, Tintoretto, and the Venetians in general in the dynamic airiness of the clouds, in the lilting grace of the angels, in the broadly sketched lines of the Virgin's draperies, and in the hovering quality of the entire picture. Italianate in a different way is the *St John the Baptist*[15] (Chicago, formerly in the Julian Williams Collection at Seville). Both the nude and the landscape reveal Velázquez's reaction to pictures by Rubens, Titian, and other artists at Madrid. Specifically the landscape, clouds, and vegetation recall the *Prometheus* (Philadelphia) that Rubens painted at Madrid in 1603, impressed by Titian's canvases in the royal palace.

MADRID 1623–9

The turning point in Velázquez's life came in the spring of 1623 with a call to the court at Madrid[16] from the Count-Duke Olivares, the all-powerful royal minister. Philip IV, nineteen years old and king since 1621, took an immediate liking to the young painter, placing him on the royal pay-roll in October 1623. Philip remained his friend and protector for life, visiting the artist almost daily in his palace studio to watch him paint. Both the king and Olivares were enlightened patrons and collectors of art, and recognized at once how much Velázquez out-ranked the older court painters, Eugenio Caxés, Bartolomé González, Vicente Carducho, Villandrando, Mayno, Morán, and even the best portraitist among them, Felipe Diriksen.[17]

Lost are Velázquez's first portrait of the king, life-size, done on 30 August 1623, and his sketch of the visiting Prince of Wales, later Charles I. Fortunately, there survive the *Infante Carlos*, probably of 1624 (Prado), and the *Olivares* (São Paulo, formerly Lord Cowdray), documented in 1624, which is the prototype of Rubens's grisaille (Brussels).

Velázquez took the pose, including head, arms, hands, and legs, as well as the table from Pantoja's *Philip III* (Vienna), echoing court portraits by Titian and by Sánchez Coello. Autograph, except for slight repairs in the face and more in the right hand, Velázquez's splendid likeness of Olivares shows how bombastic the artist could be when the nature of his sitter demanded it. The two equestrian portraits of Olivares of 1634 (see p. 261) are as exaggerated in their heroic flattery. The companion piece of the Olivares portrait does not survive, the *Philip IV* (Metropolitan Museum) being only a damaged workshop copy, as Justi recognized. This is evident by comparison with Velázquez's genuine *Philip IV* at the Prado (no. 1182; another copy, New York, Strauss Collection). Also of 1624 may be a *Portrait of a Man* (Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi). Dated 1625 is the *Olivares* (New York, Hispanic Society) where the sitter displays the green cross of Alcántara instead of the red one of Calatrava, having left one Order for the other in that year. The legs are placed closer together than before, the background is more fusing, the brushwork even more liquid.[18] Velázquez developed here a new pose of greater reserve and dignity, adopted from Titian, Mor, and Sánchez Coello, for his royal likenesses. In 1625 Velázquez also painted *Philip IV on Horseback* in armour, gaining wide acclaim when the picture (now lost) was exhibited in Madrid's main street. A bust-length portrait of the king in armour (Prado, no. 1183), in spite of its indoor background, is probably a fragment, study, or replica of it, the baldric being added later, perhaps in 1628. The king's face, without a trace of moustache, is younger and the style earlier than in the full-length version (Prado, no. 1182) of about 1626.[19]

Between 1626 and 1628, Velázquez painted for the first time likenesses of court fools. He gave to the *Jester Juan de Calabazas* (Jersey, Cook Collection) the same importance and nearly the same pose as to the king and the minister. In dressing Calabazas in black and in painting him with a whirligig, the artist may have kept to reality. Yet he also followed the prescription of Ripa's *Iconologia* for characterizing a fool (*pazzo*). Another jester, shown as the smiling *Democritus* (Rouen), is one of the earliest of the few surviving mythological subjects by Velázquez, all treated in a boldly realistic vein. This picture was once given by a Duke of Alba to his gardener, proof either of the Duke's royal munificence or of his nonchalance in matters artistic. A buffoon, Pablo de Valladolid, achieved palace standing in 1633. His portrait (Prado) by Velázquez suggests that he began to serve six to eight years earlier.[20] Prior to the first Italian journey, the Madrid portraits are carefully finished, particularly the modelling of the faces, draughtsman-like and with a lustrous surface as pearly and opaline as moonstone. Plasticity is stressed and great care taken in defining the silhouette. Shadows change from blackish to Venetian red, and later to grey and vermilion, while the red-brown priming is usually replaced by grey after 1630. The backgrounds become ever more light and airy.

Velázquez translated classical tradition into a boisterous Spanish scene of his own time when he painted the *Topers* (Prado) for the king's bedroom. The canvas was probably begun in 1628 and finished in 1629. The *Triumph of Bacchus* was described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which gave Velázquez the material for most of his mythological pictures. Bacchic scenes were rare in Catholic Spain, but frequent in Flemish art. Velázquez's *Topers* may be connected with Rubens's visit or with a court report about a display held probably in 1606 before Archduke Albert and his wife, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, in Brussels. There the nude, vine-wreathed Bacchus, riding on a barrel, was accompanied by eight young men mock-worshipping him. Working from life, Velázquez created an earthy, dramatic, and realistic scene, set in the Guadarrama mountains near Madrid. He posed the two figures on the left like two young women in Titian's *Bacchanal* (Prado).[21] Bacchus and some of the profile figures to his left are freely re-created from an engraving, *The Adoration of Bacchus* (1596) by Jan Saenredam after Hendrik Goltzius, who seems to have seen Heemskerck's engraving of Michelangelo's *Bacchus*.[22] Two frontal figures in the centre come from a source as yet unknown. In some heads the brushwork is strongly influenced by Ribera; other heads, on the extreme right, were subsequently painted over by Velázquez. The picture seems to have been conceived by successive acts of imagination rather than as a unified impression. After this trial piece, Velázquez was to be increasingly successful in harmonizing large compositions.

In 1627 he had won a competition over the other court painters, Vincencio Carducho, Eugenio Caxés, and Angelo Nardi, all Italian or of Italian descent, as were the judges, Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, architect and painter, and Mayno. From now until the arrival of Luca Giordano in 1692, Spanish painting escaped the tutelage of foreigners and was essentially a national art, except for the always present influence of the Venetians, especially Titian, and that of Rubens. Their pictures in the royal palaces were the academy of Spanish court painters. Rubens arrived in the Spanish capital in September 1628 on his second diplomatic visit. By December Rubens had finished an equestrian portrait of Philip IV,[23] now lost, and during his stay he painted four other likenesses of the king and many of other members of the royal family. In 1603, on his first visit, Rubens had found painting at the court 'miserably insufficient'; now he respected of all painters only Velázquez, whose studio he shared for eight months and who guided him through the Escorial. It is difficult to assess Rubens's influence on Velázquez at that time, but the Flemish painter certainly spurred the Spaniard's imagination towards wider horizons. Rubens was knighted by Philip IV in 1629; Velázquez henceforth laboured towards the same goal in order to escape the galling inferiority of his rank,[24] which as late as 1648 seated him at the bullfights next to the royal barbers and to the servants of nobles. In June 1629, two months after Rubens had departed for Flanders, Velázquez received licence to go to Italy. Rubens had probably by counsel and example encouraged Velázquez to take this step. If Velázquez was to emulate Rubens in rising further in his art as well as socially, both of great importance to him, the trip to Italy was indispensable.

THE FIRST ITALIAN JOURNEY 1629–31

The journey was undertaken in the suite of General Ambrogio Spinola, whom Velázquez immortalized five years later in the *Surrender of Breda*. Their route led from Barcelona by sea to Genoa, whence Velázquez hastened on to Verona, Venice, Ferrara, Cento, and Loreto. At Venice he copied Tintoretto's *Crucifixion* and *Last Supper*, and at Cento he met Guercino. Around Christmas 1629 he arrived in Rome, lodging first in the Vatican and then in the Medici Palace. Everywhere he was received with the honours due to the 'Painter of the King of Spain'. After nearly a year in Rome he returned to Spain via Naples, meeting there Ribera and many local painters. Velázquez was back in Madrid early in 1631, having been away eighteen months, and bringing with him for the royal collection paintings by Titian, Bassano, and Luca Cambiaso.

In Italy, Guercino and the Venetians encouraged Velázquez to paint more broadly, more sketchily, and for effect at a distance, a manner he had anticipated in the Buffoons of 1625–7. The experience of Michelangelo and of the classical statuary of Rome was to live on in all his mythological pictures, and enabled him to give more complicated, yet more harmonious movement to his figures. His pictures acquire an ever greater sense of atmosphere and of light. In his Italian paintings,[25] Velázquez greatly improved his perspective, and developed for the first time a roomy, open arrangement in which the figures have air to move about and are spread as vertical accents over the picture plane. Action occurs parallel to the picture surface rather than at right angles to it, which had been the case a generation earlier in Caravaggio's paintings. The light is fairly even; backgrounds are partly architecture and partly landscape or sky. Accessories on the floor establish an ample foreground and set a spacious stage. In these canvases Velázquez turned more to outdoor painting and away from heavy shadows towards brighter, more harmonizing colours. Lighter greys and browns prevail over local wine-reds, orange-yellows, siennas, or dark blues. This may be due to the contact with Rubens in 1628–9, succeeded by the study of the Venetians in Venice and the meeting with Guercino and with the second generation of Roman and Neapolitan Caravaggio followers, Michelangelo Cerquozzi, Pieter van Laer, Pieter Codde, Ribera, and Falcone. Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel were a revelation to Velázquez, remembered by him as late as 1656. He made many sketches from the *Last Judgement* and from the frescoes by Raphael and F. Zuccaro. In his youth Velázquez had studied the antique sculpture which the Duke of Alcalá had brought from Italy to Seville; now in Rome, like many other foreign artists, the Spanish painter marvelled at and carefully observed the wealth of classical statuary, particularly in the Villa Medici.

His impressions are reflected in the *Bloody Coat of Joseph* (Escorial) and its companion piece, the *Forge of Vulcan* (Prado), two eminently Baroque themes signifying deception successful and deception unmasked. Much Baroque imagery revolves around illusion and disillusion, aspects of the Christian theme of vanity and the transitoriness of life on earth as compared to life eternal. Both pictures apparently derive in composition from small woodcuts, done seventy-five years earlier by the French artist Bernard Salomon.[26] Another painting, discovered by Roberto Longhi[27] only a few years ago, the *Fight before the Spanish Embassy* (Rome, Galleria Pallavicini), resembles the manner of Pieter Codde, proving that Velázquez familiarized himself in Rome with the latest pictures by this and perhaps other followers of Frans Hals, if not with works by Hals himself. The *Fight before the Spanish Embassy* explains the Halsian influences in the *Surrender of Breda*.

MADRID 1631–49

Immediately after his return to Madrid, Velázquez painted the young Prince Balthasar Carlos (Boston), born during his absence and now a year and four months old. The artist suggests the human *rapport* between the baby, already a prince, and the attendant dwarf,[28] older but respectfully submissive. Instead of the cool, neutral backgrounds of the earlier portraits, Velázquez from now on provided for his royal indoor likenesses sumptuous draperies in glowing or in muted reds. He followed herein Rubens's Spanish court portraits of 1628–9, and thus not only more convincingly suggested space but gained greater richness and distinction.

Of about 1631 or 1632 are the portraits of Juan Mateos (Dresden) and that of Queen Isabella (London, formerly in the Huth Collection; Plate 137). Having been considered a product of the workshop, recent cleaning disclosed that this distinguished picture is essentially by Velázquez and the head his finest surviving likeness of the queen,[29] stylistically related to the *Infanta Maria* (Prado).

Also of about 1631–2 is the *Wild Boar Hunt* (National Gallery).[30] Recent cleaning has brought out the superb quality of this sometime disparaged work, which forms a link between the *Fight before the Spanish Embassy* of 1630 and the Buen Retiro paintings of 1634. Velázquez's study of Callot[31] is revealed by the array of small figures in various poses, treated in a sprightly manner. Velázquez may possibly have had a collaborator in the landscape background. If the king's hunting-companions are his brothers Carlos and Ferdinand, as they seem to be, then April 1632 is the *terminus ante quem*, for Ferdinand left Madrid in that month for Barcelona and the Netherlands, never to return, and Carlos died in July. April 1632 appears thus also as the latest date for the portraits of Philip IV and Ferdinand as hunters (Prado). Here the pencil-like draughtsmanship of the faces is still related to the palace portraits done by Velázquez before the Italian trip. Although placed outdoors, the king initially was bareheaded, holding his cap in his left hand, as shown by the pentimenti in the original and by the studio replica (at Castres, formerly in the Louvre). That the hunting-portraits of the two royal brothers were dated too late by believing them contemporary with the *Portrait of Prince Balthasar Carlos as a Hunter* (Prado) of 1635/6 is confirmed by comparing *Philip IV as a Hunter* with *Philip IV in Brown and Silver*, the *Silver Philip* (National Gallery; Plate 136). In the latter picture the king is evidently a few years older. It is much looser and more airy in style and must date from about 1635.

In the preceding year Velázquez painted for the Hall of Realms of the Buen Retiro Palace[32] at Madrid the *Surrender of Breda* and the equestrian portraits of Philip III and Philip IV and their wives Queen Margarita and Queen Isabella, as well as Prince Balthasar Carlos (all in the Prado). These paintings are Velázquez's truest High Baroque achievement: dignified, formal, and spectacular; filled with graceful movement, verve, and grandeur. Colours sparkle in unison; touches of the brush are free and spontaneous, of marvellous lightness and water-colour-like liquidity. The skin is painted ever more thinly and airily. Poses, though amazingly natural, are the result of intense thought and often reflect earlier prototypes. From now on, Velázquez – like Zurbarán – increasingly considered the landscape setting as an integral part of the picture.

The *Surrender of Breda* (Plates 133B and 134) is Velázquez's largest and most famous painting.[33] On 25 June 1625 the Dutch city of Breda, after a valorous defence, had fallen to the besieging Spaniards commanded by the Genoese Ambrogio Spinola. Velázquez depicted the instant when Justin of Nassau handed the fortress keys to the victor, who by a motion of his arm 'humaniter salutans' suggests knightly comradeship. Velázquez created a symbol of chivalry and seventeenth-century sense of honour. He modelled the composition, and particularly Justin of Nassau, on a print of *Abraham and Melchisedek* (Plate 140A), after Marten de Vos, published in Geerard de Jode's *Thesaurus sacrarum historiarum* (Antwerp, 1579).[34] The offering of the key to Spinola is thus made a parallel to the reception of the victorious Abraham, to whom the high priest Melchisedek offered bread and wine. It is implied that Spinola's victory, like Abraham's, was due to divine intercession, that it was God himself 'who hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand' (Genesis 14: 20). Far from humiliating the Protestant Dutch, the armistice convention allowed them to march through the Spanish army with their weapons intact. The ideal of tolerance expressed in the *Surrender of Breda* is based on Brother Hugo's eye-witness account, *Sitio de Breda*, published at Antwerp in 1627, and has its literary counterpart in the plays of Calderón and Lope de Vega. The latter has an old soldier ask: 'After all, what have the Lutherans done to me? The Lord created them and could, if he wished, finish them off, much easier than I could' (Lope de Vega, *Los milagros del desprecio*).

For the topographic representation in the background, Velázquez consulted the engravings made by Callot and those published in Brother Hugo's book. The pose of the horse on the right was suggested by a print after Stradanus, but the animal itself was painted from one of the king's favourite steeds.[35] The heads between the horse and Spinola recall Greco's *Espolio*. Stylistically and in composition a first idea of the picture was the *Fight before the Spanish Embassy* and certain drawings made by Velázquez in Rome in 1630. The artistic importance of the *Surrender of Breda* surpasses by far any probing into its sources and meaning. Although the balanced arrangement of the two groups of lancers, the placing in space, and the distribution of light are adumbrated in the print after Marten de Vos, Velázquez created a Baroque interplay of movement, colour, air, light, and distance. The martial rhythm of the Spanish lances on the right, feared all over Europe, contrasts with the few halberds of the defeated Dutch. Diagonals, like the horse and the smoke, lead the eye into depth. Important for Velázquez's future development is the treatment of the heads to the right (Plate 134), much freer and broader than anything the artist had hitherto undertaken, and varying from the finished likenesses in the foreground to the rapid impressions farther back, quickly sketched *à la* Frans Hals.

The equestrian portraits of Philip III, Queen Margarita, and Queen Isabella were painted sometime before 1630, the first two, and perhaps all three, probably by Bartolomé González, who died in 1627. They were partly repainted by Velázquez about 1634. In these three pictures, as well as in the three equestrian portraits of Philip IV, Olivares, and Prince Balthasar Carlos (which are entirely by Velázquez and also of 1634), the horses are derived from Stradanus's series of the twelve Roman Emperors on horseback. This explains the unusual pose of the prince's horse, for which far-fetched explanations have been given. Apparently only Roman emperors were considered worthy models for Spanish royalty.[36] Velázquez's equestrian portraits offer spectacular examples of brilliant painting, especially in the head of Isabella's horse, the bust of the young prince, and the landscapes in the background suggesting the Guadarrama mountains near Madrid. The most breathtaking of all is the Olivares,[37] and here the most dazzling performance is the fluffy, gold-embroidered baldric, a piece of impressionistic, airy bravura equalled only by the freedom in handling shimmering silks in the *Silver Philip* of about 1635 and in the *Fraga Philip* of 1644 (New York, Frick Collection).[38]

Also from the 1630s, Velázquez's most fruitful period, are several religious compositions, the earliest a *St Thomas Aquinas comforted by Angels after his Temptation* (about 1631–2, Orihuela), stylistically mid-way between Velázquez's Roman paintings and his *Surrender of Breda*. Free from any sentimentality, the artist here rendered homage to seventeenth-century conventual Spain. Venetian reminiscences linger in the departing temptress, while the main figures show Velázquez's study of Gentileschi. A masterful still-life in the foreground was to reappear with variations in the *Dwarf El Primo* and the *Menippus* (both Prado).

About 1634–5 may be suggested as the date for *The Meeting of St Anthony Abbot and St Paul* (Prado, from the Hermitage of San Pablo, built in 1634 and transformed into a theatre by 1656). Angulo[39] has shown that the composition is partly derived from a Dürer print and from the landscape in Patinir's *St Jerome* (Prado). However, it also seems related to an engraving of the same subject by Claude Mellan, which may be a decade later and go back to a joint source not yet found. The main motif is the raven, bringing a whole loaf of bread instead of a half one, while in the background are seen, in the manner of Gothic painters and of Zurbarán, several other scenes from the life of St Anthony, one of them inspired by A. Tempesta.[40] The canvas is closest in style to the *Surrender of Breda* and the equestrian portraits.

The *Coronation of the Virgin* (Prado, from the queen's Oratory) can be dated on stylistic grounds about 1635–40 and derives, according to Angulo,[41] from various sources, including a Dürer print (also used by Greco), a Greco painting, and perhaps one by Ribera. One may suggest that the pose of the main figures and the broad, gentle mood of the picture are most closely anticipated in Rubens's *Coronation* of about 1625 (Brussels) and in two Flemish prints, one after Marten de Vos, dated 1576, the other probably also after Marten de Vos, executed by Karel de Mallery.[42] From these divergent elements Velázquez created a new harmony, which is thoroughly Sevillian in spirit. The chaste sanctity of the Virgin is indicated by warm blues and clarets sounding in unison with the deep lilacs of Christ and God the Father. The picture proves once more how wrong it would be to accuse Velázquez of lacking religious conviction.

Towards the end of the 1630s, as occurred simultaneously in the art of Zurbarán, Velázquez's compositions grew quieter, more muted and solemn. The High Baroque was coming to an end, and everywhere in Europe the much calmer Classical Baroque made its appearance. This transformation may be observed in Velázquez's portraits and mythological scenes. One may group in the late 1630s: *Francesco d'Este, Duke of Modena* (1638, Modena); *Olivares* (Hermitage); *Prince Balthasar Carlos, Philip IV*, and *Queen Isabella* (all Vienna). The first two are bust-lengths, concentrated and economic. Velázquez was to favour this mode of representation during and after his second Italian journey. In the Modena picture one notices watercolour-like passages in the baldric, a technique increasingly used during the 1640s and 1650s. The *Olivares* (possibly a studio copy after a lost original) is a few years later both in style and sitter's age than the equestrian portrait of 1634, and can be dated *c.* 1638. It was copied in that year in an engraving 'by Paneels after Velázquez'. The *Balthasar Carlos* (Vienna), showing the prince about ten years old and considerably more mature than in the *Hunting Portrait* (Prado), where he was six, has been doubted because it is less dashing and brilliant than the portraits of the mid thirties. This modification was, however, intentional, in line with changing ideals. A marvellous airiness, depth, and awareness of space and atmosphere distinguish the picture, proving Velázquez's authorship. A quiet harmony of colours reigns between the black and silver of the uniform and the wine-red of chair, curtain, and table, edged in gold. Nor does the interesting breaking-up of the background disturb the great simplicity of the picture, which in style and dress can only be three or four years later than the London *Silver Philip*. The portraits of Philip IV and Queen Isabella (Vienna, perhaps with slight help from assistants) have been dated too early because documents mention the sending of royal portraits to Germany in 1632. Yet the style as well as the sitters' dresses and poses point to about 1638. The king's likeness is a fragment or a replica of a full-length that looked like the studio work in the Hermitage, modelled after the *Silver Philip* but older and in a setting like the Vienna *Balthasar Carlos*. The king is of the same age in the studio work, probably by Mazo, at Hampton Court, which was sent to England in 1638. As for the queen, the Vienna picture is also a fragment or a replica of a full-length portrait which must have looked like the studio work of 1638, probably by Mazo, at Hampton Court. Another replica (Chicago), often ascribed to Velázquez, is, in the writer's opinion, by Mazo.

Three intensely poetic mythological works, once in the royal hunting-lodge Torre de la Parada [43] and perhaps painted for it, reflect a similar turn towards greater calm and meditation: *Aesop* and *Menippus* may be dated about 1638–41, *Mars* a year or two later. Immediate predecessors were Rubens's *Heraclitus* and *Democritus* of 1603 (Prado, from the Torre de la Parada) and Ribera's Greek beggar philosophers impersonated by grinning tatterdemalions from the Neapolitan slums. But Velázquez's aim is not so much to amuse as to lead to contemplation and reflection. His *Aesop* and *Menippus* are painted in sombre browns and blackish blue-greys, before a grey background. They stand amidst subtle still-lifes surpassing in airiness similar details of the early thirties. While Aesop's head shows thick impasto, Mars is brushed in broad and sweeping inky strokes, having the thinness and transparency of water-colour. Translucent red and grey glazes insinuate the outlines, and the helmet is suggested by sparkling touches of grey and yellow. Such impressionistic, lyrical harmony of human skin and draperies, bathed in warm light or apprehended in semi-darkness, was not attempted again until Corot.

Like Zurbarán, Velázquez seems to have painted very few pictures in the 1640s. He became assistant to the superintendent of special royal building-projects in June 1643. Travelling constantly with the king and increasingly absorbed in palace duties, he had little time left for art. In 1640, after eighty years of Spanish rule, the Portuguese declared their independence. The Catalans rebelled and the French, helping them, soon tore Roussillon from the Spanish crown. At the urging of his people the king left Madrid in April 1642 for the war zone. On another journey, in June 1644 near the battle lines at Fraga in Aragon, Velázquez portrayed his king wearing the costume described by contemporary chroniclers: a red coat with silver trimming, a red-and-silver baldric, flat white lace-edged collar and cuffs, and a yellow doublet worn under his coat (New York, Frick Collection). Sleeve, sword-handle, and cape are miraculously spirited and sophisticated through plastically effective, swiftly placed accents. At a distance these fuse, producing a vivid illusion of reality. The head is less impressive. This picture was immediately sent to the queen, who exhibited it to the people of Madrid shortly before her death in October. In that year Velázquez also painted the Court Dwarf Diego de Acedo, called *El Primo*. Stylistic evidence points to the same date for the *Dwarf Sebastián de Morra* (both Prado). Morra was in Spain from 1643 to 1649. Velázquez is here more relaxed, harmonious, and unified than in his paintings of the Idiots *Lezcano* and *Calabazas* (Plate 138A), of about 1635. A balanced classicism of broad forms has replaced the more active and complex High Baroque shapes.[44] Calabazas, by his constrained and crowded pose, makes you feel his insecurity, his disturbed and repressed condition. Velázquez painted him with touches so thin that the canvas grain shows throughout the face. The diaphanous brushwork anticipates that of Velázquez's Roman likenesses of 1650. That the light of wit has left his face is suggested by the dim lights playing on the countenance and by the eyes set deep in their sockets. Hazy, grey touches denote the pupils, with traces of a very transparent pink and smoky black above them. The nose and upper lip also seem vague, while the lower lip is a little more strongly modelled. All contours fuse very gradually into the darks of the hair. The collar is lightly brushed with touches of liquid, milky hue, grey, black, and dark blue. Long, thin strokes and tinges of red-pink define the extremely sketchy hands and suggest motion. Calabashes or gourds, a play on his name Calabazas, establish the identity of the sitter. Velázquez used as a model an etching, *The Desperate Man*, by Dürer.[45] In a transformation of shapes typical of Velázquez, he developed the gourd from the well-formed breasts of a sleeping woman in the German print.

Eloquent testimony of Velázquez's wide range of expression is a comparison of the *Calabazas* (Plate 138A) with the *Silver Philip* (Plate 136), both of *c.* 1635. The fool wears sombre grey-black, the ruler a dazzling umber-brown embroidered in silver, against grey and red accessories, a rich and dignified harmony. His stance is commanding. The face spells reserve, shyness, and sensitivity. This head, too, is painted in thinnest glazes. The ground is used in the shadows, for instance the moustache, and the canvas grain comes through. Seeing side by side the two heads of Philip IV in the National Gallery, separated by more than twenty years, one appreciates Velázquez's understanding in recording time's action upon a human face, upon man's thoughts and passions. The artist shows man's victories and his defeats. Both heads are equally firm in underlying structure, but the later is infinitely lighter and airier, breathed upon the canvas rather than painted. In accordance with Classical Baroque preference, the pose is more frontal, directly engaging the spectator. The lighting is less brilliant in order to decrease contrast with the dress. An air of pessimism veils the face. Velázquez's successors until the end of the century continued his portrait style.

Velázquez excelled not only in life-size portraits but also in painting scenes with small figures, not larger than a hand, and he was readily imitated by Mazo in both dimensions. However, up to now Velázquez has not received the credit he deserves for these small figure pictures. Contrary to the opinion of the latest Prado catalogue, the foreground figures in the *View of Saragossa* (Prado, signed by Mazo in 1647) seem by Velázquez and among his great creations. Their technique corresponds to that of the *Medici Gardens* of 1650 (Prado). The houses and tiny figures on the opposite beach may well be also by Velázquez. His *Fight before the Spanish Embassy* (1630) and the *Wild Boar Hunt* (1631) should be compared. What Mazo could do in this type of work can be seen in the background of his *Portrait of a Child* (Toledo, Ohio, from Count Harrach's Collection), and of the Vienna *Family* (Plate 155).[46]

In November 1646 the court returned to Madrid, grief-stricken because of the death of Prince Balthasar Carlos in October at Saragossa. Velázquez received new appointments, burdening him with duties of etiquette and administration and keeping him away from painting. Not always supported by the king, he had to fight other courtiers for seniority and usually for payment of his salary, often in arrears for many years. By 1648 the crown owed him over 6,000 ducats (about £3,500 or $10,000) for paintings done from 1628 to 1640. Velázquez generously remitted this debt in exchange for a salary increase of 200 ducats a year (as superintendent of palace building).

His greatest portrait of the 1640s, and perhaps the greatest of all his female portraits, is the *Lady with a Fan* [47] of about 1648 (London, Wallace Collection), surely his daughter Francisca, the wife of Mazo. Such bearing, dignity, and human warmth do not recur in Spanish painting until Goya's *Doña Francisca Sabasa García* (Washington). Both ladies belonged to the middle class rather than the high aristocracy. The identification of the *Lady with a Fan* with Francisca Velázquez del Mazo is made certain by Mazo's *Lady with a Mantilla* (Chatsworth) representing the same woman. The *Lady with a Fan* can also be recognized as Velázquez's daughter by another portrait of her by her father, the *Needlewoman* (Washington). Painted about 1640–5 and unfinished, it shows her dark brown hair, 'widow's peak', high forehead, straight nose, small mouth and chin, her full and high bosom, and her large hands.[48]

THE SECOND ITALIAN JOURNEY 1649–51

So time-consuming were Velázquez's duties between 1636 and 1648 that only about twenty paintings survive. Increasingly occupied with the decoration of the royal palaces, he finally obtained the king's leave to go again to Italy, there to buy for his master casts of antique sculpture and paintings by Raphael, Parmigiano, Titian, Veronese, Bassano, and others. Also in the air were plans for a Royal Academy. This idea and the request for antique casts were symptomatic of the arrival of the Classical Baroque. But Velázquez wanted above all to see new things, to relax, and to paint free from pressure. As far as Genoa he travelled with the Duke of Nájera, whose mission it was to accompany the future queen, Mariana of Austria, to Spain. Reaching Genoa on 11 March 1649 by boat from Malaga, Velázquez hastened by way of Milan and Padua to Venice. There he bought portraits and the *Venus and Adonis* (Prado) by Veronese; and by Tintoretto a *Conversion of St Paul* (lost; probably the one Vasari described at S. Maria Zobenigo), a replica or copy of Tintoretto's *Paradise*, and a marvellous late Tintoretto ceiling comprising seven (not six) Old Testament scenes (all Prado). Velázquez visited Bologna, Modena, and Parma, then Florence, and after a brief stay in Rome went to Naples. Everywhere he studied the artists who interested him most, especially Raphael, Correggio, and Michelangelo. At Modena, in the spring of 1649, Velázquez may have painted a *Knight of Santiago* (Dresden). Returning from Naples (where he saw Ribera again) to Rome, he arrived shortly before the beginning of the Jubilee Year, 1650. He probably met Bernini, Algardi, Poussin, Preti, Cortona, Sacchi, Maratta, and Salvator Rosa. The Spanish painter was lionized by Roman artists, society, and the papal court. Free to do as he pleased, he painted, besides several unfinished portrait sketches, eleven or more portraits, of which at least five survive: *Innocent X* (Rome, Doria Palace); *Juan de Pareja*, Velázquez's assistant who accompanied him on his Italian journey (Longford Castle, Earl of Radnor); *Cardinal Camillo Astalli* (New York, Hispanic Society); *Monsignor Camillo Massimi* (Kingston Lacy, Ralph Bankes); and an unidentified bust, probably Monsignor Michelangelo, the pope's barber (New York, Wildenstein Galleries).[49]

The *Innocent X*[50] (Plate 138B) is Velázquez's finest portrait, painted in thin, liquid glazes disclosing a canvas grain as coarse as the features of the sitter. Breadth, harmony, and humanism have seldom in the history of painting reached a more superb climax. With extreme vitality Velázquez characterized this suspicious, secretive, and essentially youthful old man. His personality leaps from the canvas. The extraordinary plasticity of the figure is emphasized by the position of the right hand. Through the utmost economy of detail the maximum effect is achieved with a minimum of effort. The hands are lucent against the cool whites, while the vivacity of the reddish face is fully realized by the harmonious, smouldering red tones of the round cap, the *mozetta*, and the curtain. Although the left hand, holding a paper with the artist's signature, typifies Velázquez's style, the rest of the picture, including the right hand, is Titianesque. Except for the *Pareja*, painted in a firmer manner, less loose, thin, and transparent, all these Roman portraits by Velázquez are Titianesque, amazingly delicate and impressionistic in handling. By means of their sketchy quality they achieve a great immediacy as well as power of characterization.

Velázquez surpassed the increasingly important Roman school of architectural landscape painting with his two views of the *Medici Gardens*. In their classical balance and airy lightness they foreshadow French nineteenth-century painting from Corot to

Manet and Pissarro. The larger view (Prado, no. 1210), lit from the right, suggests a monumental, serene autumn mood. In the centre, a sheet lowered over the balustrade is lighter in value than the neighbouring soft greys with touches of pink and light-blue. In the other picture (no. 1211; Plate 139A), below trembling, pointillist leaves, a white-shirted man rushes towards the right. Cézanne would have been pleased with the neatly horizontal sun-spots on the ground. How space is felt between the arcades! How the air vibrates in the trees and in the spotty, diffused light! Both pictures are extraordinarily successful studies of light, space, and the mood of nature tamed by man.

It was recently found that the *Venus and Cupid* ('Rokeby Venus', London, National Gallery; Plate 135) was also painted during the Italian journey. It is recorded first in June 1651 in the Madrid collection of Gaspar de Haro, Marquis of Carpio and Heliche. He was a grand-nephew of Olivares and a son of Luis Méndez de Haro, who had replaced Olivares in 1643 as the king's favourite minister. The picture is derived from an engraving by Philip Galle after a painting by Antonie van Blocklandt (1533–83), the same Dutch painter from whom Greco had borrowed repeatedly (see p. 218).[51] Velázquez's Venus is similar to Blocklandt's (Plate 140B) in view, shape, position, proportions, and muscle structure. Infra-red photographs disclose that originally Velázquez had painted the profile of Venus turned further to the left, showing (as in the print) nose, lips, and chin. The Cupid also is derived from the print. However, Velázquez made significant changes in mood and meaning. He transformed a twisted, angular, and nervous Mannerist scene into a quiet, unified structure characteristic of the classical phase of the Baroque, and he eliminated Adonis and other elements of tension. The mirror introduced by him furnishes the key to his intentions, because, in contrast to Italian representations, Velázquez's Venus is not actively preening herself but passively contemplative. Furthermore, the mirror image is blurred, not clear, showing a woman slightly older and less beautiful than the youthful figure and the profile of the 'first state' would lead one to expect. Velázquez, as a Catholic, was predisposed towards moral interpretations. His teacher and father-in-law, Pacheco, stated in 1648 that painting stood in the service of God. Far from being the cold representative of art-for-art's-sake which the nineteenth century saw in him, Velázquez was concerned with the salvation of the individual, as Lafuente Ferrari has pointed out.[52] Eternity, responsibility, and salvation underlie Velázquez's art. The mirror, and particularly the hazy image of fading beauty, point to the motif of *vanitas*, in the sense both of conceit and of transitoriness. Redemption occupied the mind of all Catholics, especially in Spain. Mirrors, the all-seeing eye of God, help us to realize our blemishes. The image in the glass evokes a feeling that Venus reflects on the tragic sense of life, to quote Unamuno, and on the ultimate destiny of man. Thoroughly in agreement with the Spanish Baroque mood around 1650, a feeling of contemplation is apparent throughout the picture. Velázquez was a realist, not a mystic. Yet he possessed great spiritual and poetic sensitivity. More than any other Venus, Velázquez's reminds us, beneath a beautiful and seductive surface, of the religious, introspective side of life. Velázquez thus went far beyond the immediate or primary meaning, according to which Venus or Feminine Beauty is represented as a nude woman holding a mirror.

THE LAST YEARS 1651–60

While the artist thus created in Italy some of his greatest paintings, the king grew increasingly impatient for his return, and repeatedly ordered him home. Velázquez left Rome in November 1650 for Modena and was back in Madrid by June 1651, at once more tightly in harness than ever. In February 1652, at his solicitation, Philip IV appointed him Grand Marshal of the Palace against six other candidates.[53] This put him in charge of royal buildings, their decoration, and their works of art and furnishings. He arranged public festivities, masquerades, tournaments, theatre performances, and the frequent royal voyages. He supervised the completion of the royal Pantheon in the Escorial, where he installed in the sacristy a new gallery with forty-one of the king's choicest paintings (by Raphael, Correggio, Giorgione, Titian, and Veronese, some bought by the Spanish Ambassador in London at the sale of the unfortunate Charles I, some by Velázquez in Italy). The rest of the king's incomparable collection he rearranged in the old Alcázar and in the new Buen Retiro Palace at Madrid, as well as in the Torre de la Parada nearby. Small wonder that Velázquez painted less than fifteen canvases in the nine years between his return from Italy and his death: several portraits, a large group portrait, and five mythological pictures of which two survive.[54]

All Velázquez's late portraits represent members of the royal family and all are in the Prado or in Vienna, except for the last extant likeness of Philip IV (National Gallery). Velázquez's first task after his return was to paint the new Queen Mariana, who, not yet fifteen years old, had been married to her forty-five-year-old uncle King Philip IV in October 1649. The queen is seen full-length, her right hand on the back of a chair and her left hanging down and holding a huge handkerchief. This pose was developed from portraits of the former queen, Isabella, painted before Velázquez's arrival at court in 1623. Velázquez made it more sombre, grave, and grandiloquent, in keeping with the mood of the 1650s. The queen's dark dress, embroidered in silver, is relieved by vermilion loops in her hair and at the wrists, and by the white-and-vermilion feather. The skin, done with a fine dragging brush, is almost transparent, pink glazes thinly covering light blues, while the shadows are suggested by Venetian red. For character, depth, airiness, and a feeling of texture, this is one of Velázquez's best portraits. No wonder the original (Prado) was copied immediately at least a dozen times (good studio versions, probably by Mazo, in the Louvre and in Kansas City). In 1651 Velázquez had painted King Philip's daughter, the Infanta Maria Teresa (Metropolitan Museum), and in the winter of 1652 he painted her again, in a white-and-silver dress, full-length, but later cut (Vienna).

The children of Philip IV and Queen Mariana were now the main interest and delight of the court. Velázquez painted the young Infanta Margarita (born 1651, the future wife of Emperor Leopold of Germany) at least five times: in 1653 and 1656 (both Vienna), again in 1656 as the centre figure of the *Maids of Honour*, in 1659 (Vienna), and in 1660 (Prado, finished by Mazo, about 1662–4). These portraits and that of her brother, the Infante Philip Prosper (1659, Vienna), show Velázquez's never-surpassed understanding of the delicacy and frailty of childhood. In spite of his auspicious name, Philip Prosper was to die soon after, in 1661, and Margarita in 1673, not yet twenty-three, after seven years of marriage. These blue-eyed, fair-haired children appear shy and wise beyond their years, just as Sánchez Coello had painted young Spanish princes almost a century earlier. However, Velázquez's touch renders them vastly more human, wistful, and convincingly alive. While Sánchez Coello's approach was Mannerist and draughtsmanlike, Velázquez's is Baroque and painterly, achieving informality and instantaneousness. Although the textures are painted as if by magic and seem to become real under our very eyes, a bond of human sympathy between artist and sitter communicates itself to the spectator and triumphs over pomp and splendour.

Not less moving are two of the last likenesses of Velázquez's royal friend and master, both immediately used for dated engravings: the one in the Prado (1655) and the other in the National Gallery (1657). The head in the Prado is less chalky and less fused. The eyes are still modelled as in earlier pictures, of fairly regular shape, the eyelids having their full fleshiness. Lips, chin, and beard are firmer. The hair is suggested by browns, pinks, and Venetian reds, without the highlights of the London version. There the eyes are sketchy, and the shadows around the eyes and mouth and below the nose much deeper. The London Philip seems more royal, but also older, more pessimistic, and almost destroyed by life. One cannot look at the picture without compassion, reminded of Philip's remark to his confidante, Sor María de Agreda: 'Ah, Sor María! What grievous blows Our Lord gives me!' For all his royal bearing, the older Philip IV grows, the more he seems defeated by life. His first wife and most of his children died before him and before their time.

The *Maids of Honour* ('Las Meninas', Prado; Plate 139B) represents the Infanta Margarita with her court ladies in a room in the old Alcázar at Madrid.[55] Velázquez, it is said, was painting the king and queen, whose heads are reflected in a mirror at the back, and while so engaged the princess and her ladies entered the room, whereupon the artist at the king's request quickly fixed the charming interlopers on canvas. Such a nineteenth-century interpretation forgets that Velázquez did not paint, snapshot-like, on the spur of the moment, but only after long reflection. On the left the artist showed himself before a huge canvas, much too large for a double portrait. Furthermore, no record of any such royal double portrait exists. Surely Velázquez wished to present himself as depicting the very scene which the spectator contemplates, that is the princess and her ladies. In 1629 Velázquez had watched Rubens paint a self-portrait into the *Adoration* of 1609 (Prado). By projecting himself into the scene, painting from a mirror as it were, Velázquez established that unity of action and thought aimed at by the Baroque. He showed himself not as actually putting the brush to the canvas, but as reflecting, brush in hand. The *Maids of Honour* thus becomes not only a glorification of Philip IV's court but of Velázquez, as part of that court, in the act of pondering an idea. In this way the *Maids of Honour* is the artist's defence of the nobility of painting as a liberal art, an art of the mind rather than merely of the hand. Luca Giordano called the picture the 'theology of painting', meaning it comprised all there is to this art. Only before the original can one be fully aware of Velázquez's gift for abbreviation. The lightness of touch is incomparable; one seems to perceive the atmosphere flowing around the figures. The gradation of light goes from foreground to background, from the centre to the periphery. As in the Mannerist pictures of the sixteenth century, the light-filled opening in the background provides a funnel effect, drawing one into and through the painting. But, in contrast to Mannerist painting, Velázquez's space is measurable and finite.

The cross of Santiago on Velázquez's breast was painted into the picture at the king's command after the artist's death. Although Velázquez, as early as 1650, had asked Innocent X to recommend him to Philip IV for a noble Military Order, the painter did not receive one – owing probably to the opposition of the nobles – until June 1658, and was entitled to wear it only after November 1659, less than a year before his death.

Velázquez's poetic interweaving of mythology and reality is nowhere more accomplished than in the *Fable of Arachne* of 1657 (Prado), misunderstood until Angulo's basic research[56] a few years ago as the *Tapestry Weavers* ('Las Hilanderas') or the *Tapestry Factory of Santa Isabel in Madrid*. Compositionally, the two main figures in the foreground and the light-flooded scene farther back derive from Michelangelo's ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, of which Velázquez had made a special study when in Rome. The old woman spinning in the foreground could be Pallas Athene, although Ovid (VI, 1–4) says she discarded her disguise before engaging in a weaving contest with Arachne. Should the latter be identified with the young woman on the extreme left or with the one winding yarn on the right? The women in the foreground may be helpmates of Arachne, or the Fates weaving her life-thread, or, at least as concerns the compositional genesis of the scene, the daughters of Mynias. In the farthest background we see a tapestry of the *Rape of Europa*, copied from Titian's picture then in the royal palace (now Boston, Gardner Museum). This was the first theme woven by Arachne to ridicule the peccadilloes of Jupiter, Pallas's father. Ovid tells how Arachne, insulted by the angry goddess, tried to hang herself and how she was changed by Pallas into a spider. This explains the bass viol in the background; for music, until the age of enlightenment, was considered the best antidote against poisonous spider-bite. The helmeted Pallas, raising her arm, is about to transform Arachne, while the other ladies in the background may be the Lydian women watching the contest. In this picture Velázquez once more developed a moral theme in terms of palpable genre-like reality: divine power punishing human pride. He had stressed this subject in the background of the *Maids of Honour*, where he placed Mazo's copies of Rubens's *Pallas and Arachne* and of Jordaens's *Apollo and Marsyas*, both signifying the Gods chastising man's presumption, and at the same time the triumph of true, divine artists over mediocrity, that is the divine origin of the arts.

In the *Maids of Honour* and the *Fable of Arachne*, Velázquez created a totality of action, movement, space, and light, so true to life and so compellingly unified that the spectator to this day feels part of the painted picture, identifying himself with it. The effect of these two pictures, timeless yet catching a moment, cannot be fully explained rationally. Velázquez's testament was lyric poetry, as mystically suggested by Élie Faure: '... *un*

chant s'élève, un chant lointain fait des obscures mouvements de la vie, des montées et des fins de iour, un chant attenué qui ressemble aux voix du silence ...'.

Italy, land of Ovid, was foremost in Velázquez's mind. In 1657 the king refused his request for leave to re-visit Italy (granting it instead to Mazo), and in 1658, on Velázquez's advice, he called to Madrid Michelangelo Colonna and Agostino Mitelli to revive in Spain the art of fresco-painting, not practised at the court since 1610. The two Italians decorated the royal quarters al fresco with stories from Ovid. Part of the task was carried out by two Spaniards, F. Rizi and Carreño (see pp. 285–6), whom they made their apprentices. Velázquez too, shortly before his death, painted four scenes from Ovid, of which only the *Mercury and Argos* (Prado) survives. This is one of his most poetic inventions, recalling Tintoretto in patterns, lighting, and sketchiness. Argos may have been suggested by classical statues seen in Rome. Though quickly executed by the barest touches of a broad brush, the picture reflects profound, harmonious vision: the storm-clouds forebode murder, while the colours sustain the mood, yet transform it into a dream-like, lyric make-believe. Blackish greys, creamy greys, carmines, pinks, and touches of vermilion are brought into play.

On 14 April 1660 Velázquez, Mazo, and their assistants left Madrid to travel ahead of the court to the French border. All along the road they had to arrange for royal quarters, and on the Isle of Pheasants in the Bidassoa River between Irún and Hendaye to supervise the erection of the elaborate temporary buildings where Philip IV and Louis XIV were to meet. Here the Spanish king's daughter Maria Teresa was given as bride to the youthful French ruler. At the wedding Velázquez attracted all eyes by his bearing and elegance. Exhausted from his strenuous duties, he died at Madrid six weeks later, on 6 August 1660. His widow survived him by only seven days.

CHAPTER 15

CANO AND MURILLO

CANO (1601–67)

ALONSO CANO[1] was active at Granada, Seville, Madrid, Valencia, and Malaga, linking these schools through his example. Born in Granada in 1601, he moved with his family to Seville in 1614 and at fifteen was, for eight months or more, an apprentice of Pacheco. He is said to have studied painting later under Juan del Castillo, while in sculpture Martínez Montañés influenced him most. Cano's father, Miguel, a prosperous joiner and contractor for large altars, taught him the rudiments of architecture and sculpture. From 1628 till 1637 father and son shared many commissions, the most important being an altar at Lebrija (1629–31). In 1626 Cano was received as master painter, and in the same year declined an invitation (subsequently accepted by Zurbarán) to paint a series of pictures for the Mercedarian cloister. Until the end of 1637 Cano was among the foremost painters and sculptors at Seville.

His paintings in the late 1620s are Zurbaranesque in their severe monumentality. In accord with Early Baroque preference, they stress lines and strong *tenebroso* contrasts. Examples are the *St Francis Borgia* of 1624 (Seville, no. 189, formerly attributed to Zurbarán); the *Ecce Homo* (La Campana, Consolación); and a *Via Crucis* (Worcester, Massachusetts) which is bold in design, powerful in effect, and violent in foreshortening. Cano became less sombre, less tight, and more airy in his later paintings at Seville around 1635: a *St Agnes* (Berlin, lost in 1945) and a *Vision of St John Evangelist* (London, Wallace Collection, from Santa Paula, Seville). These paintings are still fairly sharp and linear, but the brushwork seems more oily. In the *St John* (Plate 141) lighter hues – white, pink, grass-green, emerald, and grey – harmonize before a golden sky. The angel wears olive-green.

1636 saw Cano in jail as a penniless debtor. In 1637[2] he wounded in a duel his colleague, Sebastián de Llano Valdés[3] (*c.* 1600–*c.* 1676). So in January 1638 Cano left Seville for the Spanish court, accepting a call from Olivares. Velázquez, remembering his boyhood companionship with Cano when both were apprentices in Pacheco's studio, probably suggested the invitation. Cano went to Madrid empowered by his Sevillian colleagues to plead their cause against the payment of taxes in a case then pending before the Royal Council. This tax (the *alcabala*) was due from craftsmen and ordinary citizens, not from those exercising the liberal arts. In fighting it, the Sevillians, like their brothers in Madrid throughout the seventeenth century, were successfully defending the social standing of artists.[4]

At Madrid, Cano painted for the king and also received royal architectural commissions, including an arch for the triumphal entry of Queen Mariana in 1649. Its new style, in composition and proportions, was much admired. In 1638–40 Cano helped Velázquez in selecting paintings from the palace of Valladolid for the decoration of the royal palaces in the capital. Both painters repaired pictures damaged after a fire in the Buen Retiro.

In 1644 Cano's wife, aged twenty-five and married to him since 1631, was found dead with fifteen stab-wounds. The artist was arrested and tortured. By royal command his right arm and hand were not touched. Although set free when suspicion centred on a tramp whom Cano had used as a model, the painter fled to Valencia. There he hid for eighteen months in the Carthusian monastery of Portacoeli, before returning secretly to Madrid in 1645.

In Madrid Cano did some of his greatest paintings (now in the Prado, besides two altars at Getafe near Madrid, 1645). The *Descent into Limbo* (*c.* 1637–40, Los Angeles; Plate 142), perhaps painted still in Seville, is related to a drawing of an Angel with Flag (Prado) which Wethey [5] dates 1635–8. Three nude figures – a man, a woman, and a boy – appear against a red-ochre background. The representation of a woman in the nude is of the greatest rarity in Baroque Spain, none but a few examples by Velázquez coming to mind. Even more important is *St Isidore's Miracle of the Well* of 1645–6 (Prado, from the main altar of Santa María), very light and impressionistic – under the influence of Velázquez and perhaps of Jusepe Leonardo. It foreshadows some of the atmospheric effects of Velázquez's *Fable of Arachne*, in its rich scale of whitish greys. Subtle carmine, pink, orange, yellow, and olive green provide local colour. Cano stayed in Madrid until 1651, when, at his request, the king appointed him to a prebendary at Granada Cathedral. His ignorance of Latin and of theology and procrastination in having himself ordained as a priest brought endless conflicts, necessitating his return to Madrid from 1657 to 1660. The king's active support gained him, finally, an ordination as sub-deacon and the definitive appointment by the cathedral chapter.

In his Granada period (1652 to his death in 1667) Cano painted, drew, and made small, excellent sculpture (p. 152) much in the style of his paintings. Four months before his death his design for the new façade of Granada Cathedral was approved (Plate 9B). Besides this great achievement, his main paintings at Granada are the seven *Mysteries of the Virgin* at Granada Cathedral, and various works for the Franciscan nuns of the Convento del Angel. Cano, like his contemporary Zurbarán, stressed in these late examples gentleness, harmony, fusion, classic balance, and symmetry. Both artists produced some of the most sculpturesque, voluminous works of the Spanish Baroque. To rest from painting Cano wielded the hammer and chisel, because to him painting was the more difficult art, creating volume where none existed. Lazy and witty, he would talk about art on the least provocation. Palomino records that Cano would 'make use of the most worthless prints, even those of broadsides sold in the street; because taking away and adding he used them as starting point for marvellous ideas; and when some painters chided him for this as being unworthy of a great inventor, he would answer: "Let them do likewise, I forgive them". And he was right, because this was not stealing, but gaining inspiration; because, after all, what he created was no longer what he had observed.'

This acute statement, applicable to all major artists of the Baroque, and perhaps even to our own time, is particularly true of Greco, Zurbarán, Velázquez, Cano, Murillo, and later Goya, all of whom usually employed some existing print as a starting-point for their compositions.[6]

The elegant gracefulness of Cano's art contrasts with the violence and restlessness of his life, his perpetual poverty, his morbid and superstitious hatred of the Jews, his terrible temper and artistic pride, and his jealousy and quarrelsomeness. Charitable towards the poor, he was a fanatic Christian to whom entry into religious orders finally became a spiritual necessity.

Cano was the foremost and most prolific draughtsman of the Spanish Baroque. His luminous late paintings, the *Death of a Franciscan Saint* (Madrid, Academy), and *St Bernardine of Siena with St John Capistrano* (Granada, Museum, from the main altar of San Antonio) influenced the school of Madrid and especially artists like Carreño, Cerezo, and Escalante.[7]

MURILLO (1617–82)

A hundred and fifty years ago Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's[8] name was praised as 'thrice harmonic, signifying everything, poesy, love, devotion, beauty, ecstasy, tenderness, and grace'. The eighteenth century valued him higher than Titian or Rubens, and the English aristocracy collected his works avidly. Until the Impressionists appeared he was esteemed one of the world's greatest painters. It has since become fashionable to disparage Murillo, comparing him to Dolci or to Mengs and calling him too sentimental. Artists in our time have favoured a dehumanization of the arts, as so lucidly explained by José Ortega y Gasset.[9] While one may admire the exploration of the universe in contemporary abstract art, the pendulum has begun to swing again towards an affirmation of human elements, and so it can be predicted that Murillo will once more be considered a great master.

He deserves such appraisal both for content and form. Keenly and sympathetically he observed ordinary people as well as genteel society, and he depicted both in many scenes from the Old and the New Testament, the lives of the saints, low-life genre pictures, and portraits. Since his works show much variety in style and in subject-matter, it is unfortunate that his name should be popularly linked only to Immaculate Conceptions or to holy children fondling lambs. Even in these themes he needs no apology: he treated them superbly and with freshness and diversity.

As Justi[10] stressed, Murillo's works possess unity of conception and execution, harmony of composition, proportions, colour, chiaroscuro, and brushwork. An accurate and facile draughtsman, Murillo developed a progressively more airy and vaporous mode, ever growing in subtlety, gracefulness, and rhythmic order. Solving artistic problems unobtrusively and with buoyant skill as well as elegance, he suggested peace of mind, contentment, and joyful devotion – feelings difficult to have, and therefore to appreciate, in our time. Starting out as an apprentice of Juan del Castillo, he consistently expanded his style towards the Late Baroque, anticipating at times the lightheartedness of the Rococo. His compositions seem right, yet effortless. In his accords of hues and his handling of light he was among the greatest artists of the seventeenth century.

The painter's life was uneventful. He was baptized in Seville, the sunny capital of Andalusia, on 1 January 1618, the youngest son of a well-to-do barber-surgeon. His parents having died when he was ten, the boy received a careful upbringing in the house of his brother-in-law, the surgeon Lagares. Murillo stayed in Seville all his life. An early journey to Madrid and a prolonged study there were assumed as facts by nineteenth-century writers, but are undocumented and probably fabrication.[11] Practically all his religious works were for the churches of Seville, and the portraits were for the local aristocracy. Sudden fame came to the artist by the cycle of eleven paintings[12] with Franciscan themes that he did in 1645 and 1646 for the Franciscan monastery at Seville. Thus successfully launched upon his career, he increasingly eclipsed Zurbarán in popularity and forthwith influenced the older master's style. Murillo was soon paid ten times as much as Zurbarán had ever received for a picture at the height of his career. Now undisputed leader of the artists of Seville, Murillo founded an academy of painting in 1660 and served as its first president. Of cheerful disposition, urbane, gentle, and charitable, Murillo was the Fra Angelico of Spanish painting. He had adequate wealth, and was a kind friend, a generous teacher, and a good father. Five of Murillo's nine children entered the Church. His ardent faith was sincerely expressed in his religious pictures, a sincerity sometimes wanting in the works of his Late Baroque contemporaries.

Murillo's greatest works date from after 1654: pictures for the cathedral; four pictures for Santa María la Blanca (1665);[13] twenty-three for the Capuchins (1665–6 and 1668–70);[14] eleven for the Hospital of Charity (Caridad; 1670–4); and four for the Hospital for Priests (Los Venerables; 1679).[15] Most of these canvases have found their way into the museum at Seville or into the Prado, others are dispersed all over the world, although some can still be seen in place in the Church of the Charity Hospital. His last great commission, the *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* for the main altar of the Capuchins at Cadiz, he was unable to finish, having been hurt in a fall from the scaffold and forced to return to Seville, where he spent the remaining months of his life in ill health. He died on 3 April 1682.

Murillo's earliest known paintings, probably to be dated between 1640 and 1645, show such strong influences from Zurbarán in the modelling of flesh and the drapery-folds, in types and composition, that some of them have been attributed to the older master or at least doubted as works by Murillo. This applies to the *St Agnes* (Lugano, H. Thyssen) and the *Double Trinity* (Stockholm, National Museum). In the latter picture Murillo copied a praying angel from an engraving after A. Bloemaert. Like his Spanish contemporaries, Murillo throughout his life developed compositions on the basis of Flemish, French, German, or Italian prints. Murillo early came also under the influence of paintings by Ribera. Thus, the *Huckstress* in the Munich Pinakothek, a painting often attributed to Ribera, is certainly by Murillo. The study of Ribera and of foreign prints soon enlarged Murillo's vision beyond the confines of Sevillian art. Most of the earliest works are light in tonality and show the Virgin carried by clouds and adored by Franciscan or Dominican saints.

In his cycle of paintings of 1645–6 for the Franciscan monastery at Seville, which are darker in tone, Murillo stressed strong chiaroscuro and more dramatic backgrounds. Sevillian types are accurately observed. These are not posed studio paintings but show contemporary life under the guise of Franciscan miracles. Gestures and expressions are truthful and relaxed, with the inborn gracefulness distinguishing Spaniards, and especially Andalusians, of all classes. The *St Diego of Alcalá feeding the Poor* in the Madrid Academy is derived from Pacheco's[16] *St Bernard giving Alms* of about 1620–5 at San Francisco el Grande in Madrid, but the composition is far better and the poses more natural.

Related in style to the Franciscan pictures is the signed *Flight into Egypt* of about 1645 in Detroit (Plate 144; another version, slightly later, in Genoa, Palazzo Bianco), inspired by an engraving after Marten de Vos. Murillo's painting is conceived in realistic terms with striking contrasts of light and dark. Here, as in his other pictures, Murillo shows, like Rubens, an innate aristocratic sense of balance and poise, forcefulness, directness, and a feeling for composition controlled by the classical Renaissance ideals, based on the circle, verticals, and horizontals. Both artists were virtuosi of the brush and painters of exceptionally good taste. Though Murillo never enjoyed the advantage of an Italian journey to copy and study classical models, his *Last Supper*, painted for Santa María la Blanca in 1650, seems especially close to Rubens's Italian paintings.

In the *Appearance of Christ to St Augustine* (Minneapolis, Walker Art Center), painted about 1655[17] for the nuns of San Leandro at Seville, Murillo converted a horizontal engraving from Schelte à Bolswert's *Life of St Augustine*, published at Antwerp in 1624, into a vertical scene.[18] The Sevillian painter fondly repeated even the detail of the shoes on the ground. But whereas Schelte, with Nordic romanticism, had presented a delightful forest of shady leaves and gnarled trees, exaggerating the idyllic aspect of hermit life, Murillo, as a good Spaniard, accentuated the ecclesiastic hierarchy, the Church itself, the mitre, and the crozier. Two other paintings, also done in 1655, may be largely independent, except for a touch of Ribera influence: the amazingly mature *St Isidro* and *St Leander* (both Seville Cathedral). They possess an increasing breadth, dignity, and mastery of composition. Joyfully buoyant and of fine atmospheric values is the *Vision of St Anthony* of 1656 (also at the cathedral). This huge picture measures 177 by 90½ inches.[19]

Murillo's pictures of beggar boys have been reproduced so frequently, and often so badly, that their appeal has faded, as may happen to a much-played gramophone record. The best are at Munich, the Louvre, and Dulwich. Yet the *Family Group* of about 1660 (Monroe, Michigan, Bergmann Collection; Plates 145A and 148A) shows how deftly the artist reached into the life of his people. This scene is objectively perceived, like pictures by the Le Nains, and it is timeless: with slight change of costume it is re-enacted daily in the crowded streets of Triana. There is nothing sordid or unhealthy in Murillo's faces; serious or smiling, they are always strong and vitally human. Vigorous local colours form exciting harmonies. A bold *alla prima* technique, perhaps derived from Ribera, sketches the features, disclosing an energy and a sureness of handling surprising to those not familiar with Murillo's work. The heads are sculptural and prove the painter's sound knowledge of anatomy. Very striking is the face of the mother, with its characteristic dark-crimson shadow areas.

Slightly later, about 1665–70, and therefore more subdued in contrast of light and shade, is the *Flower Girl*[20] (Dulwich; Plate 147). Here the discernment of sensitive colour variations is carried even farther in tones of russet, red, pink, brown, and yellow, the brushwork is more melting, and the atmosphere more hazy. This is an art of great distinction, of rightness of values, of nature carefully studied, seized, and yet ennobled. The apparent ease of execution should not prejudice one against the elegance and intensity with which the artist has perpetuated a moment of life.

One senses a study of the Venetians in that colouristic gem the *Marriage Feast at Cana*, of about 1665–70, in the Barber Institute at Birmingham (Plate 145B). As in Veronese's[21] canvases, a large group in an architectural setting is arranged with sovereign ease, but, in opposition to the aristocratic, courtly pomp of the Venetians and of his own contemporaries, Murillo developed the scene as a family affair in a middle-class milieu. Varied lights and darks, colours and volumes captivate the eye. Airy *valeurs* are rendered with growing mastery. The scene excites as a grand theatrical spectacle, typical of the Late Baroque.

This contrasts with the apparent simplicity of *Christ healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda* of 1670–4 in the National Gallery in London (Plate 146B, detail). Here the background scene is sketched quickly in silvery tones, lightly brushed in with scarcely any local colour. The delicate, rich, yet narrow range of tonal variations in the architectural framework produces a vivid sense of spaciousness. The structural grandeur and unity of the composition evoke a heightened awareness of life, elation, and a feeling of the rightness of the divine order of things, in spite of the wretched cripples and cankered bodies withering on the bare stone floor. For immediacy and directness of brushwork, especially in the group on the right, Murillo here need not fear comparison with the admirable sketches of Rubens. This picture is one of eight for the church of the Hospital of Charity founded for the poor and the incurable by Miguel de Mañara Vicentelo de Leca, *hermano mayor* of the Brotherhood of Charity since 1662. Valdés Leal painted for the upper choir the two famous pictures showing the vanity of earthly pomp (Plate 161B). Murillo was received into this religious and charitable brotherhood in 1665. Five years later he conceived his great series of pictures to glorify the purpose of the fraternity: nursing and caring for the sick, feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, rescuing the imprisoned, and receiving the tired pilgrim. Practical Christianity is here preached by stories from the Bible and the *Acta Sanctorum*: *St Elizabeth of Hungary washing the Sick*, *St John of God carrying an Invalid*, *The Feeding of the Five Thousand*, *Moses striking Water from the Rock*, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, *The Three Angels visiting Abraham*, *The Pool of Bethesda*, and *The Liberation of St Peter*.[22] The variety of subject-matter is surpassed only by the variety of treatment: day scenes, night pieces, devotional and narrative compositions, heavenly visions, and historic events – all told simply and as happenings of everyday life. Murillo here proved himself one of the greatest painters ever to have depicted the ordinary people, humbly and without phraseology. Like Rembrandt, the Le Nains, and many other Baroque painters, particularly in Spain, Murillo was truly democratic, a master of the anti-heroic scene in which the people, the group as a whole, is the protagonist.

Murillo's landscapes have received scant attention, though Sir William Stirling-Maxwell astutely declared them second in Spanish painting only to Velázquez's. Murillo's greatest landscape series are the five *Scenes of Jacob* for the Marquis of Villamanrique (two at the Hermitage; two formerly in London, Sabin Galleries, 1952, Plate 146A, and Duke of Westminster; one unrecorded since 1817). Though he knew the wooded rustic scenes by Iriarte, Murillo easily surpassed his contemporary in grandeur, liveliness, and movement. Murillo worked out the composition in personal terms, yet the motifs of trees, foliage, rocks, and lonely huts obviously came to him from Flemish engravings, perhaps after Marten de Vos. Possibly Murillo also saw paintings by Andrea di Lione. Typical of Murillo's imaginative and sensitive small-scale landscapes are *St Teresa praying* (Keir, Lt-Col. William Stirling of Keir), *Abraham and Jacob* and *Tobias and the Angel* (both Aynho, Oxon., Cartwright Collection).

His style as a portraitist is exemplified in his self-portrait, aged sixty (London; Plate 149, A and B), done for his children, whom he faces with warmth and directness. This picture has simplicity, elegance, and distinction. The atmosphere is now softly fusing, as is to be expected of Late Baroque works. The painted, oval roll-work frame, adopted from Antwerp engravings, became standard at Seville until well into the eighteenth century, and this fashion spread to Madrid. Many of Murillo's full-length portraits with architectural background are now in the United States (Metropolitan Museum and private collections). In the Prado is the *Knight* (long misnamed 'The Jew') and at the Duke of Alba's the likeness of Don Juan Antonio de Miranda of 1680 (once thought to represent Murillo's son Gabriel). The most refined and aristocratic of Murillo's late portraits is a Knight, of *c.* 1670–5, in a painted oval frame (Montreal, Van Horne Collection).

The *Santiago Madonna* of about 1670–5 (Metropolitan Museum; Plate 148B) may be the master's most accomplished picture anywhere in the Americas. Palomino called it Murillo's finest picture in Madrid when, over two hundred years ago, it was owned by the Marquis of Santiago. Mayer[23] pointed out that the composition is derived, in reverse, from Titian's *Madonna and the Child Christ* (Munich), then in the Escorial, thus furnishing additional proof that the Venetians, particularly Titian, are an important source of Murillo's misty and transparent late style. Since a journey by Murillo to Castile is not recorded, he may have known Titian's picture through a copy. The colouring of the *Santiago Madonna* is rich and subdued, and the curves of the composition flow with graceful ease. In variety and wealth of half-tones and shadows Murillo here, as often, reminds one of Rembrandt. Superbly rendered are the softness and warmth of the flesh, its pinkish and red tones. Divine love, or simply the miracle of a young baby, are suggested with great charm, tenderness, and a compelling sense of truth. Like all his mature pictures, Murillo's work is in the sensuous and poetic tradition of Correggio, Rubens, and Van Dyck. The model is a young woman from the middle classes of Seville, contrasting very much with Zurbarán's country girls from the fields of Extremadura, drawn firmly, which is again a contrast to Murillo's atmospheric treatment. As against the Andalusian joy of life and sense of well-being of Murillo, Zurbarán's virile mysticism and ascetic humility may require a greater conscious effort on the part of the non-Spanish spectator. In comparison to Zurbarán, Murillo is softer in modelling, pictorial rather than sculptural, and lighter in colour. He preferred ultramarine, pinkish vermilion, lilac, white, yellow, grey-blue, grey-violet, blue-green, orange-brown, and carmine tones, the light hues giving joyfulness and the darker ones dignity. His compositions such as the *Martyrdom of St Andrew* in the Prado (Plate 150) possess ease of movement, while Zurbarán's are of hieratic stiffness or, rather, stillness. In seizing a transitory expression Murillo re-created life. It has been said, speaking of Haiko, the manifestation of Zen Buddhism in Japanese literature, that there is nothing so momentous as the momentary, and this statement might be applied to Murillo's art as well.

The Andalusians are on terms of familiarity with the divinity: Christ and the Virgin Mary are not worshipped from afar in awe, but loved and sometimes chided like friends. Murillo's paintings, presenting the sacred story in a cheerful, unpretentious middle-class setting, reflect the spirit of worship of the Andalusian people and, with religious dignity, bring the Gospel close to daily life. It is characteristic of the Baroque, in contrast to Mannerism, that Murillo painted his divine personages and saints from models selected by him in everyday Seville. His choice of types was very personal. In Greco and even still in Rubens's Apostles one is aware of the ideal type, of an endeavour to be guided by iconographic precedent. In Murillo, as in Van Dyck's Apostles and in the holy figures by Ribera, the variety of physical types is great. To these painters, iconographic conformity mattered less than an inner psychological accord between the sitter chosen as model and the sacred character portrayed. This is especially true of Murillo's numerous paintings of the Virgin and the Child Christ. For generations he vied with Raphael as the most popular painter of this theme. The spectator is enthralled by the dark eyes of Murillo's Madonna or Child looking straight at him. Even a hardened art historian will pleasantly remember the deep and warm experience of first meeting this tender and serene gaze.

Murillo's Followers

Unlike Greco, Zurbarán, or Rubens, it seems that Murillo painted without assistants and executed his pictures entirely himself. Thus it is his followers rather than his workshop that need to be studied. The reproach of sentimentality often levelled against Murillo should be directed rather against some of his imitators. A sweet and sentimental 'Murillo' will usually turn out to be a school piece. Copies or imitations abounded in Seville and in Latin America beyond the eighteenth century. Through his school, his influence was strong in eighteenth-century painting, both in Latin America and in Spain.

Among the Sevillian followers of Murillo are his slave, Sebastián Gómez, called El Mulato de Murillo (not to be confused with another Sebastián Gómez, of Granada, who was a follower of Alonso Cano); Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio, knight of the Order of Malta, and Francisco Antolínez y Sarabia, lawyer and painter (both 1644–1700); Francisco Meneses Osorio and Juan Simón Gutiérrez (both active in the affairs of the Academy of Seville from 1666 to 1672); Esteban Márquez de Velasco (*c.* 1655–1720); Alonso Miguel de Tovar (1678–1758); and Bernardo Germán de Llorente (1681–1759). Most of these artists are represented in the Seville Museum, but their work has not been studied with sufficient precision to venture on distinctions of their styles.[24] They are responsible for most of the weaker paintings attributed to Murillo.

With a nobleman's flourish, Villavicencio presented to Charles II his best picture, *Boys playing Dice* (Prado). Though Murillesque in subject-matter, it is stylistically original, and its chiaroscuro modelling recalls that of Fray Juan Ricci rather than the school of Seville. Francisco Antolínez (who should not be confused with the far better José Antolínez) can be easily recognized by his numerous small, oblong landscapes with scenes from the life of the Virgin or the story of Jacob.[25] Meneses's works survive mainly in Cadiz (Capuchins). Germán Llorente[26] has become known as painter of the Virgin as shepherdess, but Tovar,[27] a better artist and good portraitist, painted this theme first, in 1703. Tovar was a cleric, an official of the Inquisition, and from 1726 until his death a court painter at Madrid.

CHAPTER 16

SPANISH PAINTING 1640–1800

BY 1640 the grandiose High Baroque scheme for the Buen Retiro and the vast commissions given Rubens for the Torre de la Parada were past. The loss of Portugal, the Catalan rebellion, and, in 1644, the death of the queen had a sobering effect. A classical *détente*, calmness, and solemnity marked the classical phase of the Baroque from *c.* 1640 until *c.* 1660. Beginning about 1650, and abundantly after 1660, Murillo and Valdés Leal at Seville, Carreño, Francisco Rizi, Escalante, and José Antolínez at Madrid established the Late Baroque – a style rich, imaginative, and theatrical, surprising and delighting by its interplay of light, movement, pastel colours, and vaporous airiness. Except for Murillo and Valdés Leal, the Spanish Late Baroque school has remained virtually unknown outside Spain, although it led the rest of Europe in quality and sparkle. To the end of the Late Baroque, about 1700, Spanish painting offers a bewildering number of talents, some of them brilliant. Philip IV and his son, Charles II, were liberal in their artistic commissions, although artists' salaries frequently remained in arrears. The court continuously skirted the edge of bankruptcy. Eighteenth-century painting focused on portraiture and frescoes, and was less varied than contemporary architecture.

The main centre was Madrid, nearly equalled in prominence by Seville. Third in importance was Valencia and fourth Granada. Spanish-American wealth flowing into Andalusia produced lesser artistic schools also at Cordova, Malaga, and Cadiz. The last two cannot be dealt with here, nor can the minor developments at Barcelona, Saragossa, Burgos, Valladolid, and Bilbao.

THE SCHOOL OF MADRID

Jusepe Leonardo; Antonio Pereda; Antonio Arias Fernández

The two youngest artists painting Battles for the Hall of Realms were Jusepe Leonardo and Antonio Pereda. Leonardo (1600?–56) was Velázquez's most gifted follower, though also strongly influenced by both Carduchos and by Eugenio Caxés and Pedro de las Cuevas. He was active in Madrid from about 1622 to 1648, in which year he went mad. His paintings are too few to reconstruct his development. In the earliest pictures known (Cebreros, Avila, 1625) Loga felt a monumental quality. Leonardo's two Battles of 1634 (Prado, nos 858–9) concern episodes of the Thirty Years War. The *Surrender of the Rhenish Town of Jülich to the Spanish under Spinola* took place in 1622. *The Duke of Feria watching his Troops enter the City of Breisach* records an event of 1633. The duke is modelled after Velázquez's *Olivares* in the Prado. Many faces are obviously portraits. The composition, strongly developed in the foreground, melts gradually into the distance.

Closely related to the two Battles, and also by Leonardo, is the *St Sebastian* (Prado, no. 67) still wrongly attributed to Carducho. A *St John* of about 1635 at Los Angeles (a slightly later version at Ottawa), though derived from Carducho's *Preaching of St John* (Madrid, Academy), is outstanding in its light, luminous colouring, of extraordinary brilliancy and power. The hands and face of the saint are firmly and minutely modelled, while the multi-hued background figures have a Venetian grandeur that calls to mind Veronese.[1] Leonardo's most colourful picture is the *Birth of the Virgin* of about 1635 (Prado; Plate 151B). At the lower left a girl in violet-brown, wearing a green skirt, lifts a basket covered with white and vermilion. Next, a girl in white, blue, and ochre; a boy behind her, in ochre with some green; a woman in white kerchief, yellow sleeve, and vermilion skirt; and one on the right in carmine, green, sienna, and ochre. Four standing women wear violet, light green, deep blue, pink, and ochre. Leonardo searched for expressive, life-like poses. His brushwork is free and untrammelled and his colour values are sensitively linked. His inventions combine fresh and keen observation with diligent study of the graceful movements which distinguish his sources. Leonardo rose above the mediocre level of the average Spanish palace painter to the threshold of genius.

Almost as gifted, and more productive during his longer life, was Antonio Pereda (1608–78), who, after the death of his father, also a painter, at Valladolid in 1622 studied there with Carreño de Miranda's uncle and later in Madrid with Pedro de las Cuevas (d. 1644). At least seventy-five of his pictures have survived, many of them dated between 1635 and 1664. Pereda's beginnings at court were auspicious; his *The Marquis of Santa Cruz relieving Genoa* of 1634 (Prado) and his *Agila the Goth, fourteenth King of Spain*, of 1635 (Lérida, Seminario), both for the Buen Retiro Palace, placed him in the front rank of the younger painters. But in 1635 Pereda's protector, the court architect Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, Marquis de la Torre, died. He had been Olivares's enemy, and Pereda thus had to leave palace employ, and never received a court appointment. His style can be followed decade by decade, the earliest period (1635–40) being the most extravagantly High Baroque: linear, precise, luminous, and rich. *The Relief of Genoa* (Plate 152A) is painted in vermilion against white and blue, pale plum against yellow, green and ochre on green, yellow and green versus lavender, yellow against blue-grey, and so forth. Repoussoir and foreshortening create depth, but foreground and background are not fused, and the distant figures ill sketched.[2] The *Immaculate Conception* (formerly Villandry, Carvallo, now New York, Newhouse Galleries) is signed and dated 1635 – not 1653, as has been claimed. It is perhaps the first version of this theme which contains so many gorgeous flowers. During this time Pereda began to copy Ribera, as in the large *St Jerome* of about 1639 at Bilbao (no. 468; after Ribera's etching, Bartsch 4), and Ribera's influence continued during Pereda's second phase (1640–50).

Probably about 1650 he introduced more contemplative subjects, such as the Vanity theme (Glasgow, Pollok House; Vienna), perhaps inspired by such Dutch engravings as H. Hondius's *Finis Coronat Opus*, of 1626, a *memento mori* with the same ingredients as in the paintings by Pereda and Valdés Leal. Pereda is now softer in modelling, eschewing sharp outlines. This trend continues in the third period (1650–60).[3]

Two still-lifes with fruit and vegetables on a ledge, at Lisbon (1652; Plate 153B) suggest the fullness of life and are more cluttered than earlier Spanish *bodegones*. Texture of paint pigment becomes an aesthetic quality. Two other *bodegones* of sea-shells, vessels, precious glass, and in one a clock-lamp (made by Claude Raisser in Paris) are in Moscow and Leningrad (1652). More orderly in arrangement, they are also more linear in draughtsmanship, depending on van der Hamen. Draperies are henceforth gently fusing and contrasts are avoided. The *Dream of Life* of about 1655 at the Madrid Academy, so strongly influenced by Carreño that it might be by him rather than by Pereda, is the outstanding picture of the Vanity subject. It recalls Calderón's play of the same name, printed twenty years earlier. A young gentleman is asleep at a table heaped with vanities: coins, jewels, pearls, playing-cards, a miniature of a lady, a pistol, sheet music, a comedy mask, flowers, laurel wreath, mitre, crown, sceptre, armour, mirror, clock, extinguished candle, and skull. An angel holds a scroll inscribed: AETERNE PUNGIT (arrow painted over a sun) CITO VOLAT ET OCCIDIT (Eternally pierces the arrow, it flies quickly and kills). The man's face and his silver-embroidered garment are influenced by Velázquez, who in his *Venus and Cupid* of 1650 (Plate 135) also treated this eminently Baroque theme of the transitory vanity of life. At Seville, Valdés Leal took over from Pereda the subject and mode of representation and made it even more terrifying. As Pereda's late pictures grew progressively weaker,[4] they anticipated developments which Claudio Coello was to push towards the Rococo.[5]

Pereda's co-pupil (along with Leonardo, Carreño, and F. Camilo) in the studio of Pedro de las Cuevas was Antonio Arias Fernández (*c.* 1614–84), who usually signed and dated his sculpturesque, firmly drawn works. The *Tribute Money* of 1646 and the *Virgin* of about 1650 (both Prado), influenced by Mayno, represent a calm, idealizing, classical interlude to be expected at the mid century. Arias's carefully organized draperies are retardataire, indeed almost gothicizing, as in the *Charles V and Philip II* (Granada, University, from Buen Retiro) and the Apostles series (Granada, Museum; the latter wrongly attributed to Leandro de la Fuente). A *St Simon* (after a Dürer print; in the New York art market), which A. L. Mayer gave to Velázquez, may also be by Arias.

Juan Ricci (1600–81)

Standing apart because of his style and cloistered life was Fray Juan Andrés Ricci, born in Madrid in 1600, the brother of Francisco Rizi and son of Antonio Ricci of Ancona, who were both painters. Antonio had come to the Escorial with Zuccaro in 1585. As early as 1616, the year of the dogma, Juan Andrés dedicated a treatise on the Immaculate Conception to Pope Paul V. In 1627 he became a Benedictine at Montserrat (of Parsifal fame). He returned there in 1635 after studying philosophy and theology at Hirache and Salamanca, but left five years later (1640) for Madrid, when all Castilians were expelled by the Catalan rebellion. He was for a short time the drawing master of Prince Balthasar Carlos, and for the next twenty years filled the Benedictine monasteries in Old Castile with paintings (1642 Silos; 1645 Burgos, San Juan; 1653 Medina del Campo; 1659 Sopetrán; etc.). His only non-Benedictine religious paintings are eight scenes of saints for Burgos Cathedral and a *St Gregory* (Madrid, San José). In 1662 he went to Rome and later to Montecassino, where he died in 1681, shortly after having been offered a bishopric. A pupil of Mayno, he also learned colouring from Greco, folds and modelling from Tristán, and lighting from Nardi. He had some of the grandeur of Velázquez and some of the austerity of Zurbarán, and shared sources with both: Tristán influenced Ricci and Velázquez, while B. Passeri was copied by Ricci and Zurbarán. The largest group of Ricci's pictures survives at San Millán de la Cogolla (Logroño), painted in 1653, but his greatest picture is the *Mass of St Benedict* of about 1650 (Madrid, Academy, from San Martín, Madrid; Plate 151A). Here, as Greco had done, the red-brown ground is used for effect, for instance in the outlines of figures and faces, and to give reddish transparency to the white garments. Light in colour and illumination, the picture is moving away from the more sombre earlier Baroque towards the brighter mood of Claudio Coello. Ricci's linguistic talents and great general culture produced seven illustrated treatises (1660–5, Madrid, Boix Collection and Montecassino) on theology, geometry, architecture, and anatomy, influenced by Vignola, Serlio, and Valverde. One project (1663) concerned the redesigning of Bernini's Baldacchino of St Peter as an integral Solomonic order undulating from base to cornice. Ricci's drawings have a Late Baroque lightness anticipating Blake.[6] His penetrating portraits, none more alive than the fiery, almost insane countenance of *Fray Alonsa de San Vitores* (Burgos), show his masterful handling of light and dark and his quick, telling brushwork, influenced by Velázquez.

Landscape Painters: Collantes and Iriarte (*Seville*)

The painters at Madrid may be grouped according to their teachers. Two pupils of Vincencio Carducho were Francisco Fernández (1605–46) and Collantes. Few works by the former survive; among them are a *Porciuncula* (Madrid, Bishop's Palace) and *Samuel anointing David*, signed in 1639 (Earl of Clarendon sale Sotheby's, 13 February 1920, lot 39). These paintings have originality, a feeling of space, and sensitive lighting. Francisco Collantes (1599–1656) copied a *St Peter* by Ribera (Bilbao, Delclaux Collection) in a signed picture (London, Reder) and shows powerful influences from Ribera also in his strong *St Jerome* (Copenhagen). Collantes's most original creations are his landscapes, usually with Old Testament titles (Louvre, Prado, and Madrid Academy), and *Hagar and the Angel* (Providence, R. I.; Plate 152B). *St Peter's Repentance* (Jerez, Asencio Collection) was attributed to Velázquez. The fantastic *Burning of Troy* (Granada, University) and the *Vision of Ezekiel* (Prado) are influenced by Falcone. These Classical Baroque landscapes[7] are dramatic in their contrasts of dark foliage against light skies. They are heroic in their broken-off tree-trunks, heavy boulders, block-like architecture, and rushing waters. By imparting a feeling of conflict and movement, by areas opening and closing, and by sweeping vistas, Collantes suggests the greatness and oneness of the universe.

The contrast to Collantes's order and his monumental effects are the lyric, romantic landscapes by Ignacio de Iriarte, who was born in 1621 in the Basque province of

Guipúzcoa, and was active in Seville from 1642, where he died in 1685. Although belonging to the school of Seville, and filling in landscape backgrounds both for Zurbarán and for Murillo, Iriarte is mentioned here because he transformed Collantes's art. Where the Madrid painter's trees loomed as large masses, the Late Baroque Iriarte stippled detailed leaves. His figures are smaller, the highlights silvery, and the total effect feathery. Collantes's organization in bands gives way to a more continuous flow.[8]

Lesser landscape painters are B. M. de Agüero (1626?–70?) and J. A. de Ezquerra (*fl. c.* 1690–1700). The first painted scenes from Ovid (Prado) with flashing thunderclouds and feathery trees.

Velázquez's Pupils: Puga, Pareja, Mazo

The three foremost pupils of Velázquez were Puga, Pareja, and Mazo. Antonio Puga, also a pupil of Eugenio Caxés, was born *c.* 1610 at Orense and died young in 1648 after having tried cures by means of pieces of unicorn and other nostrums. He owned paintings by Greco, Sánchez Coello, and Jusepe Leonardo, as well as eighteen hundred prints and drawings. Many were bought at the sale of his estate by Cano, Carreño, Diriksen, Pereda, and Solís. His portraits, still-lifes, and landscapes have not been rediscovered. It has escaped notice that his only signed work, a *St Jerome* of 1636 (Barnard Castle), is a weak, slightly simplified copy of Collantes's picture (Copenhagen). All other attributions to Puga await confirmation.[9]

Juan de Pareja (*c.* 1610 Seville–*c.* 1670 Madrid), of Moorish origin, was Velázquez's life-long assistant (not slave). At least seven pictures survive, all religious, signed, and except one probably painted after Velázquez's death in 1660. They show originality, independence of the style of Velázquez, an impetuous Baroque temper, and lingering sombre reminiscences of Tintoretto. Pareja's pictures (Plate 154) excite through startling lighting in the manner of Greco, pitched emotion, and flickering brushwork, as in Valdés Leal. His colours derive from Rubens and Veronese.

Velázquez's pupil and successor as court painter, Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, called Mazo (*c.* 1614–67), married his master's daughter Francisca in 1634. As a wedding present Mazo received from Velázquez the post of Usher to the King, which the latter had held since 1627. Mazo thus entered royal service. Later he became drawing master to Prince Balthasar Carlos. In 1657 he spent several months in Italy.

Mazo was essentially a portraitist (Plate 155). He adopted the external aspects of his master's style. Faces painted by Mazo usually have a glossy sheen, lacking the transparency and subtle gradations of light and shade in which Velázquez excelled. The cheeks seem puffy, less firm in contour, and without the proper transition from the neck up. The eyes are placid, lustrous, and almost watery. The mouth seems too pretty. In contrast to Velázquez's fleshy, organic hands, Mazo's are shapeless. His brushwork imitates the outward bravura of Velázquez but has none of his vital energy. While Mazo's paintings thus, of necessity, suffer in comparison with those by one of the world's greatest artists, they do possess sufficient quality to serve as estimable examples of the art at Philip's court. One of his best is the *Portrait of a Child*, at Toledo, Ohio.[10]

Mazo also did landscapes and vedute such as a *View of Pamplona* (Madrid, Marquis of Casa Torres and Museo Lázaro; third in London, Apsley House), the *Fountain of Tritons*, the *Arch of Titus*, and the *Hunt at Aranjuez* (Prado), the first two attributed to Velázquez. The distinction between Mazo and his master in landscapes and small-figure subjects awaits renewed study. Sánchez Cantón summed up Mazo's art as follows: 'He made no new contribution; he was a great painter without originality, a most able imitator.' As Velázquez's *alter ego* he was thoroughly competent and thoroughly without genius.

Mazo's successor as chief court painter was Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo (1619–71). He enjoyed this privilege for four years and was followed by Carreño. From 1638 to 1652, Sebastián (not to be confused with the two Francisco Herreras, father and son) had assisted Cano in Madrid as a sculptor, painter, and architectural planner. Some of his Canoesque works have recently been published.[11]

Masters of Late Baroque Painting I: Juan Carreño, Francisco Rizi, Francisco Herrera the Younger

The first painter to the king appointed after the death of Philip IV was Juan Carreño de Miranda (1614–85) from Asturias, educated from 1623 in Madrid under Pedro de las Cuevas. As the most important Spanish court painter of the Baroque except for Velázquez, he deserves a modern monograph.[12] A favourite of the widowed Queen Mariana, who reigned for her young son Charles II, he painted many portraits of both and of other members of court society. Carreño traced Mariana's slow ageing and Charles II's decline from a passably handsome child to an appallingly ugly man, not in possession of all his mental and physical faculties. Carreño always endowed his sitters with aristocratic elegance. As a rule, they appear stern and serious. One of the artist's finest achievements is the *Cardinal Don Pascual de Aragón* of 1684 (Barcelona, Julio Muñoz). A late portrait of the Duke of Pastrana (*c.* 1680, Prado) shows unusual Van Dyckian splendour.[13]

Carreño also painted, mostly between 1650 and 1675, religious scenes in oil and fresco. Many of his works survive, but only about a third are dated, ranging from 1646 to 1683. A nobleman by birth (and elected spokesman for the Spanish nobles), Carreño was attracted to the aristocratic art of Raphael, Titian, Rubens, Van Dyck, and Velázquez. From Raphael came his flowing line and harmonious composition, from Titian his early, gentle chiaroscuro transitions, and the flickering lighting-effects especially of his later works, from the two Flemings his refined colours and the distinguished elegance of his figures, and from Velázquez the rich, subtle, and staccato brushwork, most noticeable after 1665. But such explanations are arbitrary; Carreño was a sovereign talent, endowed with originality, sensitivity, taste, and facility in drawing.

His paintings of the 1650s are often darker than his later ones, and they are sometimes tighter and more concentrated in composition. Yet the *Annunciation* of 1653 at Madrid (Hospital of Third Order) and the *St Anthony of Padua* of 1656 (owned by D. Joaquín Payá at Madrid) are spirited, free in drawing, and sparkling in accents of light.

The *St Sebastian* (Rijksmuseum, as by Cano) which A. L. Mayer attributed to José Antolínez is, in my opinion, by Carreño, *c.* 1655. In 1659 Velázquez introduced Francisco Rizi and Carreño to fresco-painting in the royal palace under the guidance of the two Bolognese Mitelli and Colonna. Until 1670 Rizi and Carreño, working together, created many frescoes at Toledo Cathedral and in various churches in Madrid. From now on Carreño used architectural details such as columns, pedestals, and spheres on parapets, usually partly veiled by a curtain. His *Charity* (Madrid, Museo Lázaro, as anonymous) exemplifies the rounded, forceful modelling of the middle period. The huge, imaginative *Belshazzar's Feast* of about 1660 (Barnard Castle) reflects Carreño's experience as an architectural decorator and calls to mind Vignon. It represents the theatrical grandeur of the late Baroque. Even larger and the artist's most important work is the long-lost *Founding of the Trinitarian Order* (1666, at Courson Castle near Arpajon; Plate 156). One admires most the subtleness of touch, the spectacular interplay of light, and the very inventive and exciting *mise en scène*.[14]

Carreño's friend Francisco Rizi de Guevara (1608–85), a brother of the painter Fray Juan Andrés Ricci, was a pupil of Vincencio Carducho and entered royal service in 1639. His early works can easily be confused with those of F. Camilo. As painter to the cathedral of Toledo (from 1653) and court painter (from 1656), Rizi executed his main works at the cathedral and the palace, many in fresco. He, even more than Carreño, set the style of light-hearted architectural decoration in the school of Madrid. Yet he is the lesser artist: more quick and superficial, more petty and careless. These defects grew with age, from the early *Epiphany* of 1645 at Toledo Cathedral to the late *Circumcision* of 1673 at Madrid (Castromonte Collection). To the long list of his known works may be added *St Catherine* and *St Augustine* (both Madrid, Museo Lázaro, as by Valdés Leal); *Madonna with the Fruit Basket* (Washington, Hon. F. Berckemeyer, as by Pedro de Moya); and a *Conception* (Christie's 7 July 1925, lot 65, as by Murillo), which shows his special talent as theatrical decorator. For more than ten years Rizi painted decorations for the plays presented weekly before the king, and it is to this practice and the influence thus exerted on Spanish art that Ceán ascribed the decay of Spanish taste. Yet this change was inevitable. Rizi, as a child of his time, helped to pave the way for the superficial, playful Rococo. His sketch for the main altar of San Ginés in Madrid shows his talents in this respect and anticipates Claudio Coello's art.

The younger Francisco Herrera (1622–85) shared his father's cantankerous, pugnacious temper. He studied architecture and painting in Rome, and still-life painting at Naples with Recco. About the time of the elder Herrera's death the son returned to Seville, where in 1660 he and Murillo were named the first co-presidents of the new Academy of Painting. Immediately afterwards he seems to have left for Madrid, where he became a court painter in 1672. Of insufferable vanity, he did not get on with his colleagues. His duties as an architect (p. 28) after 1679 left him little time for painting. The *Triumph of St Hermengild* (Prado; Plate 158B) and the *Triumph of St Francis* (Seville Cathedral), both of *c.* 1660–70, painted in a brilliant, loose, and sketchy technique, stress chiaroscuro, airy soaring, and hues bright as water-colours. Semi-transparent tones of vermilion, orange, carmine, and ultramarine predominate. In this technique is his *Pope Leo I* (Prado, as by the elder Herrera). None of his still-lifes have come to light.

Juan Montero de Rojas (1613–88) allegedly studied in Italy. Two Old Testament scenes from the Aguado Collection are now in France: the *Drunkenness of Noah* (Tarbes) and *Cain slaying Abel* (Rouen), both vigorous studies of anatomy. The *Dream of St Joseph*[15] (Madrid, Mercedarian Nuns of Don Juan de Alarcón), attributed also to Juan de Toledo, is based on P. Lombard's engraving of a picture by Philippe de Champaigne (*c.* 1638; New York, J. Seligmann & Co.).

Juan de Arellano (Santorcaz, near Madrid, 1614–Madrid 1676), a pupil of Francisco de Solís, specialized in flower-paintings, which he did with great colouristic charm. Baskets (Plate 163A), metal jars, or glass vases with roses, tulips, and other flowers stand on a stone ledge, and there are snails, bees, and butterflies. Equally good and colourful was his son-in-law Bartolomé Pérez (1634–93), royal painter from 1688. He painted the same and other flowers, often including carnations, in glass or metal vases. Their approach is painterly, not draughtsmanlike nor too detailed.

Masters of Late Baroque Painting II: Mateo Cerezo, Juan Cabezalero, Juan Escalante, José Antolínez, Claudio Coello

Five great painters of European significance brought the school of Madrid to a close: Cerezo, Cabezalero, Escalante, José Antolínez, and Claudio Coello. Like the painters of the Romantic Movement whose fire they anticipated, these artists died young: the first four aged forty or less, Coello at fifty-one. The oldest, Mateo Cerezo (born at Burgos *c.* 1626), died in Madrid in 1666 after working also in Burgos and Valladolid (Conceptionistas, High Altar). He often painted the Immaculate Conception, St Jerome, and the Magdalen. His *Magdalen* of 1661 at The Hague, rendered with great care, fluidity, and subtle colour, recalls the style of his teacher, Carreño. His two signed still-lifes of 1664 in Mexico City derive from Pereda's in composition and choice of objects. Cerezo painted in disconcertingly heterogeneous manners. Rubens influenced Cerezo's many Crucifixions (e.g. at Burgos Cathedral; London, P. Larsen; and as by Tristán at the Museo Cerralbo, Madrid). Their sharp, accented, sketchy, jagged style recurs in his *Last Supper* at Pau. Other Passion scenes interested him also. Cerezo could show form sensitively and gently through illumination and fluid brushwork, as in the *Trinity* (Prado, no. 1315, as anonymous) and the *St Joseph and the Child Christ* (Barcelona, private collection, as by Velázquez, and indeed influenced by that master). In the *St John the Baptist* at Cassel, Cerezo blended flesh tones in the manner of the late Titian, while in the half-length *St Jerome* at the Madrid Academy and the *St Francis* at Valencia Cathedral he used oil with the liquidity and technique of water-colour.[16] Although at times insipid (*Conception*, Madrid, MacCrohon, 1653?), Cerezo was a great painter and one of the most original talents of the school of Madrid.

Juan Martín Cabezalero (born 1633 at Almadén, Ciudad Real), like Cerezo, lived for only forty years. He painted little. His *Miracle with Christ and St Peter Alcántara* (Prado) has his usual firm, big forms, and is less luminous than Coello's pictures. Cabezalero is one of the most sculptural masters in Madrid, original in iconography and design, and particularly in his colouring, using a peculiar intense blue, some orange, and impressionistic airy shadows.[17] These characteristics may be observed in the *Assumption* (Prado no. 658, there attributed to Cerezo; Plate 158A). Spectacular in lighting and hues, the picture reveals a study of such Rubens pictures as the *Martyrdom of St Andrew* (Madrid, Flemish Hospital). Some of the bearded Apostles in Cabezalero's picture have faces seen in Pereda. The light colours, airiness, and effective lighting make it one of Cabezalero's best paintings. That the artist was a co-student with Cerezo in Carreño's workshop is seen in his *Triumph of St Bruno* (Madrid, Duke of Hernani).

Juan Antonio de Frías y Escalante (Cordova 1633–Madrid 1670) was recently studied by Lafuente Ferrari,[18] who was the first to recognize his greatness as colourist, delicate draughtsman, and painter of the lightest, most airy touch. He was a pupil of Rizi, but far surpassed his master. Like his contemporaries at Madrid, Escalante favoured ultramarine and orangy vermilion and was influenced by Tintoretto, Veronese, Rubens, Van Dyck, Murillo, and the two Caxés. He studied them in paintings and engravings. Most of his pictures, e.g. *The Dream of St Joseph* (from the Infante Sebastián Gabriel at Pau; Plate 153A), are rich, harmonious, light and gay in colour; chiefly pale blues, rose, and carmine (claret). The hues, the wispy levity of his brush, and a certain largeness of conception anticipate Fragonard. In other paintings Escalante added brown and sometimes ochre and yellow to his palette, setting his figures half dark against light backgrounds. His unconventional, imaginative compositions have movement and great elegance of design. Yet Escalante was serious and often engagingly simple, in spite of touches of Venetian splendour. His works, all dating from 1660–70, are exclusively religious and they are deeply felt. Their almost feminine grace and poetic enchantment presage his early death.

José Claudio Antolínez (1635–75), influenced by Pereda, Francisco Rizi, and Cerezo, was a brilliant colourist who, in his best works, handled light with subtle magic. He excelled in painting the Immaculate Conception and the Ecstasy of St Mary Magdalen.[19] His dated pictures range from 1658 to 1673. Antolínez was a native of Madrid and active throughout his life in that city. He has been confused with the Sevillian Francisco Antolínez, but it is not certain that the two were even related. José is first heard of at the age of thirteen, buying prints at the sale following Antonio Puga's death. Antolínez's vanity and arrogance led to his early death after a duel.

The *Ecstasy of St Mary Magdalen* at the Prado exemplifies his bright, atmospheric, Titianesque colours: delicate rose, ochre, carmine, deep ultramarine, and violet, bathed in silvery light. His *Conception* of *c.* 1670 at the Prado and another version in Barcelona (Plate 159B) are set against a foamy, blue night-sky, almost as dynamic as Tintoretto's celestial apparitions. And, as in Tintoretto's pictures, Antolínez developed the composition in expanding circles of transparent sheath-like lighting, vapours of ectoplasm. The wings of his angels are delicate as a butterfly's. Most of his other themes are less inventive, except for *The Poor Painter's Drummer* of *c.* 1670 (Schleissheim; Plate 159A), a signed work. This picture would be unique in Spanish art for its 'Dutch' view through open doors, did it not derive its composition from Velázquez's *Meninas*. Its worldly subject-matter recalls the paintings attributed to Puga. The young painter in the background, pointing to his tattered drummer, is not a self portrait of Antolínez, as is often claimed. Similar poor picture vendors had been engraved after Annibale Carracci by S. G. Parigius (1646) and by G. M. Mitelli (1660). The artist's haughty likeness, sporting, like Rembrandt, a golden earring can be studied in a self portrait at Montpellier (as by Velázquez), and in the group portrait of the *Danish Minister Lerse and Family* of 1662 (Copenhagen), where Antolínez once more emulated Velázquez's *Meninas*.

Claudio Coello (1642–93), like Escalante and Antolínez a pupil of Francisco Rizi, was of Portuguese descent. The dowager queen Mariana and Charles II favoured him as they had favoured his predecessor Carreño, who was also his teacher. More colourful and monumental than Carreño, though less elegant and stiffer, Coello was the last great painter of the school of Madrid. One of his earliest dated pictures, the altar of the Annunciation of 1663 at San Plácido, Madrid, may be studied to better advantage in the small sketch (Madrid, Araoz Collection), which is more spirited in composition and lighting. Its source is Francisco Rizi's sketch for the *Martyrdom of St Genesius* (Madrid, San Ginés).

Coello had a *horror vacui*. His paintings are crammed with people and festive in mood (*Triumph of St Augustine*, 1664, Prado). He used a pat formula for his sacred conversations, such as the *Madonna between Saints and Theological Virtues* (1669) or the *Madonna adored by St Louis of France* (both Prado). St Michael and the dragon (in the first picture) or a balustrade, an angel, and the infant St John (in the second) serve as repoussoir, while at the right a saint is about to bend the knee in veneration. The colours are yellow, orange, ochre, salmon, rose, vermilion, claret, olive green, deep blue, and grey blue, with sensitive harmonies and many gradations. These complicated compositions are developed in arches and triangles with strong diagonal thrusts.[20]

Coello's greatest picture is the *Sagrada Forma* of 1685–90 (Escorial; Plate 157). The solemn act represented had taken place in October 1684, when Charles II and his courtiers[21] had knelt in homage before the sacred relic. The picture is conceived as a vast aerial extension of the sacristy of the Escorial. Flying overhead are Religion, fire issuing from her right hand; Divine Love, a winged young boy; and Royal Majesty with sceptre and eagle (not the House of Austria, as Ceán thought).[22] These allegories are taken from Ripa's *Iconologia*, the most widely used book in Europe for such devices. Many Spanish painters, from Velázquez to Goya, consulted it. Lafuente Ferrari[23] characterized the *Sagrada Forma* as a devotional picture, a historical scene, and a marvellous portrait gallery, and indeed it is all three. In praising this last great work of the school of Madrid, he observed the lack of that severity and depth of feeling which distinguished the art of Ribera, Zurbarán, and Velázquez. The High and Classical Baroque had given way to the Late Baroque, and the Rococo was just round the corner.[24]

The last Spanish court painter (named in 1688) of Charles II was Antonio Palomino (1655–1726), a scholar, painter, writer on art, and, during his last year, after the death of his wife, a priest. Until 1680 he lived in his native Cordova, where he had briefly studied with Valdés Leal and Alfaro and had copied many paintings by Antonio del

Castillo. Until 1699 he painted easel pictures in Madrid, and thereafter executed numerous large fresco decorations in churches at Madrid, Salamanca, Cordova, Granada, and El Paular. He specialized in elaborate and complicated religious ceiling-paintings of allegorical significance. Stylistically he was influenced by Carreño and by Coello. Effects of light and modelling of voluminous draperies were his forte. Fresco-painting gave him, even in his canvases, a certain largeness of form, carried off with dignity and elegance, as in the spirited *St Michael* (Kansas City).[25]

His main importance lies in his writings. The *Museo pictórico y escala óptica* ('Pictorial Museum and Optical Scale') was published in Madrid in two volumes, the first (*Theórica de la pintura*) in 1715, the second (*Práctica de la pintura*) in 1724. The second volume is bound with a third bearing the sub-title *Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, being a collection of the 'lives of the eminent Spanish painters and sculptors, including foreign artists who worked in Spain'. This third volume is our most valuable source for the history of Spanish painting in the sixteenth and particularly the seventeenth century. Modelled on the example of Vasari, it uses the notes of Lázaro Díaz del Valle and books now lost, among them a biography of Velázquez. A second edition came out in Madrid in 1795–7 and there was a reprint in 1947. Summaries were published in London in 1739 (in English) and in 1744 and 1756 (in Spanish), and in Paris in 1749 and 1762 (in French).

The school of Madrid was bound to die with the extinction of the House of Hapsburg and the advent of the French Bourbons to the Spanish throne in 1700. The death-knell was rung by the arrival in Madrid in 1692 of Luca Giordano at the invitation of Charles II. The king was so taken with Giordano that, though the treasury was empty, he paid him the staggering salary of 1,500 ducats, and gave him 'for three lives', that is until the death of Giordano's grandson, the sonorous title of 'Keeper of Royal Palaces and Fortresses of the Kingdom of Naples'. Worse, the king began to insult Coello, who soon died broken-hearted. True to his nickname, 'Luca fà presto', Giordano painted frescoes, with speed and facility rather than lasting merit, on the vaults of the grand stairway and of the church at the Escorial, and also at the royal palace in Madrid, the cathedral of Toledo, and many churches. Ceán said of him that he painted nothing that was bad and nothing that was good. He had all the technical ability learned in the studio of Ribera, whom he imitated to deception, and none of the profound feeling and sincerity of his master and of the Spanish painters in general. His art dazzles, but leaves one cold. Under the new king, Philip V, Giordano retired to Naples in 1702. Thus ended the Baroque school of Madrid.

ANDALUSIA: ANTONIO DEL CASTILLO AND JUAN VALDÉS LEAL

Antonio del Castillo (1616–68), the leading painter of Cordova, is one of the Spanish Baroque masters most in need of rehabilitation. His works have been attributed in our time to Velázquez, Zurbarán, Ribera, to Valdés Leal, Moya, Cano, and even Callot, thus suggesting his quality and diversity. Palomino felt that Castillo's style resembled Massimo Stanzione's. He was famous as a painter in oil and fresco and as a draughtsman with the reed pen. His drawings anticipate Goya's in subject-matter and sometimes almost in freedom. He painted religious pictures, including Old Testament subjects, single saints, and many-figured scenes arranged like historical pictures. Díaz del Valle in 1656 praised him as a colourist, portraitist, and landscape painter. Antonio studied with his father Agustín, and his uncle Juan del Castillo (the pupil of Zurbarán and teacher of Murillo). He was not apprenticed to Zurbarán, as Palomino asserted, but studied at Cordova under Ignacio de A(c)edo Calderón of Seville,[26] a relative of the painter Pedro Calderón de Acedo, who was a friend of Zurbarán.

Castillo's development can only be sketched tentatively, since few pictures are dated. One of the earliest, if the date 1635 is correct, a *St Jerome* (Prado), anticipates pictures by Cerezo. Of about the same date is a strongly composed *St John the Baptist* (New-York Historical Society, as by Velázquez) which must be assigned to Castillo.[27] While the vegetation and landscape are derived from the same Flemish engravings after Marten de Vos that had earlier influenced Herrera and Zurbarán and soon were to affect Murillo, the facial type and the modelling of fingers and draperies show that Juan del Castillo also guided his nephew's artistic style. A copy, possibly by Palomino, is in Cordova (Santa Marina de Aguas Santas).

To the early 1640s might belong two paintings of the Pietà (Cordova; Mexico, L. Eychenne Collection, as by Ribera), related in style to the impressive *Calvary* of 1649 at Cordova. Of 1646 (not 1640) is a drawing of the Annunciation, light, airy, almost Rococo in spirit (formerly Madrid, Boix Collection). In the 1640s Castillo began to introduce in the background groups in vivid action, as in the *Martyrdom of St Pelayo* of 1645 at Cordova Cathedral. His *Death of Abel* of *c.* 1640 (Soult sale, 1853, lot 13, as by Pacheco; formerly Villandry, Dr Carvallo, as by Cano); *Adoration of the Shepherds* of *c.* 1645 at Malaga; and the great *Calvary with Dead Christ* of 1649 at Cordova are most interesting in *tenebroso* contrasts.

Until this time, Castillo's works showed little knowledge of Zurbarán, whose (lost) paintings in San Pablo at Cordova suggested to Castillo a new largeness of form. This is seen in the latter's powerful *St Bonaventura* (Bilbao, perhaps the picture noticed by Palomino in the stairway of San Pablo). It is related to a signed *St Paul* (Barcelona, private collection). Zurbarán's influence is also patent in the contemporary, serene *Mary with St John*, at Munich. Two drawings, both of 1652, *St Peter* (London, Courtauld Institute, Witt Collection) and its companion piece *St Paul* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional), possess a new monumentality. They confirm Castillo's authorship of *St Francis standing before a Crucifix* (La Coruña, Franciscan Nuns, as by Zurbarán; a related drawing by Castillo, Biblioteca Nacional, no. 303). Of 1654 are the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Cordova, Jesús Nazareno) and the *Adoration of the Shepherds* at the Museum (with a false signature by Valdés Leal, 1684).[28]

During the 1650s Castillo began to copy engravings after A. Bloemaert (cf. his *Adam and Eve*, Madrid, Adanero Collection, as by Cano). He knew a set of six from Genesis by Saenredam, and the famous printed drawing-book engraved by Bloemaert's sons. From Bloemaert, Castillo may have gleaned penmanship, composition, and facial types. Probably thinking of publishing a similar primer for draughtsmen, the Cordovan began to draw, as in Bloemaert's sketchbook, sheets of heads and 'Dutch' pastoral scenes.[29] Increasingly interested in landscapes, Castillo utilized these designs to produce his finest work in six scenes from the life of Joseph (Prado, formerly as by Moya; Plate 160B). He seems to have taken the composition of the *Triumph of Pharaoh* from a woodcut by Bernard Salomon in the popular Lyons Bible. Castillo's series combines picturesque grandeur, firm design, sweeping composition, airiness, and varied lighting. Local accents are provided by vermilion, crimson, blue, green, and sienna. The lively figures, dramatically lit, rhythmically arranged, and skilfully blended with the landscape, recall Callot, to whom Castillo's *St John preaching in the Wilderness* (London, Viscount Rothermere) was hitherto attributed. Another, duller scene of this type by Castillo depicts St Francis and St Dominic amidst a vast assembly of monks and laymen (Madrid, Duke of Santo Mauro).

Several single-figure pieces seem contemporary with these mass scenes. A characteristic *David with the Head of Goliath* (New York, Paul O. Berliz, as by Valdés Leal) was originally known to be by Castillo and so catalogued by A. L. Mayer[30] after he had discovered a closely related drawing of the theme (Hamburg) inscribed: 'So that you may not again deny it and know I did it. Antonio del Castillo Saavedra'. A *Christ of the Flagellation kneeling before God the Father* of *c.* 1655–60 at Cordova is there erroneously ascribed to Cano.[31]

Of the early 1660s are vivid, sprightly pen sketches of martyrdoms of saints (Uffizi, one signed 1664, and Hamburg) and the *Baptism of St Francis* (Cordova), an oil-painting derived from Callot's etching *The Baptism of Prince Balthasar Carlos*. Castillo signed his painting 'Non Fecit Alfaro', to punish the overbearing pride of his young pupil Alfaro.[32]

Castillo visited Seville in the 1660s. His last paintings are quiet, serene, and monumental, refined by harmonious colours and enveloping drapery folds. Their Zurbaranesque style is Castillo's tribute to the Andalusian sister city.[33]

That Castillo was the teacher of Juan Valdés Leal, as Ceán, Loga, and Mayer recognized, has sometimes been forgotten, though the influence is very strong. Valdés Leal, son of a Portuguese father, was born at Seville in 1622, but educated at Cordova, where he went on working until 1653.[34] The next five years he painted at both Cordova and Seville. He established residence at Seville in 1656 and lived there until his death in 1690. Valdés Leal's first known work, a monumental *St Andrew* of 1649 (Cordova, San Francisco), is in the manner of Castillo (for instance the two frescoes of St Philip and St James Minor at Cordova Cathedral). His altar for Santa Clara, Carmona (now Seville and Mairena, Bonsor Collection), still strongly influenced by Castillo and just as crowded, is more feverish in lighting, more grotesque in features, and more exotic in colouring. Of about this time is the *Conception with St Peter and St Paul* (Louvre), paraphrasing his earlier *Conception of the Silversmiths* (Cordova).[35] He was to repeat the same scheme once more in the freer, airier, subtler, and less complicated *Conception* of 1661 (London, National Gallery). In 1657, now established in Seville, and under the impact of the younger Herrera's *Triumph of the Holy Sacrament* of 1656 at Seville Cathedral, Valdés painted for the Jeronymite convent of Buenavista a series of pictures which express his own mature style; the highest drama and fiery intensity, shrill colours, bathed in light – yellow, red, violet – violent gestures, swirling draperies, and figures spinning as in a dance. The most memorable aspect of the *Temptation of St Jerome* and of the *Flagellation of St Jerome* (both Seville) is a light which sings, floats, and radiates from the canvas. Such light, not used before in Seville, distinguishes the highly original *Pietà* (New York, Metropolitan Museum, as by Carreño; Plate 161A). An intense mood is produced by the elegant clash of colours, the rapid, sketchy execution, and the composition, boldly resolved in a unified S curve. Pathetic, even theatrical realism is tempered by the enveloping shadows. More reserved, though contemporary, are twelve single standing figures of Jeronymite saints of 1657 (Seville; Prado; Barnard Castle; Dresden; Grenoble; the twelfth – St Paula – at Le Mans). In 1658 Valdés Leal painted his last great Cordovan work, the vast main altar of the Carmelites. The predella paintings, broad, free, and sketchy in technique, are of insistent realism. Above, increasingly weightless, airy handling of burning reds draws the onlooker heavenward. The related *Presentation of the Virgin* at the Prado, still under the influence of Castillo in the figure of St Joachim, may be of this time. (The very young man holding an elaborate pitcher is not a self portrait.)

At Seville, Valdés Leal's ambition soon gave him leadership among the artists. In 1659 and 1660 they elected him their supervisor and arbiter of disputes. In 1660 he was deputy and from 1663 to 1666 president of the newly founded Academy of Painting, although his irascible, jealous temper made co-operation difficult.

Valdés Leal lacked the patience for portrait work. His etched *Self Portrait* of *c.* 1670 is overgrown by the fantastic Baroque frame, which combines motifs from sixteenth-century grotesques with the seventeenth-century 'Ohrmuschelstil'.[36] Occasionally Valdés Leal included vivid portraits of donors in his religious scenes. *A Sevillian Lady as St Barbara* (*c.* 1658, Rosario, Argentina) shows a sensuous Andalusian type, and in the draperies one can discern the Venetian influences then becoming fashionable. One is reminded of the heady perfume of Claude Vignon's works in France.

A deeply religious man, and one who, like many contemporaries, was preoccupied with the vanity of this life, Valdés Leal in 1660 painted an *Allegory of Vanity* (Hartford, Connecticut; companion piece at York), a *memento mori* with symbols of human weakness, wealth, and decay, emblems of perpetual and sudden change, influenced by emblem books and by the similar themes which Pereda painted from 1640 to 1660. With more passion than selectivity, Valdés Leal depicted a multitude of objects in wild disarray. Each item is, however, more carefully drawn than was usual with him. The delicate colours – pinks, greens, and reds – are surprising. A large angel unveils in the background a tapestry of the Last Judgement. These two Allegories make certain Valdés Leal's authorship of a portrait of Ana Mencia de Villegas of *c.* 1660 (Seville, Marquise de la Motilla, as by Carreño).

A year later, in 1661, Valdés Leal recreated in the *Via Crucis* (New York, Hispanic Society; a replica in Madrid, Guillermo Bernstein; a study at Bilbao) form by form and pose by pose a much weaker picture (Cordova, Church of San Jaime), at best a youthful work. He intensified the expressions, slightly raised the arm of John, strengthened the *tenebroso* contrasts, and made the draperies more forceful by a magic handling of light.

His development more and more paralleled that of the painters of Madrid: Carreño, Francisco Rizi, Escalante, and Antolínez, all moving towards the Rococo. This is evident in Valdés's *Assumption of the Virgin* of *c.* 1659 (Washington, National Gallery); the *Assumption* and the *Conception* of *c.* 1665 at the Seville Museum; and the *Marriage of the Virgin* of 1667 at Seville Cathedral.[37] In the same sparkling manner is *St Thomas Villanueva giving Alms* in the Kress Foundation at New York (Plate 160A), a signed small many-figured scene in an architectural setting.

In 1668 Valdés made four etchings of Arfe's great monstrance for the cathedral chapter, and in 1671–2 he and his children etched the illustrations for de la Torre Farfán's *Fiesta de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana ... de Sevilla al nuevo culto del Señor Rey S. Fernando Tercero* .... St Ferdinand, the conqueror of Seville from the Moors, was sanctified in 1671, and Valdés Leal designed the fantastic decorations for the solemn celebration in the cathedral (see p. 26).

Most famous and most gruesome are the *Finis Gloriae Mundi* and the *Triumph of Death* (Plate 161B), both commissioned by Don Miguel Mañara and painted in 1672 for his foundation, the Chapel of the Brotherhood of Charity (Caridad). Mañara, patron extraordinary of the arts and especially of Murillo, was forever meditating on death, judgement, and man's ultimate fate, ordering, in the rules he composed for the Brotherhood, a monthly sermon on these themes. His 'Discourse on Truth' explains Valdés Leal's paintings. A skeleton holding scythe and coffin extinguishes 'in ictu oculi' (in the twinkling of an eye) a candle resting on a tomb. One foot rests on a globe, the other steps on abandoned spoils: armour, a sword, books, including Rubens's *Pompa Introitus* of 1641 (The Triumphal Entry of Infante Ferdinand into Antwerp, 1636). In modelling, not in subject-matter, these are Valdés's most Murillesque pictures, meant to harmonize with Murillo's paintings for the same room.

In 1674 Valdés visited Madrid, and his signed *Ecce Homo* (Madrid, G. Bernstein) as well as the *Vision of St Ignatius* (Seville) show how close he came to Escalante's airy effects of light. In 1674–6 he also painted six other Jesuit scenes (Seville), including two dramatic grisailles which might be identified as *St Ignatius* and *St Francis Xavier*. The signed *Conception* of 1682 at Berlin (private collection, from the Osuna sale) is interesting chiefly for its new symbolism, with the Trinity above, Jesus being represented by an empty throne from which a ray of light falls on to a mirror image of the Child Christ held by two putti.

Valdés Leal's last important work, *Christ in the Temple* of 1686 at the Prado, again presents his qualities: inventiveness, energy, violent temper, brilliant colouring – all tending to a certain showiness. He was survived by his daughter, Luisa de Morales, etcher and painter of life-size and miniature portraits; his son, Lucas Valdés (1661–1725), whose style was dry and anaemic; and his pupil, Matías Arteaga y Alfaro (*c.* 1630–1703), painter and etcher. Arteaga's six lively scenes from the life of the Virgin (Seville) blend strong influences from Valdés Leal with weaker ones from Murillo and F. Antolínez. Typical architectural fantasies, repoussoir effects, and charming fanciful invention can be seen also in Arteaga's sacramental paintings (Sagrario of Seville Cathedral) and the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (Madrid, Countess de los Andes).[38]

VALENCIA AND MURCIA

The energetic draughtsmanship, the severity, and the dramatic use of light and shadow at Valencia are unlike the elegance of most Sevillian painting. Having discussed the two Ribaltas and Ribera before, I need now mention only Espinosa, March, Giner, and Salvador y Gómez. The Valencian painter most representative of the middle phase of the Baroque was Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa (1600–67),[39] whose father and teacher, Jerónimo Rodríguez de Espinosa, came from Valladolid. Orrente influenced him even more. Except for a few able portraits, Espinosa's production is religious, mostly for the Mercedarians, Dominicans, and Jesuits. Sometime before 1650 he came under the influence of Zurbarán, whose work he may have seen at Seville or Madrid. Espinosa recalls Zurbarán in composition, illumination, modelling, and folds. Though somewhat stagey and failing to suggest Zurbarán's serene inner withdrawal, the Valencian can be intensive. His restlessness, contrasting, vigorous *tenebroso*, and his crowded scenes create a feeling of drama. Fairly uniform in style throughout his career, Espinosa developed his compositions in a simple system of verticals, horizontals, and diagonals establishing a circular movement. As if by formula[40] he illuminated primarily the centre and secondarily along the borders. The *Christ divesting himself* (Toledo, Greco Museum) is his most Caravaggesque work.

Real drama, violent action, and a feverish, passionate mood pervade the paintings and drawings of Esteban March (*c.* 1610–*c.* 1668).[41] His religious pictures, battles, portraits, and genre scenes show energetic, brooding realism. A sea of darks is rent by a few lights. Zigzag lines (under the influence of Orrente), draughtsmanlike, unfused brushwork, and *tenebroso* illumination are used with the utmost vigour. More than half of the extant *œuvre* represents equestrian battles (Valencia; Madrid, Palace and Academy; Narbonne; Quimper; Cracow) handled as a Baroque scheme of tension, thrust, and counterthrust. Horsemen (inspired by Tempesta) spurt diagonally into and out of the picture. The movement of individual figures and the contortions of bodies suggest clashing fury. Besides battles, March painted many half-length genre and holy figures in the style of Ribera (the best in Paris, H. Stuart de Clèves; others in Valencia, nos 573–6, as anonymous), some more intense and more rapidly sketched than the prototypes.

If March was Spain's foremost battle specialist, another Valencian, Vicente Giner,[42] was her outstanding painter of *vedute* (architectural perspectives), a branch of painting cultivated in Rome, Naples, and other Italian cities. Giner, an ecclesiastic, lived in Rome from *c.* 1660 or 1670. In 1680, from Rome, he petitioned Charles II in vain to found a Spanish Academy there. About forty of Giner's *vedute* can be reassembled on the basis of the *Prodigal Son merrymaking before a Triple Arch* (Murcia, Alvaro d'Estoup Collection), the *Double Arch at a Harbour* (Madrid, González Conde Collection, from Murcia), both signed, and the companion piece, *An Open Court* (Plate 162A). These pictures indicate that his art derives from Viviano Codazzi's[43] (Bergamo 1604, Naples 1621–47, Rome 1647–70). Whereas Codazzi's *vedute* were 'prese da i luoghi' (i.e. taken on the spot, and certainly look it), Giner devised 'vedute ideate' (i.e. possible, yet imaginary architecture). Both artists emphasized the picture plane, the action taking place in layers parallel to the surface. Depth is provided by strong diagonal shadows and often by side walls, arches, or colonnades in perspective. Unlike his Italian colleagues, Giner possessed the Spanish fondness for strict symmetry. He arranged the deepest penetration, like a Mannerist funnel, usually in the centre and framed by a distant arch. Light falls in the foreground and background; the middle zone is dark. Multiple openings create a push–pull effect. Giner's qualities can be brought out further by comparison with those of the Neapolitan Leonardo Coccorante (probably *fl. c.* 1680–1700), who specialized in 'capricci alla pitoresca o di fantasia', fantastic, dream-like, romantic views, usually of ruins. Coccorante excelled in airy, delicate gradations, animated by a spotty ('macchia') technique which he produced by sparkling white highlights. His spectacular cumulus clouds are almost a trade-mark. Although he usually introduced only a few figures, he achieved restlessness also by emphasizing the diagonal in arranging his buildings. Giner, on the other hand, aimed at solidity, grandeur, severity, dignity, and precision. He preferred buildings in good repair. His skies are uninteresting, but he shows twenty to thirty people grouped by twos or threes in various activities. His paintings often include statues placed in niches and curiously, even surrealistically, alive. Codazzi's figures were frequently painted by Michelangelo Cerquozzi. Future research must decide to what extent Giner and Coccorante relied on others for their figures.

Besides several minor Valencian *vedute* painters, one other artist deserves mention: Vicente Salvador y Gómez (1637–80), an officer of the Inquisition, and in 1670 director of the Valencian art academy. In this capacity he wrote in 1674 *Cartilla y fundamentales reglas de pintura* ('Primer and Elementary Rules of Painting').[44] Orellana's praise that Salvador y Gómez was 'most distinguished in architectural perspective which he frequently introduced in his compositions' is borne out in the signed *Liberation of St Peter* (Mexico, Franz Mayer Collection; Plate 162B). In artistry of illumination and spatial relationships he surpassed his teacher, Espinosa. His imagination here anticipated Coccorante's. Tormo[45] may be right in claiming that Salvador y Gómez, especially in his two large historical scenes of St Vincent Ferrer (1665, Valencia, Santo Domingo), was the only Valencian painter influenced by Velázquez.

The best painter at Murcia was the classicist Mateo Gilarte (Valencia *c.* 1620–Murcia 1680), who seems to have been influenced by Orrente and possibly by Mayno. Gilarte's twelve scenes from the life of the Virgin, some with Mannerist funnel effects, are now distributed in various Spanish museums. His *Flight into Egypt* at Santo Domingos, Mula, is curiously flat and elongated, recalling Mannerist devices. However, Gilarte developed spatial depth in the *Christ at Emmaus* (Toledo, Museo de San Vicente) and in his ceiling frescoes and oil paintings at Santo Domingo in Murcia. His best qualities are design, colour, and intensity, as in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* at Brunswick.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AT MADRID

After the flood-tide of the Baroque, Spanish painting in the new century disappoints in quality as well as quantity. Less than a handful of native artists rose above mediocrity, while French and, later, Italian artists were the royal favourites. It was the least Spanish century in the history of Spanish art. The change of dynasty swept aside the Pyrenees by waves of French and later of Italian influences that reached improbable heights. Sánchez Cantón[46] went as far as to say: 'Spain became a feudal domain of the French.' He inferred that although the Bourbons, ruling as enlightened despots, did not love Spanish art, Spain has been in their debt ever since for social and material progress. He added that painting was in decadence whereas erudition flowered more than ever. It was the first century of serious research in art history. It was also in Spain, Portugal, and their American Dominions the century of a brilliant architecture, and on the other hand of an increasingly dominant academic control.

Philip V (1683–1746) installed the Bourbon dynasty in 1701. Rigaud painted the new ruler (Prado) just before he left Paris for the Spanish throne. Philip was the second son of the French Dauphin. His grandmother and great-grandmother had been Spanish infantas married to French kings; hence his dynastic claim backed by the overwhelming power of Louis XIV. The new queen of Spain, Maria Luisa Gabriela of Savoy and Orleans (1688–1714), a niece of Louis XIV, was more than half French.

During the first half of the century worth-while art was created mostly away from Madrid or by foreigners at the capital. At Barcelona, Antonio Viladomat (1678–1755) painted a few still-lifes, some interesting genre scenes, and large religious pictures in series (Barcelona and Mataró). Although his manner was sketchy and quick, like that of Luca Giordano, his compositions are earth-bound, as in seventeenth-century painting. There are suggestions of Dutch genre-painting: scenes in a snowy winter setting, views through open doors into city lanes, and light reflected from the fire. Although these are well observed, Viladomat fails to hold attention, partly because of his sombre colours and partly because of a lack of characterization. At Seville, Domingo Martínez (*c.* 1689–*c.* 1750) depicted the festive air of his city in a series of the masquerades and processions at the accession of Ferdinand VI in 1746 (Seville).[47] Elaborately carved and gilded glory carts, carrying musicians and symbolizing the elements, arts, and Universal Joy, are pulled through the streets by richly caparisoned horses. Gorgeous tapestries hang from each window. Masked ladies in hoop skirts and dandies with three-cornered hats transport us to Longhi's Venice. Lightly brushed but more heavily composed is the veristic art of the Cordovan José Cobos y Guzmán (1666–1746), whose *Birth of St Peter Nolasco* (Cordova) recalls Rivalz of Toulouse. Cobos's best paintings are in the Merced at Cordova and deserve to be photographed.

The eighteenth-century portrait, in a Neo-Mannerist revival, harked back to the sixteenth century by placing distinction above individual character, and by stressing detailed, linear costumes as well as long, elegant hands. However, to some extent the painterly handling of the Baroque was appreciated and continued. Finally, Goya, with bravura execution and brutal frankness, once more applied the lessons learned from Greco and Velázquez. The court at Madrid for the first decade and a half employed Spanish painters. Miguel Jacinto Meléndez (Oviedo 1679–Madrid c. 1736) was appointed in 1712 and received a salary from 1726. By him, and not by his brother F. A. Meléndez, are many half-length portraits flattering Philip V[48] and his queen, Maria Luisa Gabriela.[49] That the queen was less pretty one sees in Juan García de Miranda's (Madrid 1677–1749) full-length of her, of c. 1705 (Prado).[50] Her bust by the same artist (New-York Historical Society, as anonymous) has more energy and character. The equestrian portrait of the future Luis I (Madrid, Count of Andes) may be by M. J. Meléndez. About four years later Domingo Chavarito (1676–1750) signed another equestrian portrait of that prince (Washington, Hon. Fernando Berckemeyer). Few portraits are known by Teodoro Ardemáns (1664–1726, born in Madrid, the son of a Flemish father), who was an architect and ornamentalist[51] rather than a painter. It is thus not accidental that Ardemáns's foremost portrait represents Filippo Juvara, the great architect (Madrid, Academy).

With the death of Maria Luisa Gabriela and the crowning in 1715 of Isabella Farnese, Philip V's second queen, a reign of three successive Frenchmen as favourite portrait painters started at court: Michel-Ange Houasse (in Spain 1715–30), Jean Ranc (1724–35), and Louis Michel van Loo, who came in 1737. Houasse's best portrait is perhaps the full-length future Luis I (1717, Prado), fresh and elegant in silver and red. Luis, at fourteen, married the twelve-year-old Luisa Isabella of Orleans in 1722, and came to the throne in 1724, when his father, Philip V, abdicated. Like her late mother-in-law, the queen was a niece of Louis XIV. She was arrested at her husband's orders on 4 July 1724 because, as Voltaire wrote, 'she amused herself sometimes by taking off all her clothes, together with her prettiest maids of honour, and in this state they allowed entry to the handsomest gentlemen of the realm'.[52] The king died six weeks later, and his widow returned to Paris, unwilling to put up with the rigour of Spanish court life. Philip V then ruled for twenty-two years more.

Houasse's diverse views of country folk at play (Riofrío; Plate 164A), done shortly before his death, are the freshest, most imaginative genre scenes in outdoor settings, not without influence from Watteau. The arrangement is inventive and realistic, the lighting interesting, and the reproduction of details faithful, though far from pedantic. Houasse was an eighteenth-century Winslow Homer. Forty to fifty years later these pictures (a good example is at Grenoble) still influenced the school of Madrid, and particularly Goya.

Many royal portraits by Ranc survive (fifteen in the Prado). He was drier and more schematic than van Loo. His draperies and painting of flesh were less life-like. He introduced in Spain the royal group portrait as an eighteenth-century conversation piece (*Family of Philip V*, Prado). Better than usual is the equestrian portrait of Philip V (Prado, no. 2326). Ranc may be the author of a likeness of the future Ferdinand VI, of c. 1734 (Madrid, Naval Museum, as anonymous). When the royal couple went to Seville, Ranc accompanied them, and there, at the order of the queen, who fell in love with the art of Murillo, he copied many of Murillo's paintings. Not one Murillo had been in the royal collection until Isabella Farnese acquired over twelve (Prado). Ranc's stay in Spain was a mixed blessing: the totally destructive palace fire started in his room, where drunken companions had gathered at Christmas of 1734.

Ranc's successor, van Loo, was the main mover and director of the preparatory *junta* for the founding of the Academy of San Fernando.[53] To his graceful portraits of the children of Philip V and the large *Family of Philip V* (Prado) may be added a dazzling likeness of Philip of Bourbon, Duke of Parma, *c.* 1739 (Mexico, F. González de la Fuente). Van Loo's paintings have verve, animation, and lustrous colour. When he left in 1747, Jacopo Amigoni[54] and two minor Spaniards served as stopgaps until Mengs arrived.[55]

L. E. Meléndez (1716–80), nephew of M. J. and son of F. A. Meléndez and an Italian mother, was brought as a baby to Spain from his native Naples. His full name, strangely abbreviated in his signature, was Luis Egidio (not Eugenio) Menéndez (or Meléndez) de Rivera Durazo y Santo Padre.[56] He studied with his father and van Loo. Still-lifes were his speciality. These and his *Self Portrait* holding a drawing of a male nude (1745, in the Louvre) place him among the best Spanish painters of the eighteenth century. Yet his petitions to be named court painter were rejected, as had been those of his father. For all the luscious foodstuffs Meléndez depicted, he had in his own words 'not the means even to nourish himself, his brush being his only asset'. His dated still-lifes range from 1739 to 1772. Most are of 1772, when he completed a large series of fruit pieces (Prado) for a room at Aranjuez Palace intended to show every species of food produced in Spain. Nearly all his paintings represent fruits, divers food containers, or both combined, on a table. There may be bread, small barrels, boxes for sweets, baskets with a piece of white cloth, or copper or earthenware vessels. Occasionally the main subject is fish, fowl, meat, or vegetables. Pietro Paolo Gobbo (as in a picture owned by the Duke of Valencia) influenced him in the placing and choice of objects and the dramatic accent given to volume. Meléndez possessed a fine sense of texture, of colour harmony, and solidity of composition, usually ranged in a triangle in depth. *Still-Life with Bread, Bacon, and Vegetables*, in Boston (Plate 163B) justifies by its insistent interplay of curving shapes, its clear, cool light, and its poetic veracity the epithet 'the Spanish Chardin' bestowed upon Meléndez.

A new flourishing of the arts came with the accession of Charles III (1716–88) in 1759. Since 1734 he had been an enlightened king of the Two Sicilies at Naples. In 1761 he called to Madrid the romanized German Anton Rafael Mengs (1728–79), and the next year Tiepolo (d. 1770), who spent there the last eight years of his life.[57] Mengs was at Madrid from 1761 to 1768 and from 1774 to 1776. His Neo-Classical ideas and his example for a short time ruled all Spanish art and would not tolerate Tiepolo's buoyant fantasy.

As court portraiture, Mengs's art derives from the international style of portrait-painting of the eighteenth century, and is based on French sources seen through Italian eyes, especially Batoni. Mengs is somewhat heavier than the French. Trying to catch the spirit of the sitter, he often exaggerates the eyes. He juxtaposes yellow, red, and blue without harmonizing the colour areas, nor does he use black and white as local hues. His portraits emphasize the tactile value of healthy flesh, and the finished, almost too finished, execution. They possess the feminine, refined, and seductive sensibility of eighteenth-century court painting. Yet the faces seem enamel and the figures remain frozen in courtly poses. For nearly a hundred years Mengs's influence as a portraitist intensely affected the whole Spanish school, including Goya, Vicente López, Esquivel, and the Madrazos.

Mengs's followers were not able to imitate his enamel finish (Goya happily did not care to), but remained faithful to his rigid academic system, which, in order to bring out the elegance of the sitter, stressed correctness of drawing, ordered composition, and aristocratic pose. This is true of all of them: Francisco Bayeu, Maella, Inza, Ferro, Ramos, Camarón, Agustín Esteve, and Carnicero. By 1802 (besides Goya) there were nineteen court painters![58] All were good portraitists. Their art reflects the spirit, customs, and tendencies of their social surroundings. If the poses are stiff, so was society; if the figures are outwardly elegant and ostentatious, so also was the false grandeur of the monarchy; if they lack freedom and virility, so did public opinion.

Except in portraiture, Tiepolo, by influencing Francisco Bayeu, Paret, and Goya, had a more lasting effect than Mengs. A son, Lorenzo Tiepolo (d. at Madrid in 1776 when 'king's painter'), created superb, startling arrangements of genre heads in pastel (Madrid, Palace). Another son, Gian Domenico, did excellent religious paintings (Prado) before returning to Italy. Tiepolo bequeathed his gaiety, his clear and vivid colours, his airy lightness, and the swiftness of his brush to the school of Madrid from 1770 to 1800. Luis González Velázquez (1715–63) died too soon to be affected by him, but his brother Antonio (1723–93), a pupil of the Italian Corrado Giaquinto (in Madrid 1753–62), already had the lighter Italian palette and followed Tiepolo as a specialist in ceiling-paintings (Madrid, Encarnación; Saragossa, Pilar). One of the last Italian fresco painters in Spain was Luis Yapeli (Giapelli) from Bologna, whose light-hearted fantasy graced the Casita del Labrador in Aranjuez (*c.* 1806).

The eighteenth century discovered the fourth estate, a favourite subject of the *sainetes* (farces) by Ramón de la Cruz on the Spanish stage. The *Cris de Paris* were paralleled by similar series in England and Italy, in Argentina, Peru, and Bolivia. Spanish eighteenth-century painters from Viladomat to Carnicero were interested in low-life genre. The animated sketches of popular types, in oil or wash, by Manuel de la Cruz (1750–92) foreshadow the art of Goya. The royal tapestry factory soon switched from copying Teniers to working after original colourful cartoons of Spanish city and village life by Spanish artists: Goya (dealt with in another volume), Castillo, two of the Bayeu brothers, Maella, and many others. This manufacture was thus a significant factor in Spanish painting during the second half of the century.[59]

José del Castillo[60] (1737–93), a precocious talent, entered the Royal Academy at ten, went to Rome to study with Giaquinto at fourteen, and won the first prize in painting at the Royal Academy at nineteen. He studied again in Rome in 1758–64 as royal pensioner at the Spanish Academy. For the tapestry factory in Madrid he designed between 1765 and 1787 over a hundred cartoons, and in this employment, together with Goya and Francisco Bayeu, was named 'chamber painter' in 1776. For the

Academy edition of *Don Quixote* (1780) Castillo etched sprightly aquatint illustrations. His cartoons of *Paseos* ('Walks in the Park'; Madrid; Plate 164B) and *Children at Play* echo Houasse in lighting as well as freshness of subject matter. However, Castillo's atmosphere is more hazy. His people, dressed up as courtiers, majos, and majas, are unmistakably Spanish and sometimes delightfully humorous. Some of his genre scenes were attributed to Goya (Madrid, Museo Lázaro; San Francisco, Cal., Magnin).

Francisco Bayeu (Saragossa 1734–Madrid 1795), a pupil of Luxán and of Antonio González Velázquez, was at court from 1763, when he won a prize with a forceful *Tyranny of Gerion* (Madrid, Academy). He attached himself to Mengs, who directed all artistic activities, including those of the tapestry factory. In 1767 Bayeu became 'chamber painter'. He painted in fresco numerous ceilings and walls at Saragossa (Pilar), Toledo Cathedral, and the royal palaces of Madrid, El Pardo, La Granja, and Aranjuez. For each fresco he made many pencil drawings heightened in white, and various sets of sketches in oil. Because Bayeu was the 'perfect example of a gifted artist subject to the icy discipline of the Academy',[61] the frescoes are colder and less alive than the charming sketches. Thanks to Tiepolo's and Giaquinto's bracing influence, these have movement, light, sparkling colour, silvery hues, and are executed with a flowing brush. On occasion, Bayeu imitated Tiepolo's draperies or introduced, as at Aranjuez, a copy of one of Tiepolo's orientals. Close to Bayeu's style, though sweeter and of less quality, was that of Mariano Salvador Maella (Valencia 1739–Madrid 1819), who shared equal rank with Goya as 'first court painter' and did his best work in portraits. Ramón Bayeu (1746–93), Francisco's brother, worked from 1776 alongside Goya. Both painted cartoons of popular scenes for the tapestry factory under an arrangement whereby Ramón was supervised by his brother and Goya (until he rebelled) by Maella. Less finished and careful in execution than Francisco Bayeu's, Ramón's art is more forceful and better composed.

Goya's best Spanish contemporary was Luis Paret y Alcázar (Madrid 1746–99), like Francisco Bayeu a pupil of A. González Velázquez, but also of the Frenchman Charles de la Traverse, who worked at Madrid. Paret studied in Italy in 1763–6 and 1767–71. He seems to have been at Rome and Venice, where he must have met Longhi and Canaletto. In 1775–8, involved in princely love affairs, Paret was banished to Puerto Rico. No other artist of European significance visited America during the eighteenth century.

Paret reflects the age of enlightenment. He was a humanist, translated Greek and Latin authors, and emulated the Renaissance ideal of an artist practising in many fields: painting in different media, drawing, printmaking, and decorative architecture. He painted, and very well too, every type of subject: religious, historical, mythological, allegorical, portrait, genre, landscape, and still-life. Interesting and informative are his various fiestas (Prado). As exciting are his views of city squares, such as the *Puerta del Sol* at Madrid (1773), seaports, and interiors, like *The Draper's Shop* of 1773 at Madrid, Museo Lázaro (Plate 165B). A recent excellent study of Paret[62] compared this picture to Watteau's *Enseigne de Guersaint* and described Paret's delight in balanced, sumptuous elegance and in the luxury of silks, paintings, porcelain, and flowers, recalling that the artist started as a jeweller's apprentice. Virtuosity, preciousness in the best sense of the word, and a bent for the fantastic make Paret occasionally equal to Fragonard. One is indeed justified in calling him the Spanish Fragonard in view of his *Maja and Celestina* (Barcelona, Milicua) and his *Lady with a Book* (Barcelona, Julio Muñoz). The *Concentration of Diogenes* of 1780 (Madrid, Academy, a gift of the artist upon being elected academician) is a red and green dream of fire and smoke, of weird masks, horned skulls, donkey heads, snakes, druids, and harpies, all trying in vain to divert Diogenes' attention from the book of wisdom.

Between 1780 and 1792 Paret spent much time in northern Spain, designing fountains (which still exist) at Bilbao and Pamplona and painting harbour views. *The Arsenal Quay at Bilbao* (Plate 165A) is one of his best in its airiness and detailed execution, combined with unity and largeness of mood. Even Paret, for all his 'French' charm, gave his characters a Spanish ruggedness unknown in Rococo France. In two amazing low-life pictures of families in an interior (Madrid, Palace) Paret anticipated and far outdid European genre-painting of the nineteenth century.[63]

CHAPTER 17

PAINTING IN SPANISH AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

THE work of the Colonial painter is permeated with devotion, intensity, and a folk stylization – and nearly always with a disarming naiveté. Often a peculiar inward-turned spirituality is perceptible.[1] Though Colonial painting usually lacks originality and slavishly follows prints from Antwerp and Rome,[2] the Colonial artist contributed colour. The resulting style from 1550 to 1750 is Mannerist, or at least mannered, because sixteenth-century prints were used till the advent of Neo-Classicism, and painting from life was not practised even during the Baroque – that is, the seventeenth century. Few regions boast landscape, people, flora, and fauna more exciting than Latin America. Yet Colonial painting knows no landscapes and few mythologies and allegories. As late as 1680 the Dominican Provincial in Quito was publicly indicted for owning a picture of Hector and Achilles.[3] In the eighteenth century there are a mere handful of still-lifes, histories, and genre subjects, and the Indians appear in a few series of the Conquest or as racial types illustrating the Spanish caste system. There are two main themes: religious and portraits. At Quito, in 1570, the church forbade the sale of profane images to Indians who, not knowing better, might pray to them. Largely responsible was the Inquisition (1487–1833), operating in the Colonies, particularly Mexico, with even greater terror than in Spain.[4] In Mexico, during the reign of Philip II, many artists and printers from Flanders, Italy, and France were jailed, falsely accused of Lutheranism. The few foreigners who dared come after 1600 were of little ability. Colonial painting from then on formed its own school, supplemented by an occasional painting or painter from Europe. Except for Vázquez (Mexico 1603–8) and for sculptors in Peru, even Spanish immigrants were poor artists or soon became so in the retardataire Colonial atmosphere. There were neither educated connoisseurs nor first-rate works of art to set high standards.

Probably on account of the Inquisition, Colonial painting generally avoided the Old Testament[5] and concentrated on the Gospel, Evangelists, Apostles, and Saints. Archangels and angels were extraordinarily popular at all times, perhaps because they replaced similar messengers in pre-Conquest beliefs. The Immaculate Conception was frequent after 1620, and the Passion after 1700, when the Virgin in various advocations was also extolled. Scantily clad figures were frowned on after 1625.

After 1556 in Mexico, and soon after elsewhere, the guilds controlled painterly activity, requiring examination by guild artists for licence to practice. In Mexico City, Puebla, Bogotá, and Lima the guilds excluded natives until about 1700. Under the pretext of keeping out inferior or religiously objectionable art, the guild operated a closed shop for the benefit of its members. Anyone teaching Indians was to be expelled from Cabrera's planned Academy (1753).[6] For work not necessarily better, guild members commanded higher prices than the Indians, who were chiefly employed by the friars. In the countryside, and in predominantly Indian cities such as Quito or Potosí, most painters and sculptors were entirely or partly Indian. Everywhere artists operated on a craftsman level, with little social standing, small ambition, and little inclination for innovation. In spite of these handicaps, many Colonial works command admiration.

Pre-Hispanic earth and vegetable colours were of high quality. In Colonial Mexico Indian cochineal (carmine) and indigo (aniline) became for the settlers a lucrative export to Europe. The use of a few basic hues continued as before the Conquest: vermilion, blue, ochre, several shades of red earth, black, and white, with an occasional green or carmine. From these, other colours were mixed. Brilliant effects were obtained, in spite of a restricted palette. The seventeenth century favoured deep and intense colours, but the Rococo preferred light red, blue, and white. Excellent woods abounded for use as supports, but canvas and brushes were coarser than in Europe.

Colonial painting in the sixteenth century [7] often reflects the virile and humanistic spirit of the early *conquistadores* as well as the humble, apostolic zeal, filled with love towards the Indian, of the first missionaries. Later on a chronicle of 1573 [8] reports that the Indians are brought by force to hear the Gospel and Doctrine. If they do not come they get two dozen lashings. They have little faith and their external demonstrations of it are to please the monks. In South America, in contrast to Mexico, the art is essentially European without indigenous or mestizo influences. Non-Spanish sources, especially ideas, styles, painters, paintings, and prints, imported chiefly from Antwerp [9] and Italy and sometimes from Germany or France, outweigh Spanish influence. At least in the field of painting, Spanish culture is relegated to a secondary role. This is contrary to established opinion, believing South America in all aspects to be a branch of Spanish and Portuguese civilization. Research indicates that Hispanic America, like North America, was from the beginning of European colonization a melting-pot of many races and cultures. Spain furnished the manpower, the courage, and the spirit of adventure. Leadership often came from Italians or Flemings, members of Spain's European empire.

A coherent history of South American art in the sixteenth century must await the fulfilment of at least three conditions: an ample publication of documents concerning art in notarial and ecclesiastic archives should be made, a task barely begun; a systematic photographic campaign of available material must be undertaken; and a thorough search is necessary for surviving fresco-paintings, now under whitewash. Fresco was the favourite medium of the time. Generally, easel-paintings up to 1590–1600 were done in tempera or oil on panel, and the larger ones up to about 1615 in tempera on unprimed canvas. After 1615 oil on primed canvas is the rule. In Ecuador and Peru slabs of a whitish translucent stone were used occasionally as support.

Though one may distinguish direct importations from Antwerp, Italy, and Germany, as against local productions after prototypes from these countries, in either case most works are partly or entirely copies. For instance, in Bolivia religious pictures survive from the workshops of Quentin Massys, the Antwerp Master of the Prodigal Son, Willem Key, Hans von Kulmbach, and pupils of Marten de Vos, as well as Colonial copies after Mabuse, Joos van Cleef, and Stradanus's engravings, and even an early original by Pieter Aertsen. Thus, throughout South America the influence of the Antwerp school before 1550 rivals that of Italian Late Mannerism.

MEXICO

The Sixteenth Century

Before the Conquest the Indians had excelled in wall-painting, picture books, and feather mosaics.[10] These forms persisted throughout the sixteenth century, feather-painting until much later. The picture books (codices) kept their pre-Hispanic style until shortly before 1550. Religious paintings, books, and prints were immediately imported, chiefly from Flanders and Italy, to give religious instruction. Illustrated books served as artistic models.[11] The pre-Hispanic mural technique – in earth colours mixed with water and size upon the limned, polished wall – continued with slight modifications until the late sixteenth century.[12] Most work was executed by Indians,[13] as evidenced by the style in comparison to post-Conquest manuscripts. The Yanhuitlán Codex (*c.* 1545–50; Plate 166A) shows adaptation of European ways of shading, composition, perspective, and characterization of types.[14] The broad, flat forms in this Indian manuscript are often paralleled in the frescoes of 1550–60 (Huejotzingo, *The Twelve Franciscans*; Ixmiquilpan, *Agony in the Garden*). Here the outline is of great clarity with some shading, resulting in a grisaille effect. Most frescoes are in black or brown on white, though sometimes red or yellow is added. From 1560 to 1580 the style is richer, both in figure scenes (Acolman cloister; Actopan stair-well, Plate 166B) and ornamental borders (Huejotzingo; Actopan). The chiaroscuro is more vigorous and the perspective usually better understood.

Being less expensive and quicker than architecture or sculpture, painted mural decoration – altars, columns, grotesque friezes, and coffered ceilings – were at first preferred by the friars. Indian artists frescoed the chapel at Tlaxcala in four days.[15] Probably no murals survive of the period 1520–50, nor any of the didactic rolls from which the friars taught the mostly illiterate Indians religious and other subjects. Adapted to Indian understanding, they were enlarged copies from books or prints, and were painted on cloth unwinding like wall-maps.[16]

Most sixteenth-century murals, as well as the main carved monuments,[17] were carried out between 1550 and 1580. The frescoes so far uncovered are concentrated in the valley of Mexico – that is, the states of Hidalgo, Mexico, Morelos, Puebla, and Tlaxcala – and also Oaxaca and Michoacán. There are over sixty ex-convents with known frescoes, the majority Franciscan (at least twenty-nine), many Augustinian (at least eighteen), and some Dominican (eleven).

In the convent the principal frescoes were four Passion scenes, inviting meditation. They were arranged counter-clockwise in each corner of the cloister walk. Considered less suitable for Indian edification, Passion subjects were not to reach general popularity until the eighteenth century. Saints decorated the cloister pillars, appropriate themes the stair-well, refectory, and some of the cells.[18] Exceptions to the usual repertory are the *Equestrian Sybils* (Puebla, former Bishop's Palace) and *Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras*, and *Cicero* (Atotonilco).[19] The most outstanding murals are at Huejotzingo and Actopan. The Franciscans decorated the De Profundis Hall at Huejotzingo with a movingly humble representation of the first twelve Apostles of their Order in New Spain, kneeling on either side of the Cross. Around the other walls of this room, between a double frieze, stand paired saints, inspiring imitation. Painted against a landscape background, set off by arches and baluster columns, these scenes have the graphic clarity of their European print sources. As architectural decoration they transform the hall into a gallery opening on the world.

Where the Franciscans sought to convert the Indians by their humility, the Augustinians did so by ostentation. Pre-Conquest worship had been extraordinarily ceremonious. Feeling that the Indians had a psychological need for pomp, the friars converted the Viceroy to their viewpoint after his initial protests against so much extravagance. This richness explains the Augustinian façades of Acolman or Yuriria and carries over into the convent. Unparalleled in the Colonies for decorative splendour, the staircase at Actopan (Plate 166B) stresses Augustinian wisdom and learning. Bishops and doctors of the Order sit at their desks in a manner derived from the Quattrocento. Grotesque baluster columns support the arches framing each scene. In several rows separated by grotesque friezes, this grandiose ensemble rises 40 feet to the vault.[20] Though examples of exact copying are rare, Mexican murals usually, with variations, imitate European prints (less often paintings), chiefly from Italy, the Low Countries, Germany, and France.[21] Provincial churches in Spain, as far north as Albacete (San Juan Bautista), had murals in the same style.

The first important European painter in Mexico was Simon Pereyns, who arrived in 1566. He had left his native Antwerp in 1558 and had painted at Lisbon, Toledo, and Madrid. After jealous Spanish colleagues alleged that his father was a Lutheran, the Inquisition tortured him cruelly (1568), but without breaking his spirit.[22] Before he died (*c.* 1590, Mexico) he did the altar-paintings for at least a dozen conventual retables, most of them lost. In the best preserved (1586, Huejotzingo) he copied prints after Marten de Vos [23] and others. Of 1588 is a *St Christopher* (Mexico Cathedral). The *Virgin of the Pardon* (also in the cathedral), apparently by Pereyns, parallels in a Raphaelesque way the contemporary work of Bitti in South America. The *Holy Family with St John* (Mexico, Academy) also resembles Pereyns's style in vigorous chiaroscuro and emphasis on three-dimensional perspective. His outlines were delicate and precious.

Pereyns's European contemporaries in Mexico are also Late Mannerists. Andrés de la Concha (*fl.* Mexico until 1612) is said to have come from the Escorial, but was a resident of Seville when he sailed for Mexico in 1567.[24] His altar-paintings at Yanhuitlán of *c.* 1568–70 await proper photographs. It is doubtful whether Concha is identical with the St Cecilia Master (*c.* 1590–1600), whose Italo-Flemish style is as good as work then done in Seville. Luminosity, dignity, and distribution of interest over the picture surface distinguish his diamond-shaped compositions (Mexico, Academy: *St Cecilia*, *St*

Lawrence). Alonso Franco, of Illescas (Toledo), entered into partnership with Francisco de Zumaya at Mexico City in 1584, but their paintings have not yet been identified. Franco was at Seville temporarily in 1588 before returning to Mexico.

It is not known whether paintings by a major sixteenth-century Spanish master reached Mexico. The most influential non-Spanish artist was Marten de Vos, through his paintings (two at Mexico Cathedral and several at Cuautitlán, Mexico) and through engravings after his work.

The Seventeenth Century

Mannerist Early Baroque (1600–40)

Mexican painting continued to be Mannerist with a few Baroque innovations introduced by Alonso Vázquez (p. 228; Mexico 1603–8), such as radiant light, three-dimensional modelling, and a feeling of space. Unified, vivid landscapes suggest nature as divine creation. Vázquez probably painted the excellent *St Sebastian* (Mexico Cathedral) hitherto attributed to Francisco de Gamboa. Pictorial interest and a sense of drama distinguish *St Michael casting out the Devil*[25] (Plate 167A) and *St Michael protecting a Noble Boy against a Naked Temptress and a Horned Satan*. Their attribution is certain, since types, colouring, and the peculiar rippling line of the drapery lights repeat his European works (Plate 116A).[26] St Michael was later taken over by Luis Juárez, who shortened the proportions, softened the linearity, and made the figure more gentle. Vázquez established the types and compositions which determined the Mexican school of the first half of the seventeenth century.

His contemporary Baltasar de Echave Orio contributed notably, though less. Born of a noble family near Zumaya (Guipúzcoa, Spain) about 1548, he moved to Andalusia at the age of twenty-five and *c.* 1580 to Mexico, where he died forty years later. His twenty-five extant paintings date from after 1600.[27] Echave Orio's style and his mastery of anatomy derive from the Florentine manner of the 1570s. He could have studied in that city with Santo di Tito, Ligozzi, or Morandini (Il Poppi).[28] Echave is a Mannerist with touches of Baroque. He did not possess Vázquez's talent for rhythmically unified compositions. Except for late works, his paintings are darker, stiffer, and less spacious. Colours are vermilion, lemon, deep blue, wine-red, green, and lilac. In the *Agony in the Garden* lighting and intense warm hues focus attention on Christ in the foreground. Symbolic flowers blossom next to a realistic tree-trunk placed as repoussoir before a lighter area. The angel derives from Vázquez. In the *Porciuncula* (1609; Plate 168) the figures loom large, close to the foreground. Bodies are slightly suggested beneath cardboard-like draperies. As usual in his pictures, forms are aligned along parallel diagonals. Features are idealized and serene. In the *Visitation*, St Joseph and St Joachim recall Florentine Mannerism, as do the triangular pleating of the folds, the changeable hues, the device of pulling draperies into tongue-like forms, and of introducing bits of precious fabric. Two *Martyrdoms* (1612 and 1616) follow Italian patterns, for instance Francesco Vanni's *Baptism of Constantine* (1587, Siena, S. Agostino), done after Echave had left Europe. The scene is framed by pieces of architecture – a column, a canopy in perspective – the eye level is low, and figures are half cut off by the border, some turning their backs. Beyond the main event, shifted to the middle ground, one rushes towards the street, which opens funnel-like in the distance. Yet these two pictures and *Christ at the Column* (1618, Mexico Cathedral) are in many respects more modern than Echave's usual style. In the *Martyrdom of St Apronian*, the cloudburst above parallels Roelas's early seventeenth-century manner, and the heads in the foreground fuse pictorially rather than being linear. Echave's inadequately photographed six paintings at Xochimilco perhaps reflect in their so-called Tintorettesque manner the influence of Morandini (1570–3, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Studiolo). Echave Orio's style contributed to the general pattern of Mexican painting, and immediately to that of his pupils Luis Juárez and Echave Ibía, who with Herrera and Arteaga were the foremost masters between 1620 and 1650.[29]

Luis Juárez and Echave Ibía, both Mexican-born, were contemporaries (*c.* 1585–*c.* 1645). Juárez's extant paintings are dated from 1610 to 1633. Weaker than either Echave Orio or Vázquez, Juárez was influenced by both. He derived from Vázquez types and poses of heads and hands as well as thin highlights zigzagging across garments like tiny flashes of lightning.[30] Echave contributed the basic design of prismatic draperies in shot colours and emphasis on precious bits. Particularly dainty, almost like water-colours, and with a miniaturist technique, are Juárez's *Bestowal of the Chasuble upon St Ildefons* and the *Virgin with St Anne*,[31] probably early works. The features in his paintings are exquisite, gentle and suave. Tenderness and delicate beauty characterized Mexican painting for the next two hundred years. A *sfumato* technique overcame the linear effects of his predecessors. His angels, even his saints, seem childlike. The airiness of his citron skies is set off by festive hues, cherry, rose, orange, green, and light blue. Subtle backgrounds vanish in thin *pianissimo* (*Annunciation*; *Marriage of St Catherine*). Though Juárez lacked his masters' authority and knew little about anatomy, he progressed towards more three-dimensional presentations. His scenes from the life of St Teresa (Guanajuato, University; Guadalajara; Davenport, as José Juárez, allegedly signed 1661) are Baroque in feeling for space and incipient chiaroscuro.

Echave Orio's son was Baltasar de Echave Ibía, the first Mexican-born painter to conquer relationships in space and to integrate landscape in his compositions. He understood anatomy well. An early, relatively flat *Immaculate Conception* (1620) is akin to Luis Juárez in facial expression and joyous blue and gold. Echave Ibía often painted on small copper plates, as in the *Evangelists* (Mexico, Academy, and Querétaro). Here he established three-dimensional space with sagacity, an accomplishment perhaps due to the print he may have used. Hues are lilac, blue, sienna, and vermilion. His forte is the blending of figures and landscapes, both, along with his brushwork, said to derive from Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto, and Campagnola.[32] The blue tonality of the landscapes also recalls Patinir. Like his father and Vázquez, Echave Ibía did portraits. His *Noble Lady*, probably a donor (*c.* 1620), has the *sfumato* and bland flesh tones of Luis Juárez. If the *Baptism of Christ* is by Ibía, it shows him at the end of his career overcoming mannered draperies and stippled, embroidery-like trees. A new largeness of view and ease of handling look beyond Vázquez towards Rubens, whose sketches

Echave Ibía may have seen. Draperies and lighting here are realistic. Tones blend pictorially. The naturalistic landscape forgoes previous picturesque detail.

Alonso López de Herrera (1579–*c.* 1648)[33] was also born in Mexico. In 1620 he became a Dominican and immediately did the paintings for the lost high altar of his Order's church at the capital. His masterpiece, a large *Assumption* (1622, Mexico, Palace of Fine Arts; Plate 169), is Mannerist in its linearity and colours, which are vivid and jewel-like. From Sturm and Morales come the apostles – in types, with violent gestures, foreshortened, and having elongated heads with eyes sunken in their sockets. The heavenly glory above had been treated at Seville by Roelas with greater realism and breadth, though hardly with greater splendour. Like Echave Ibía, Herrera often painted small pictures on copper. He used a miniaturist's precision and happy hues – citron, rose, green, vermilion, red-brown. For energetic surety of design Herrera is among the best Mexican painters.

High Baroque Interlude (1640–60)

When Sebastián de Arteaga (Seville 1610–Mexico 1653)[34] arrived in Mexico about 1640 he brought with him a vigorous plastic style, reflecting Flemish reminiscences of Marten de Vos and Rubens as well as early Baroque painting at Rome. Zurbarán, to whose circle Arteaga belongs, had similar sources. Arteaga became a temporary wedge for Baroque realism and *tenebroso*. Bodies and draperies are corporeal. He did away with Mannerist preciousness and painted for large effects of contrasting light and shade. His *Incredulity of St Thomas* (1643), besides obvious resemblances to Zurbarán's pictures around 1630 in types and position of heads, recalls in pose and arrangement a de Vos print and Vermiglio's picture (1612, Rome, S. Tommaso in Vinci). Arteaga's *Crucifixions* (Academy and 1643, Guadalupe, Colegiata) come from Zurbarán's versions of 1627–31, but are less tranquil and more twisting. Arteaga's style reflects Andalusian developments of 1620–30 and remained (for reasons given on p. 165) foreign to Mexican art.

From the late 1630s onwards Zurbarán affected Mexican painting. He and Rubens constituted the dominant influences during the second half of the century. Zurbarán's series of founders of monastic orders (*c.* 1638) and a *Supper at Emmaus* (1639) probably reached Mexico soon. Simultaneously, he began to ship many paintings to other Latin-American cities, the only Spanish painter of renown to do so.[35] Undocumented paintings by him and his workshop survive also at Guatemala and Lima.[36] Most pictures attributed to Zurbarán are by local painters imitating him, directly or indirectly, in Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. José Juárez, Echave Rioja, Juan Tinoco, and other Mexicans followed Zurbarán for figure distribution, facial types, and the representation of rich draperies. Their spirit, though unmistakably Mexican, relates to the Andalusian Baroque. Where the Mexican masters or Zurbarán himself used Flemish prints after Vos, Rubens, and others, they made these in colour, mood, and figure style into Hispanic creations.

Luis Juárez's son and pupil José (*c.* 1615–*c.* 1667) is the outstanding Mexican-born representative of the Zurbaranesque High Baroque. Most pictures are huge, up to 15 feet. The largest, a *Martyrdom of St Lawrence*, is composed according to the formula introduced at Seville by Roelas[37] and continued by Zurbarán, to whom one could almost ascribe the music-making angels on a balcony of clouds. Another picture, *St Justus and St Pastor*, shows the central pair close to Zurbarán in stance, modelling, style, and facial type. The composition, akin to Zurbarán's of the early 1630s, rises airily from the flowers strewn over the floor, through the youthful saints and swirling, fleshy angels to a celestial glory. The latter is copied in reverse from an engraving after A. Bloemaert, also used by Murillo. Other parts of Juárez's picture are probably taken from various engravings. Dignified, solid banisters at the sides serve as repoussoirs for windows, disclosing spacious scenes of martyrdom. Hues are grey, wine-red, green, orange, and lilac. The *Epiphany* (1655; Plate 170B) derives in composition, types, and draperies from Zurbarán's painting (1638, Grenoble). Juárez made many changes. Like Arteaga, he increased the *tenebroso* contrast by concentrating light in the centre to a degree out of fashion in Europe by 1635. However, the distribution of the stable, sturdy figures is of the Classical Baroque, precisely the period to which the picture belongs in date. Borrowings from Zurbarán are so numerous that, unless paintings by him in addition to the three surviving ones existed at Mexico, Juárez must have studied at Seville during the late 1630s.

Another problem is posed by the *Marriage of the Virgin* (Plate 170A), signed 'Sebastián de Arteaga fa'. It differs radically – in spirit, technique, composition, lighting, types, and colours – from Arteaga's known works,[38] and one scholar recognized that it is by the same hand as the *Epiphany* (Davenport, Iowa) signed by José Juárez.[39] Since it and the *Marriage of the Virgin* entirely agree with Juárez's style,[40] one may dismiss the Arteaga signature as a later addition (or believe that Arteaga signed a picture done by Juárez while the latter was in his workshop). Juárez is the only Mexican-born Colonial painter who conscientiously modelled a variety of sculpturesque fabrics. He emphasized bone structure in his hands, and he attempted realistic contrast of lighting. Occasionally, as in the *Holy Family* (1655, Puebla, Academy), he used prints after Rubens to give circular movement to his compositions.[41]

Mannerist Late Baroque (1660–1710)

Echave Ibía's son, Baltasar de Echave Rioja (1632–82), studied with José Juárez. The pupil's *Epiphany* (1659, Davenport) proceeds from that by Juárez of 1655.[42] The king at the right is copied with a few variations, and the central group is merely reversed. However, Echave Rioja gave deeper space by introducing a shepherd in the centre, while the draperies are less plastic, though much more mannered and restless. Faces are fiercer, jewellery less common. Echave Rioja's *Epiphany* was in turn used by Juárez for his second version (also at Davenport), which thus must be of the early 1660s. Juárez took over the central group, but not the feverish draperies. His figures are less compressed and the effect airier. Echave Rioja's *Martyrdom of St Peter Arbués* (1666) comes from a print that also inspired Murillo. Here and in the *Entombment of Christ* (1665, Mexico, Palace of Fine Arts) *tenebroso* contrasts are stressed long after they had gone out of fashion in Europe. The *Entombment*, a night scene, rare in Mexico, has some of Valdés

Leal's spirit, though the types are closer to Francisco Herrera the elder. By exaggerating expression, the faces become bizarre and deformed. Careful drawing is replaced by fugacity of handling, in order to increase movement.[43] This will be the mark of the following generation, Villalpando and the Correas.

Pedro Ramírez (*fl.* 1650–78),[44] another pupil of José Juárez, likewise affects bravado and vigorous, sketchy handling. His signed *St Peter repentant* (Mexico Cathedral Museum), once attributed to Zurbarán, is more mannered and proceeds from Marten de Vos and late sixteenth-century Antwerp engravings. Other works are weaker, close in style to, and as restless as, Echave Rioja. Like Villalpando, Ramírez worked for Guatemala, where the cathedral has eight rather feeble scenes from the life of the Virgin and two paintings after Rubens, *The Triumph of Faith* and *The Triumph of Religion*, signed in 1673. Echave Rioja painted the same compositions for Puebla Cathedral, and Villalpando, with variations, at Mexico Cathedral and Guadalajara.

José Juárez's son-in-law, Antonio Rodríguez (*fl.* 1650–86), was the father and teacher of Nicolás[45] (1667–1734) and Juan Rodríguez Juárez[46] (1675–1728). Slightly older but hardly better was Juan Correa[47] (*fl.* 1674–1714). In their pictures a mannered Late Baroque has arrived, influenced by Rubens in movement and sumptuous apparatus. The best representative of this style was Cristóbal de Villalpando (*c.* 1652–1714), a fertile master who was imaginative, vigorous, and colourful. His drapery folds and the sketchy fluidity of his style came from his teacher, Echave Rioja, but Villalpando was a far better painter and draughtsman, the most elegant and virtuoso artist Mexico produced. His enormous decorative machines at Mexico Cathedral reflect Rubens and Murillo: *The Church Militant* comes from Rubens's *Triumph of the Eucharist*, and *The Triumph of the Church* includes a Virgin and Child after Murillo's Santiago Madonna (Plate 148B). In his use of European prints, Villalpando increased the feeling of Baroque exuberance, splendour, movement, and grandiloquence. He added a richly dressed officer when he painted an *Ecce Homo* (New-York Historical Society, as Luis Morales) after Ribera (Guadalajara, Spain). Villalpando's pictures at the Profesa, Mexico, have verve and three-dimensional substance. Angulo called him a Mexican Valdés Leal.[48] The *St Michael* (Hartford, Connecticut; Plate 167B) exemplifies his sovereign handling of swirling expanses of drapery. A prolix variety of unsuspected forms is agitated by hidden blasts of wind. Colours are vermilion, rose, light and dark blue, green, white, and orange, of a brightness hitherto unknown in Mexico. Light red, blue, and white were to characterize eighteenth-century Colonial painting. A significant link in Mexican fresco-painting is Villalpando's grandiose mural of the *Heavenly Glory* (1683, Puebla Cathedral, dome).

Villalpando's foremost contemporary was Father Manuel, a Jesuit priest. Nothing is known of his life. His few extant works suggest a date about 1700. A fragment of a *Purísima*, sometimes attributed to and influenced by Palomino (Prado, no. 1026), combines elegance and expansive, undulating volume. Father Manuel's signed *Apostles* (Tacuba, parish church) are marvellously turbulent, of admirable rhythmic ductus, and with exciting contrasts of light and dark. Movement and expression matter more than realism. Like Villalpando, Father Manuel showed fingers in difficult foreshortenings.

The light-hearted charm of French Rococo is anticipated in a *Wedding of St Rosa*, signed 'Nicolas de Correa F. 1691', by whom only two other works are known (p. 313). His graceful style, derived from Echave Ibía and Luis Juárez, affects light, airy colours – pink, lavender, and pale green – fluid brushwork, and yet firm modelling. The composition moves along a unifying circle, paralleled by another one in a park at the right.

As the Mexican master of the Late Baroque *par excellence*, Villalpando carried the school of Mexico City to Puebla and to Guatemala. At Puebla he resided for many years, and it is to the production of that city that we must now turn. The first seventeenth-century artist of note there was a Spanish miniaturist, Luis Lagarto (*fl.* 1586–1616), who in 1600 illuminated the choir-books of Puebla Cathedral with sprightly, delightful grotesques in the Mannerist style of *c.* 1570. A few of his excellent miniatures on parchment survive, some signed .L. and a lizard (*lagarto* in Spanish). His *Entombment* (1616, Mexico, Galería La Granja) recalls Giulio Clovio in daintiness and movement. Lagarto probably influenced López de Herrera and Echave Ibía. At Puebla he was succeeded by Andrés Lagarto (1622, *Immaculate Conception*, after Dürer, Mexico, Museo Nacional de Historia). Luis de la Vega Lagarto's (*fl.* 1620–50) *Immaculate Conception* (1631, Puebla, Museo Bello) simplifies the one by Andrés Lagarto.

The Lagarto influence perhaps explains the white background and the draughtsmanlike style in Diego Borgraf's *St Francis appearing to St Teresa* (1677, Tlaxcala, San Francisco), a picture also indebted to the two Juárez. Borgraf, a mediocre talent, was active at Puebla from 1648 until his death in 1686. As an Antwerp-born painter, he stressed three-dimensional values, heavy draperies, foreshortening, and ambient air. He frequently imitated prints. His *Lord of the Winepress* (Puebla, San Miguelito) follows a Wierix print copied all over Spanish America.

Better is Juan Tinoco (*fl.* 1685–8).[49] His *St Peter repentant* (1685, Mexico, Eduardo Méndez) is so intense, subtle, and vigorous in modelling that Tinoco may have trained at Madrid under Pereda, who would have introduced him to the art of Ribera. Tinoco's energetic *Apostolate* (Puebla, Academy) mixes influences from Rubens, Ribera, and Zurbarán. I wonder whether a large *Battle of Hebrews and Amalechites* (Puebla Cathedral) and paintings imitating Juan Correa and Villalpando[50] are by Tinoco or an inferior homonym?

Antonio de Santander (*fl.* 1657–1701), presumably a Spaniard, appeared at Puebla in 1657 with a *St Mary Magdalen* (Mexico, E. Méndez) copied from Van Dyck's *St Rosalia* (*c.* 1624, Palermo).[51] The landscape background recalls Zurbarán. Copying engravings, Santander soon changed to a severely linear manner against white backgrounds, in the Puebla tradition of Lagarto and Borgraf, though his draperies may be related to José Juárez. Santander is perhaps the author of thirteen picturesque paintings of Jacob and his sons (Puebla, Academy).[52] His paintings are often naively charming, one of the most delightful being the *St Jerome* (Hartford, Connecticut, as anonymous), with a toy lion and a view into a bright Mannerist chapel.[53]

Santander is one of four artists in Mexico known to have painted on gesso-covered panels with mother-of-pearl incrustations, perhaps a pre-Conquest survival. Small conch pieces, usually underlying only the drapery parts, give these paintings a jewel-like sparkle. The technique is limited to Mexico (1662–*c.* 1725). Such paintings are unrecorded in Spanish archives, though many published Mexican wills mention them (1692–1752). Santander's *Virgin of Valvanera* (Mexico, Ramón Aranda), with mother-of-pearl embedded in ornamental borders of robe and crown, recalls the Cuzco school by the red birds nesting in the branches. Nicolás de Correa signed in this technique a *Christ at the Wedding* (1693, whereabouts unknown; Plate 173) and a *Holy Family* (1694, Mexico, M. de la Arena). An *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, as Spanish) is signed 'Juan Gonzales fecit a° 1662'.[54] The style of the signature is Mexican, not Spanish, and the style of the figures even more Mexican, from José Juárez and Antonio Rodríguez. Juan Gonzales also signed a *Virgin of Valvanera* on mother of pearl (Madrid, Museo de América), and in 1698 with Miguel Gonzales a series of twenty-four scenes of the Conquest of Mexico (same place).[55]

The Eighteenth Century (*The Portrait*)

Apart from portraiture, Mexican eighteenth-century painting offers quantity, not quality. There are hundreds of painters, many with a large output. The format is now small and the treatment cloying, superficially finished, but thoughtless. Colours are light, in bluish-grey tones with some red, green, yellow, or even gold. The same subjects, St Joseph, St John Nepomuk, and especially the Virgin of Guadalupe and of other advocations, are repeated over and over again.

After the late sixteenth century portraits were painted in Mexico with unpretentious candour and hieratic stiffness, appealing to present-day taste. Few portraitists existed during the 1600s. Echave Orio and López de Herrera (p. 309), early in the century, suggested the character of their sitters, the first artist modelling broadly and the second with a miniaturist's finesse. Arteaga painted likenesses of inquisitors (*c.* 1643) in his Zurbaranesque *tenebroso* manner. Juan Rodríguez Juárez's portraits (*c.* 1700) were flat, doll-like, and without plastic unity, as were those by his brother Nicolás (p. 311).[56]

From the 1720s until the late nineteenth century[57] Mexican portrait-painting was among the most brilliant in the Americas. Veristic and suggestive, it was nowhere in the Colonies surpassed in flavour and quality. At best, probing into character, it recalls remotely the early Flemish school and Holbein. Even at its worst it has a quaint enchantment. Between 1720 and 1810, during the final glow of Colonial life, when the new wealth of the silver-mines gave the upper classes a high standard of living, at least a dozen good portrait-painters were active in Mexico City, not to mention lesser ones there and in the provinces.

Certain conventions were observed. There were no group portraits and no equestrian ones, except a life-size likeness of Viceroy Count Gálvez (1785–6, Mexico, National Museum of History) by Fray Pablo de Jesús. Calligraphic line, white on black, was used for horse and rider, except his face and hands. Precedent existed in an engraved calligraphic portrait of King William III, done about 1695 at Amsterdam.[58] Mexican portraits were usually full-length or at least a short three-quarters including both hands.

The subject customarily stands indoors, in the stiff, erect pose made popular by Velázquez. The head is turned in three-quarter view, eyeing the observer, except posthumous portraits, which often look down. There is a curtain and usually a table and slight indication of background, sometimes books to indicate erudition, sometimes an unobtrusive door or window, but no distracting side scenes. Nuns have a neutral background. Fray Miguel de Herrera often included a print tacked up on the wall.

Men and women wear their finery, rich lace and heavily embroidered silks often with an Oriental flavour, reminders that the Spanish trade with the Far East went via Mexico. The women have long pearl necklaces and bracelets such as they still wear today. Usually the light is clear and even, as in the cloudless Mexican atmosphere, and the likeness linear rather than sculptural. The sitter is identified by his coat of arms, full name, and titles of nobility and office. This information is enclosed by a decorative Rococo shield or, particularly towards the end of the century, in a separate field along the bottom. There is a sense of straightforward honesty to Mexican portraiture, which is provincial art on the highest level. The impact is of aristocratic character and bearing without pretension.

The sitters were high ecclesiastics, viceroys, aristocrats and their ladies, judges, and university professors, as well as young women, married and unmarried. Praying donors, often ladies or young girls in showy clothes, occasionally decorate religious paintings between 1600 and 1750. Nuns were sometimes portrayed on their death-bed, a mode stemming from seventeenth-century Spain and Flanders.

A type of portrait characteristic of Mexico was nuns entering their Order, shown for the last time in mundane dress or in their conventual habits as a bride of Christ (Plate 171A), wearing a huge flower crown and carrying a candle, a crucifix, or a large bouquet of colourful flowers made of painted conch. Our plate shows a Conceptionist nun[59] (*c.* 1750) holding a dressed doll-like figure of the Christ Child. A tortoise shield on her chest is painted with the Immaculate Conception. In a harmonious composition, this charming, delicate likeness is truthful and human. Her black, pearl-edged hood is embroidered with colourful flowers. The broad black band bordering her vermilion mantle has flowers and archangels in gold Rococo frames. Flower crown and sceptre are of painted mother of pearl.

In 1723 Francisco Martínez (*fl.* 1718–60) posthumously portrayed the Viceroy Duke of Linares, following a picture by Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1717), but better in spatial values and colour-balance. Red tones are harmonized and set off by a blue shield with sienna lettering. The rich velour produces an ensemble of splendour. Martínez's velvety technique was taken over by José de Ibarra (Guadalajara 1688–Mexico 1756), who made it his speciality. His fairly flat portraits usually have the same pose with a minimum of setting. There is little concern for realistic garments, while the hands are ill-drawn and awkward.[60] Ibarra's portrait of the famous Bishop Palafox y Mendoza (1739), by exception sculptural, carefully modelled, and successfully composed, leads to the art of Cabrera, a co-student under Juan Correa.

In types, drapery, and fluidity of brushwork, Ibarra's religious paintings owe more to Juan Rodríguez Juárez than to Correa. Ibarra is interested in suggesting a roomy interior with a rapid flight into depth. As in Mannerist compositions, one looks through dark arcades to a distant lighted terrace. Varied lighting focuses on figures here and there, as in the *Suffer little Children to come unto Me* (1737, Mexico, Galería La Granja), a picture almost Italian in flavour.[61] Mannerism had haunted Mexican artistic expression since the sixteenth century, and especially during the Neo-Mannerist revival in Spain and the Colonies throughout the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century.

Ibarra's friend and colleague, Miguel Cabrera (Tlalixtac, Oaxaca 1695–Mexico 1768), arrived in Mexico City in 1719. He was influenced most by Ibarra, whose reds and blues he imitated. Still under Ibarra's spell is the not yet three-dimensional portrait of Viceroy Francisco de Güemes (*c.* 1750). With over a hundred works catalogued so far, Cabrera became Mexico's most famous and prolific painter and her best portraitist. *Sor Juana de la Cruz* (1750), a posthumous picture, shows the sitter in a spacious library. Care is taken in the plastic modelling of face and hands, in detailed, faithful description of garments, and roomy interiors. Cabrera likes to turn the head towards the sitter's right, with the light falling from the left, shading somewhat the right part of the face. He exaggerates the fleshy fold above the eyelid and delineates the eye by two extenuated S curves. The chin is small and receding, the flesh firm and shapely.[62] The expressive finished picture of Duns Scotus suggests divine inspiration, while that of the Nun Agustina de Arozqueta denotes a sobriety, meditation, and inner withdrawal that would have done credit to the Baroque. However, when Cabrera painted a grandee, he gave him *élan* and elegance of manner. Cabrera's religious paintings are less palatable than Ibarra's. An art czar and entrepreneur, Cabrera established a large workshop to keep up with demand. Pictures signed Cabrera are often by the shop or fraudulently inscribed. In 1756, besides regular commissions, he and his assistants painted two large cycles comprising fifty pictures of St Ignatius and St Dominic. The result is superficially pleasant, but according to formula, careless, and often dull.

In portraiture, the Cabrera tradition was continued, almost with the same high quality, by two members of his studio. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz (1715–71) inherited Cabrera's gift of bestowing character and sculptural form. Even better was José de Alzíbar (*c.* 1727–*c.* 1801), whose masterpiece shows Sor María Ignacia de la Sangre de Cristo (1777) on the day she became a Poor Clare. She wears a black-and-silver mantle, a red crown, and large bouquets of red artificial flowers. Expression, volume, precise execution, and intense, festive colour make this a great picture.

Ignacio María Barreda (*fl.* 1786–94) is the only Mexican artist known exclusively as a portrait painter. His art, too, derives from Cabrera, but he is usually a little more linear and less sculptural. He is also less careful, particularly as regards hands and dress. Like the New England limners of his time, he would occasionally paint the dress first and then find the gentlewoman who wanted her face fitted to it. Barreda is not concerned with shading the side away from the light; in fact the lighting is quite even against neutral backgrounds. His pictures charm by the demureness of his sitters. María Francisca Esquivel y Serruto (1786), about to become a nun, wears a beauty patch for the last time, while her younger sister María Manuela (1794) has all the timid freshness of her seventeen years.[63]

Mexican tradition was interrupted in 1794 with the arrival of the Valencian Rafael Jimeno y Planes[64] (1761–Mexico 1825). He served first as Second Director of Painting and then from 1798 as Director General of the Academy of San Carlos (operating from 1781). Jimeno y Planes's greatest portrait, perhaps still done under Goya's influence, shows his countryman and colleague, the sculptor and architect Manuel Tolsá (p. 163). His pose is nonchalant and his gaze dreamy as he leans on a head of Socrates. Light brown tones over dark brown harmonize with red. Flesh shadows are blue. The portrait of Jerónimo Antonio Gil (*c.* 1798), whom Jimeno replaced, is tighter and more linear and precise, though also distinguished in colouring – blue, white, and lavender. Perhaps by Jimeno is a third portrait of taste, Miguel Nájera y Bezares, Madrid Agent of the Indies Office (Mexico, private collection). Planes's best pupil was José María Vázquez (*fl.* 1785–1822), whose portraits are unequal. That of María Luisa Gonzaga Foncerrada (1806) returns to even, shadowless Mexican lighting and draughtsmanlike finish. Enchanting are the blue colouring and the garden with fountain seen through a window. Vázquez's *Emperor Iturbide* (1822, Mexico, Sr Hale) is his last known work, painted on the threshold of Independence.

Two artists at Puebla produced unusual portraits at this time. José Guerrero, otherwise unknown, painted a most charming, fresh, and dainty bust of his son (1798, Puebla Academy; Plate 171B) in tempera on paper. José Manuel Guerrero, aged eight, has brown eyes, light brown hair, and wears a powder-blue jacket and grey shirt against a green-blue background. Painted flowers, accurately observed, are cut out and pasted like a collage.[65] José Luis Antonio Rodríguez de Alconedo (1761–1815) portrayed at Cadiz a Spanish Lady (1810) in the Goya manner, and the following year himself as a young Romantic (both at Puebla, Academy). All his works are in pastel on silk, and he was the only Mexican to handle this medium well. Involved in the fight for Mexican Independence, Alconedo was shot by a Spanish firing-squad in 1815.

Central America south of Mexico lacked significant local painters, though a systematic survey of the provinces might uncover important artists. The paintings at hand indicate indebtedness to Mexico. Fragments of frescoes at San Francisco, Antigua (*c.* 1600–25), are related in style to the earlier ones in Mexican convents. Guatemalan painting, like Mexican, was after 1650 influenced by Zurbarán. His *Apostolate*, with strong participation by his workshop, survives in Santo Domingo, Guatemala City, transferred there from Antigua. Many pictures by the late seventeenth-century Mexican painters Cristóbal de Villalpando, P. Ramírez, and Juan Correa remain in Guatemala. No certain paintings are known by three artists mentioned in the documents and old chronicles: Pedro de Liendo (Valmaseda, Vizcaya, *c.* 1586–Antigua 1657); Francisco de Montúfar (*fl.* 1611–50); and Montúfar's son Antonio (1627–65). Six Passion scenes of 1737–9 in the Guatemala Museum, once attributed to Montúfar, are by Tomás de Merlo (d. 1739).

Among the best examples of chinoiserie anywhere in the Colonies are the gold on red paintings on the tribunes flanking the main altar of the Merced, Antigua. Represented are Mercedarian saints in a landscape with Chinese figures (*c.* 1760). The last Colonial painter of note was J. J. Rosales (*fl. c.* 1790–*c.* 1815), whose portraits parallel those by J. M. Vázquez in Mexico.

THE NORTHERN ANDES: NEW GRANADA AND QUITO

The Sixteenth Century

The humanist and knightly background of the civil life of the *conquistadores* comes to light in the extraordinary murals[66] of *c.* 1590 in a nobleman's mansion at Tunja, city of palaces and convents, the Nuremberg of New Granada. In tempera, they depict Greek gods, grotesques, savage tropical beasts, coats of arms, and monograms of members of the Holy Family. These murals are distinguished by the fact that Greek mythological subjects and any worldly themes are rare in the Spanish-speaking world, including Spain.[67] But nearby Bogotá was the Athens of the Americas and more attracted to classical learning than any other Colonial city. The few Latin-American representations of Greek mythology are in Colombia.

The frescoes at Tunja decorate the upper floor of a mansion built about 1585 for a *conquistador* who had come to America from Andalusia in 1558 and who was the scribe and notary of the *cabildo*, the city, and the Spanish crown. The novelesque life-story of the builder is amply documented. His office shows a huge frescoed escutcheon of Spain, between life-size Wild Men as heraldic supports, accompanied by passant lions and other animals, as well as genealogical tables.

The main room, about 33 by 20 feet, has in the centre of the ceiling the monogram of Mary set in an ornamental cartouche, copied from an Antwerp engraving invented by Jan Vredeman de Vries about 1565, and on the sloping upper parts of the walls there are, on the north side: three grotesque panels with Diana, Jupiter (Plate 174A), and Minerva, copied from engravings by René Boyvin after the Netherlandish artist Leonard Thiry (about 1540, active at Francis I's palace at Fontainebleau); south side: a rhinoceros accompanied by a small horse, and a monkey above, the scribe's escutcheon, and three elephants; east and west sides: the monograms of Christ (IHS) and St Joseph (IOSEP$_{\text{s}}$), in rich ornamental cartouches of Antwerp style. The rhinoceros was copied from a woodcut in Juan de Arfe's *De varia Commensuracion para la Esculptura y Architectura* (Seville, 1587), which in turn had been taken from Dürer's woodcut of 1515, while the elephants were copied from a leaf in Ioannes van der Straet's (Giovanni Stradano's) *Venationes*, published at Antwerp in 1578. Among the other prints used by the anonymous Tunja painter, who was probably a local artist, was a grotesque engraving of Winter by Marc Duval (died at Paris in 1581). In the reliquary room of the Colegio del Patriarca at Valencia recur some of the same ornamental motifs.

These themes were of symbolic significance, and they were carefully selected by one of South America's foremost sixteenth-century poets, Juan de Castellanos (1522–1607), an Andalusian by birth and then the parish priest of Tunja. The elephant can be explained on the basis of patristic and Italian Renaissance writers as the symbol of meekness, strength, compassion, humanity, temperance, religion, and especially wisdom. It forms the counterpart of Minerva, goddess of learning and wisdom, on the opposite wall. As a symbol of chastity and the ideal Christian husband, it stands next to St

Joseph. The rhinoceros essentially suggests strength, apparently a pre-eminent quality of the owner, since both elephant and rhinoceros flank his coat of arms. The juxtaposition of these two animals has a long history, going back to Persian and Roman times. The rhinoceros is placed next to the symbol of Christ because some medieval writers took the animal for the sign of Jesus. The rhinoceros was also often confused with the unicorn, and neither animal could normally be caught in the hunt. Diana, goddess of the hunt and also too elusive to be captured, appears opposite the rhinoceros. The well-known legend of the Holy Hunt stating that the unicorn could be seized only by having a virgin, the Virgin Mary, as decoy, is paralleled by a tale of the hunt of the rhinoceros in Abyssinia, which can be caught only by a trained she-monkey serving as decoy and seductress. This may explain the presence of a small monkey above the rhinoceros. This monkey also refers to the Fall of Man in the Garden of Eden. Both hunting-stories may be derived from the Buddhist Jātaka 526 found in the Indian Mahābhārata, III, 110–13.

The elephants and the rhinoceros referred in ancient Persia to sun and moon cults, so that the learned priest, without knowing it, perpetuated symbols of a cult which throughout Latin America was practised by American Indians under the often thin veneer of Catholicism. The sun and the moon occur in most Colonial churches. Occasionally used in Europe, they were acceptable to the Christian, while the Indian was comforted by these symbols, so important in his former cosmology.

Few other sixteenth-century paintings survive in present-day Colombia. The oldest is the battered *Christ of the Conquest* of 1538 at Bogotá Cathedral. This painting on silk was carried into the city by its founder, Jiménez de Quesada. Of about 1550 are two small panels in the Flemish style, perhaps painted in Spain, of St Sebastian and St Lawrence at Tunja Cathedral. As in the other Spanish colonies, there were many imports of Flemish paintings. A lone survivor in poor condition is the *Head of the Virgin* at the Seminary in Bogotá by a good pupil of Quentin Massys.[68] The Andalusian Alonso de Narváez (d. 1583 Tunja) created in 1555 the famous cult image of Our Lady of Chiquinquirá. It was often copied, sometimes in sized fabric pasted like a relief upon the panel. The activities of the Italian Angelino Medoro and the Quiteño Fray Pedro Bedón at Tunja and Bogotá are mentioned below.

The Quito school of the sixteenth century is essentially derived from Flemish and Italian painting. The role played by Pedro de Gante in Mexico was equalled at Quito by Fray Pedro Gosseal of Louvain, educated at Bruges. He was the first European painter in Ecuador and the first to teach the Indians to be 'very perfect painters and sculptors and illuminators of books'. The Franciscan monastery at Quito, the first and artistically among the most important in South America, had been founded in 1534, the year of the Conquest, by Fray Jodoco Ricke from Ghent.

The chief representative of Late Mannerism in Quito was the Dominican Fray Pedro Bedón, born there *c.* 1556, the son of a Spaniard and a creole. Bedón studied at Lima from 1576 to 1585, allegedly with Pérez de Alessio. However, the latter did not leave Seville until November 1587 or later. Bedón's teacher at Lima was Bitti. This can be seen by comparing Bedón's drawing of the Virgin of the Rosary[69] (*c.* 1588) at Santo

Domingo in Quito with Bitti's Madonna (Plate 176A). Though Bedón painted much in the Dominican establishments at Quito, Tunja, and Bogotá, nothing survives that shows his brushwork.[70] His *Virgin of the Stairs*, completely repainted *c.* 1800, at Santo Domingo in Quito, derives from the medieval Tree of Jesse.[71] By way of his followers, Bedón (d. 1621) became the fountain-head of seventeenth-century painting at Quito.

The earliest signed and dated painting in South America, at the Museo de América in Madrid, portrays the picturesque *First Mulattoes of Esmeraldas* (1599), dressed as Spanish gentlemen and wearing the golden nose- and ear-plugs of Indian chieftains. It is by the Indian artist A. Sánchez Galque of Quito.

The Seventeenth Century

During the first two decades of the century, sumptuous choir-books were made for several Colonial cathedrals (Mexico, Puebla, Quito, and Lima). Those at Bogotá are by the Spanish miniaturist Francisco de Páramo (*fl.* 1600–14). Thereafter, with the exception of a Peruvian Indian named Bartolomé de Figueroa (*fl.* 1607–23), the important painters in Colombia were creoles. Indians played a very minor role in Colombian culture during the Colony and later.

Anatomy was learned from books rather than from life. M. Segundo Galberi's *St Bartholomew* of 1623 at San Laureano in Tunja[72] copies a plate in Juan Valverde de Hamusco's *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano* (Rome, 1556), which in general is based on the illustrations in Vesalius, though not this particular plate.

Antonio Acero de la Cruz's (*fl.* 1633–67) graceful and serene *Purísima*[73] recalls Sánchez Cotán's purist style (p. 221) and goes back to F. Zuccaro. Colours are intense – red, green, reddish violet on yellow – draperies angular and archaic.[74] Acero's more progressive but generally less interesting contemporary was Gaspar de Figueroa (*fl.* 1637–58). His best picture portrays Fray Cristóbal de Torres, Archbishop and Founder of the Colegio del Rosario, where the picture hangs.[75] Figueroa blends tones and paints a spiritual, energetic head. His son, Baltasar de Vargas Figueroa (*fl.* 1658–67), was a better painter and less dry.[76] In his *Epiphany* in the Museo de Arte Colonial and the *St John the Baptist with a Portrait of a Lady* at Las Aguas, chiaroscuro painting is attempted. There is a feeling for airy transparency.

Baltasar's pupil, Gregorio Vázquez Ceballos (1638–1711), is the most famous Colombian painter. With his contemporaries Miguel de Santiago in Ecuador and Holguín in Bolivia, he is one of the three outstanding Late Baroque painters in South America. He produced, with his workshop, several hundred pictures, uneven in quality. His models were Sassoferrato, Reni, Rubens, Valdés Leal, and Murillo. Vázquez's grandfather came from Seville and Murillo's eldest son lived from 1678 to 1700 near Bogotá, perhaps owning paintings by his father. By colonial standards Vázquez excelled. By Spanish standards he compares to the average pupil of Murillo. Vázquez overcame some of the limitations of time and place, and attempted besides religious paintings and portraits, allegorical still-lifes and histories. His paintings show sensitive gradations of light, gentle colour, and sculptural form. If his human values are sentimental, so was his period. He is the only Colonial master who left many drawings. Less academic than the paintings, they are the best part of his production. A head of St Ignatius (Plate 174B), in pen, has character and admirable economy of line.

Although, as elsewhere in Latin America, sixteenth-century churches and convents at Quito must originally have been decorated with frescoes, the earliest-known fragments, uncovered by the author in the first cloister of San Diego, are of *c.* 1600–25.[77]

The outstanding easel painter at this time was Mateo Mexía (*fl.* 1615), perhaps a Spaniard, who painted on unprimed canvas with a liberal use of gold for radiating haloes and sunbursts, philacteries, wings, crowns, and precious bits here and there.[78] This is the more effective as his canvases are large and otherwise sombre. The mood is delicate, mystic, decorative, and didactic.[79]

All painters at Quito worked from Flemish engravings,[80] especially the greatest of them, Miguel de Santiago (*c.* 1625–1706), a mestizo. The large cycle of St Augustine (1656–7) at his church copied with slight changes of detail Schelte à Bolswert's engravings of 1624, including the title page.[81] A sensitive Murillesque *Madonna and Child* in a circle of flowers, at the Quito Museum, repeats a theme (the religious subject framed by a flower wreath) which Arellano and B. Perez at Madrid had borrowed from Rubens's pupil Snyders.[82] Miguel's best picture, the *Virgin of the Eucharist* of *c.* 1680 at San Francisco (Plate 175A), is, like most of his work, indebted to Murillo. No other Colonial painter succeeded like Miguel de Santiago in painting vaporous atmosphere, blowing away like smoke. Out of such matter, or non-matter, could his garments be made; they grew more evanescent the older he got. He was always a superb landscapist,[83] almost as good as Zurbarán, who had learned from the same Flemish prints. His faces breathe a noble gentleness.[84] He is a greater painter than the Colombian Vázquez Ceballos, who benefited by the many paintings Miguel de Santiago sent to Bogotá.

Santiago's nephew and pupil was Nicolás Javier Goríbar (*fl.* 1688–1736), whose technique is derived from the older master, though more sketchy and forceful.[85] His best-known work, the series of sixteen Prophets (Plate 175B) at the Compañía, stems in part from engravings by Parmigianino,[86] which explains their curiously Mannerist poses and draperies. These large figures are brushed in carelessly but effectively. Some of the faces (Malachi, Daniel, and Joel) have the flavour of Miguel de Santiago, while Habakkuk and Jonas are somewhat Riberesque. In the background are small scenes, recalling in style the followers of Murillo and Valdés Leal, such as Francisco Antolínez.[87] A striking *St Thaddeus* at the Archbishop's Palace suggests that Goríbar[88] perhaps had seen paintings by Greco.

The Eighteenth Century

Colonial cloisters were usually decorated with series of up to forty paintings after European prints, as in San Agustín, Quito. Soon after 1750 Antonio Astudillo thus adorned the Tejar with a *Life of St Peter Nolasco*, after Flemish Mannerist prints, intense in colour: rose, lilac, vermilion, and blue. Another set, perhaps by Astudillo, of St Francis Xavier (Merced) follows Wierix's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* and similar sources. Charming incidents are rendered in gay hues. From *c.* 1760 Rococo prints by the brothers Joseph and Johann Klauber, court engravers of the Bishop of Augsburg, swamped the Hispanic world from Barcelona to Buenos Aires. In Quito they created the Rococo style. The engravings of the *Historiae Biblicae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Augsburg, 1748) were copied by generations of Quito painters, who used the dainty, minute manner and Neo-Mannerist lighting effects. Rocaille framework sets off subsidiary scenes and surrounds the whole picture. Even a stern Renaissance subject, *St Jerome pointing to a Skull* (after the Lisbon Dürer), adds a Rococo wall clock and candleholder, and places a delightfully frivolous rocaille frame around the warning 'Surgite Mortui Venite ad Juditium' (Quito, Jijón y Caamaño Collection). Vicente and Francisco Albán (*fl.* 1747–90) are the masters of this style, in gay pictures of white, blue, red, and gold (*Virgin of the Apocalypse*, Medellín, Museo Zea; *Virgin of Mercy*, Tejar, 1788). The end of the school is reached with Bernardo Rodríguez (*fl.* 1783–97) and Manuel Samaniego (*c.* 1765–1824), cousins using the same miniature technique, playful charm, and precise finish. Their feeling is Rococo, but their sources are Mannerist and Baroque. *Christ fallen after the Flagellation* (from a Diepenbeeck print) drips blood while surrounded by angels (Cali, San Francisco). Quito now exported Colonial art, mostly to New Granada – Cali, Bogotá, and Medellín. Until then, Quito was a receiver, not a giver. Most of its art imports during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came from Cuzco.[89]

In 1782 the famous botanical expedition which José Celestino Mutis organized in Bogotá brought together thousands of remarkable drawings of plants by a group of painters from New Granada and Quito. Among them were Salvador Rizo (shot by the Spaniards in 1816 as a rebel) and Pablo Antonio García, able portraitists who in 1791 opened the first Academy at Bogotá. One of the best Colonial portraits at Quito represents the French Baron de Carondelet (1747–1807), who governed Louisiana and afterwards Quito for Charles IV of Spain. His full-length likeness at Quito Cathedral, which he helped repair, shows him with a map of New Orleans.

THE CENTRAL ANDES

The Sixteenth Century

The Cuzco school of painting began not around 1650, as is usually claimed, but soon after the Conquest. A large *Virgin of Mercy* of *c.* 1565 at San Sebastián already has the decorative flatness associated with the school. It is painted in tempera on unprimed canvas, and in composition it is related to the *Biblia Pauperum*.

One of the best painters in sixteenth-century Latin America was the Jesuit lay-brother Bernardo Bitti (1548–*c.* 1610).[90] Published documents allow a reconstruction of his life to be made and prove his stay in each locality where I rediscovered and photographed his art. Born in the Italian March of Ancona, Bitti studied painting at Rome and there joined the Order in 1568. Seven years later he arrived in Lima and immediately with the young Andalusian Pedro Vargas did the carved and painted main altar (40 feet high) and all other altars and decorations for the Jesuit church which was replaced fifty years later by the present San Pedro. Bitti next executed the Jesuit high altar at Cuzco (1583–4) with paintings, statues, and reliefs. Then considered the best in all Peru, it is now lost, along with his later works there of *c.* 1597. His carved altars at Juli and Acora (*c.* 1584 and 1595) survive in part (p. 176), but the high altars at La Paz and probably Potosí are lost. His principal extant works are at Sucre (*c.* 1592–3), seven paintings from a dismantled altar at San Miguel, and a *Virgin* (Plate 176A) at the Seminario. This, his most finished and best preserved picture, exemplifies his types. The Christ Child, nude as always in Bitti's paintings, in contrast to Spanish modesty, accepts a pomegranate, symbol of fecundity and hope, from the infant St John. The Virgin's blue mantle has Mannerist pale rose highlights. Linear purity and idealization of features seem a last reflection of Raphael. Bitti's birthplace, Camerino, borders upon Urbino. As a Late Mannerist, Bitti searched for the spiritual and idealist perfection of arch-types, repeated over and over. The faithful filling the Jesuit churches were mostly Indians. Accentuating rhythmic outlines rather than modelling, Bitti moved his public by earnest visual simplicity. His paintings and carvings vividly express the religious climate of the late sixteenth century in the Andean region. Bitti's influence was felt in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia into the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries. Though refined and idealized in the Mannerist tradition, he preserved a residue of Renaissance spatial illusionism. His creole and Indian followers translated this style into a provincial idiom of plane decoration, linear and two-dimensional. What the icon lost in realism, it gained in hierarchic, symbolic dignity, in spirituality and intensity.

Subsequently several other Italian painters settled at Lima. Mateo Pérez de Alessio (Rome 1547–Lima (?) after 1628) arrived about 1588 and became painter to the Viceroy. Most of his work, now lost, was for the Dominicans and Augustinians. He may have painted the frescoes in a chapel at the Merced (*c.* 1625).[91]

Angelino Medoro, born in Rome *c.* 1567, painted at Seville in 1586 a *Flagellation* (of Christ?) (Seville, private collection) and arrived at Bogotá a year later.[92] Most of his paintings there are lost. In 1588 he signed an *Annunciation* at Santa Clara in Tunja, and in 1589 he married at Bogotá. In 1592 he worked at Quito (pictures in the Concepción and Santo Domingo). His paintings of 1598 at Tunja Cathedral (*Agony in the Garden*, *Descent from the Cross*) are in shrill red and yellow Mannerist hues. He came to Lima in 1600 and stayed about twenty years. Even his best paintings there are weak in drawing. Poorer in quality than his predecessor Bitti, his work deteriorated the longer he remained in Peru. This may explain his return via Bogotá (1623) to Europe. He is documented at Seville from 1624 to 1631. His massive proportions finally abandon the svelte, elongated figures of Mannerism. In his later preference for horizontals and verticals, he embraced the Baroque.

The Seventeenth Century

Few, if any, sixteenth-century frescoes have been uncovered in this area, and not many of the seventeenth century. The village churches of Checacupe and Andahuaylillas, near Cuzco, decorated with frescoes inside and out, suggest how sumptuous many Peruvian churches must have been. At Checacupe the main scene, *Santiago killing the Moors*, comes from a Plantin Missal.[93] At Andahuaylillas, a fresco after a print by Jerome Wierix shows the poor man led by God up the straight and narrow path to heaven, an Indian protest against oppression.[94] These wall-paintings were probably done before 1650.

Peruvian easel-painting cannot compare in quality to the Mexican school. The earliest paintings at Cuzco are in tempera on unprimed canvas. Gerónimo Gutiérrez in 1606 signed a *Mass of St Gregory* (Cuzco Museum), derived from early-sixteenth-century Amsterdam woodcuts. Gregorio Gamarra in 1607 signed a large canvas of the *Vision of St Francis by Pope Nicholas V* (Recoleta). A *Purísima with St Bonaventura and St Diego of Alcalá* (Plate 176B) at the same place and by the same artist is linear, radiant, and refined.[95] Sparkling in colour is the *Virgin of Guadalupe* at the Recoleta (1614), of the same iconography as the *Virgin of Sucre*. These attractive works are basically Mannerist. Two of the earliest realistic paintings of the Franciscans martyred in Japan in 1597 are signed by Lázaro Pardo de Lagos (*fl.* 1628–69) at the Recoleta. Painted in 1630 in oil and tempera, they include many Japanese faithfully observed, possibly from engravings.

At Lima some realism is seen in Antonio Mermejo's sensitive *St Mary Magdalen* (1626), with excellent Flemish landscape background. This picture is at Santa Teresa in Sucre and is copied from an engraving by Raphael Sadeler. Ten years later, the Sevillian Leonardo Jaramillo signed the huge *Bestowal of the Chasuble upon St Ildefons* at the Recoleta of Lima, a purely Mannerist work both in hues and composition.

From the late 1630s onwards series by Zurbarán and assistants reached Lima (Apostles, San Francisco; founders of Orders, Buena Muerte). Colonial paintings in the Zurbarán manner are at Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, Pomata, Sucre, and Potosí, so that his style permeated the entire area. A few years later Rubens's manner was similarly received through engravings. What was imitated, however, was external compositions, not the basic Baroque manner or niceties of modelling. After 1650 the great monastic cycles of lives of saints make their appearance at Cuzco (Santo Domingo, Merced, Compañía) and Lima (San Francisco). Adapted from prints, their chief charm is quaintness, a tendency to design architecture as flat patterns, and the introduction of local detail in draperies, rugs, costumes, and glimpses of city views. Among the artists are Juan Rodríguez Samanés, *fl.* 1626–56; Juan Espinosa de los Monteros, *fl.* 1647–69; Lorenzo Sánchez de Medina, *fl.* 1650–71; Marcos de Rivera, *fl.* 1660–94; and the Indian Juan Basilio Santa Cruz, *fl.* 1661–7; all born in Cuzco.

Cuzco was the main centre of pictorial production in South America. At least from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards one may distinguish two styles, both developed from European models and perhaps expressing social differences. The educated, mostly Europeans and creoles, as well as some mestizos and some Indians, preferred a Europeanized style, copied from relatively expensive European artistic engravings, mostly Flemish. Examples are Diego Quispe Ttito's copies of the twelve months at Cuzco Cathedral (1631), after Bol.[96] Montúfar's energetic paintings, of *c.* 1614–30, are reasonably faithful to Wierix and Marten de Vos prints.[97] The less sophisticated

Europeans and their descendants as well as most mestizos and Indians favoured popular art in the well-known so-called Cuzco mestizo style (which might better be named the Cuzco popular style), probably derived from the cheap *images populaires* woodcuts made in Flanders, France, Catalonia, and Valencia. Their medieval flavour psychologically attracted the folk artist and spoke to his creative force, sense of design, and decorative feeling. Their bright, plain colours without modelling or shading and the naiveté of expression are akin to the Cuzco popular style and its derivatives in Potosí and Sucre. Once more, beyond time, space, and race, the universal brotherhood of folk art is confirmed.

Another influence noticeable in the popular style came from sixteenth-century icons, particularly Byzantine icons where gold is sprinkled liberally over the garments. Some of these icons survive in Spain and South America, including a number of small panels, often mistaken for Colonial works,[98] but by the Cretan Madonnero painters of the sixteenth century active at Venice. Cuzco popular style became a distinct expression, usually anonymous, slowly evolving through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even when European artistic prints were translated by the local painters into this manner, the results are generally happier and more original than outright copies, as can be seen by comparing two versions after Claude Mellan's engraving of *St Peter Nolasco carried by Angels* (Rome, 1627) at the Merced in Cuzco.[99] Another example is a *St Jerome* at the Cuzco Museum after a print of St Paul Hermit invented by Ferraù Fanzoni (Rome, 1613). Characteristically in the Cuzco painting, space is minimized, while design is stressed.

Rubens's *St Anne and the Virgin* (Plate 178A) was copied by Bocanegra in Granada in an indifferent work, now in a private collection at Barcelona. An anonymous Cuzco artist used the print for a picture of great charm (Bolivia, private collection; Plate 178B). A Trinity replaces the Baroque angels. Folds are simplified and flattened, and architectural space suppressed. The faces have a minimum of shading. But the garments show gold *estofado* in a variety of patterns, the haloes are elaborate, and flowers and birds have been added, all typical of Cuzco popular style.

Life at Cuzco[100] is shown in a unique series of Corpus Christi procession paintings, at Santa Ana (*c.* 1660; Plate 172). Each parish is headed by its Indian leader in royal Inca dress, wearing on his head the family escutcheon, a mixture of Spanish and pre-Conquest symbols.[101] There follows a gilded glory-cart with a statue of the parish saint, and then the priest with the cross, acolytes, and the faithful. Below, the procession is watched by the people, Indian, mestizo, and Negro. In the background the aristocrats wait on the balconies of their mansions, decorated with colourful spreads such as are still seen in Andalusia. Before the Compañía stands a tiered temporary silver altar with many statues of feather-helmeted angels, as still erected today. The Mercedarians built a silver arch hung with many small landscape paintings and with a golden Fame at the top. Another church set out a series of Zurbaranesque virgin martyrs and a life-size sculptured Last Supper group.

Of all the Colonies, Cuzco achieved the highest mestizo culture. Here was born the distinguished Spanish literary figure Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca, of a Spanish noble and a royal Inca princess. Here St Ignatius's nephew Martín de Loyola, Viceroy of Chile, married another Inca princess. Their daughter married the grandson of St Francis Borja, Duke of Gandia, and carried Inca blood into many noble families of Spain. The two couples appear in a painting in the Compañía at Cuzco. Variants (Plate 177) are at Lima. Though of the eighteenth century, these pictures probably repeat earlier versions. They present Indian costumes and show the social standing of the Indian nobility.[102]

The majority of Cuzco paintings concern the Virgin in various advocations (Plate 179A), the crucified Christ, or scenes from his childhood. The Holy Family is seen in various domestic activities: in the carpenter's shop, building a boat, in the garden, often at table, sometimes eating with saints. These scenes are copied from Flemish prints, particularly by Jerome Wierix, including the homely details of basket, dog, and shoes. The Colonial people thus were able to feel close to the Holy Family. Flowers and red birds were usually added by the Cuzco artists. Among the saints, the Peruvians St Rosa of Lima and St Francis Solano are popular.

Archangels are frequent, especially St Michael. An amazing and delightful spectacle, exclusive to the highlands from Cuzco to Bolivia, are life-size Archangels dressed as soldiers (Plate 180A) of the time of Charles II. Like Holguín in his *Self Portraits* (1710), they are clothed in colourful embroidered silk coats with huge open sleeves attached at the wrist, knee-length trousers of the same material, lace cuffs and collar, a mantle with embroidered border, and a broad Flemish hat with a cascade of feathers. They always have great wings and a sword and hold a long rifle, loading or shooting it. Usually they come in series of seven or nine, but one church inventory of 1748 lists thirty-six, of which eighteen survive.[103] The source may have been some illustrated French (?) manual, published after 1650, with figures of guard soldiers at rifle-drill. The earliest military archangel painting is dated 1661.

In this century the viceroyalty produced only one outstanding painter: Melchor Pérez Holguín, born *c.* 1660 at Cochabamba, Bolivia.[104] His activities were concentrated at Potosí, then a city of thirty churches and monasteries. Outlying hacienda chapels preserve some of his finest works, like the *St Peter Alcántara and St Teresa*, owned by Z. Guerra Vera, at Mondragón, near Potosí (Plate 180B). Holguín paints flesh and draperies with loving attention to detail, insisting on texture, muscles, and veins. His personages are expressive, intense, and saintly. They have character and inner life. His earliest work[105] is the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1687, now at the Banco Central in La Paz), charming in colour and subject. The artist was interested in forest scenes. Like most Peruvian and Bolivian Colonial painters, Holguín loves detail and anecdote. He shows the Virgin wearing Indian costume and washing clothes, local style, on a scrubbing-board.

An *Adoration of the Shepherds* of 1690 at Santa Teresa in Potosí came from the same engraving after Orrente as a picture by Martín de Loaysa (*fl.* 1648–63) at the Recoleta in Cuzco. A Flemish painter (Theodor van Loon?) influenced Holguín, and Flemish prints his *Triumph of the Church* (1706) and his *Last Judgement* (1708) at San Lorenzo, Potosí. In the centre of that vast Bosch-like allegory is a self portrait, and five Indians range behind the angels in heaven. Paintings filling the nave and crossing of the Merced at Sucre (1710) might seem too large for transport, but his self portrait there is signed 'done in Potosí'. Holguín's most complicated picture, at the Museo de América at Madrid, depicts in detail the *Entry of Viceroy Fray Diego Morcillo Rubio de Auñón into Potosí* (1716). Two years earlier, Villalpando had painted a similar *Entry of the Mexican Viceroy Duke of Linares at the Zócalo in Mexico City*. The picture belongs to Lord Methuen at Corsham Park, Wilts.[106]

Holguín's last signed works, the four Evangelists of 1724 at the Casa de Moneda in Potosí, inventively transform engravings after Marten de Vos. The scenes are placed in wooded landscapes; poses and compositions are somewhat changed. But the basic style remains similar in linearity, attention to picturesque incident, and restless Mannerist lighting and draperies. Even more decisively than in the case of his great Mexican contemporary Villalpando, Flemish Mannerist engravings are the basis of Holguín's style. I do not detect influences from Greco, Velázquez, or Murillo on Holguín. Largely because Zurbarán and Holguín used similar print sources, there are some similarities in treatment and subject matter, as in the *St Diego of Alcalá* at the Banco Central in La Paz . The Bolivian painter also has Italian antecedents.[107] His colouring and draughtsmanship seem influenced by the excellent works Bitti (p. 322) left at Sucre and probably at Potosí. Holguín's style presents Mannerism coated in Rococo, a mixture original not only because of its atavism. For invention, personality, temperament, expression, and precise execution, Holguín may be placed ahead of any Colonial painter born in South America.

The Eighteenth Century

At Cuzco mass manufacture was the rule, much of it for export via Lima. In 1754 an Indian artist obliged himself to paint in ten months 647 religious pictures, 3–6 feet high. Eighteenth-century popular-style painting at Cuzco, Potosí, and Sucre used the same Flemish prints from Marten de Vos to Rubens as before, but the *estofado* is even richer. Garments are covered with varied patterns of gold leaf, often embossed. The same patterns occur on many statues. The *estofado* of Peruvian images and paintings seems more closely related to Cordova leather-work than to Spanish carvings. Sometimes tooled leather is imitated in paintings on embossed tin. Examples of rich patterns are a *St Anthony Abbot* (Cuzco, Recoleta), a *Virgin of the Almudena* from Cuzco at the Rio de Janeiro Museum (Plate 179A), and a *Purísima* from Cuzco at San Francisco in Quito.

Among the most popular subjects are devotional images on their altar arrayed behind candles and elaborate flower vases, like the *Lord of Earthquakes* in the Compañía, and the *Peregrina de Quito* at the Museum, both at Cuzco. Cuzco painting invaded Lima with the series by Basilio Pacheco (*fl.* 1738–52) at San Agustín, and Argentina with paintings by Marcos Sapaca (Zapata) who flourished in 1748–73 and painted also at the cathedral and the Compañía in Cuzco. Twenty-four paintings by him, done in 1748, are recorded at Santiago de Chile, Capuchinas. A namesake, Juan Sapaca (Zapata) Inca, had done forty-two pictures for San Francisco at Santiago de Chile in 1684. Large series were often sent to Sucre.

Towards the end of the century, perhaps during the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II (1780), an anonymous painter showed America nursing Spanish noble boys (Plate 179B). Negroes and mestizos are pressing around her throne, while nude Indian children weep abandoned. Two richly dressed Indian couples present their gifts in a beautiful park crowded with different animals. The legend says:

> Donde se ha visto en el Mundo lo que aquí estamos mirando …
> Los hijos propios gimiendo y los Estraños mamando.
>
> (Where in the world has one seen what one sees here …
> Her own sons lie groaning and she suckles strangers.)

Portrait-painting flourished at Lima after 1750 in the hands of Cristóbal Lozano (*fl.* 1741–76), Cristóbal Aguilar (*fl.* 1756–71), Pedro Díaz (*fl.* 1798–1810), and José Gil de Castro, The Mulato (*fl.* 1804–28 in Lima, Chile, and Argentina). The latter, with considerable character, depicted the heroes of South American Independence. In comparison with Mexican viceregal portraits, those at Lima pay less attention to the composition, the uniforms are more gaudily embroidered, and there is often a background view of some edifice to commemorate a building activity of the sitter.

Painting in Potosí and Sucre was dominated by the influence of Holguín (p. 325). His best pupil was Gaspar Miguel Berrío (*fl.* 1730–58), whose large *Patronage of St Joseph* (1737, Potosí, Santa Mónica) reflects Holguín's types. In the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Potosí) the steep hill of Potosí is painted as the Virgin, and on her mantle the story of the discovery of the mine is told. St Nicholas of Bari's life in eleven chequerboard scenes occupies a small canvas (1749, Potosí). Berrío's last picture is a topographic view of Potosí and its valley (1758, Sucre). Potosí and Sucre popular-style paintings differ from Cuzco products by being usually more primitive, harder, and more angular in design. Gold is applied in a spotted pattern, instead of being continuous as usually at Cuzco. Though growing weaker in quality, the popular style lived on throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 18

PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

PORTUGAL was the first great seapower in Renaissance Europe. She gave the world a new conception of empire, based on mastery of the ocean routes. Trading with Africa, India, the Far East, and Brazil, she amassed wealth commensurate with her daring, but out of all proportion to her size. Her population was scarcely a million and a quarter. Under Alfons V (1438–81), John II (1481–95), Manuel, and John III, the country led the world in exploration and colonization. During those hundred years, from 1450 to 1550, Portuguese sculpture and painting were at their best.[1]

Ties with the Low Countries, particularly Flanders, were close. Antwerp served as principal trading centre for the distribution of goods to or from Portugal and her possessions. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy and ruler of all the Netherlands, married Isabel of Portugal in 1430. Two years earlier, Jan van Eyck had visited Lisbon in preparation for this marriage. Henceforth Flemish influence on Portuguese painting was rather marked. Numerous Portuguese artists trained at Antwerp, while Flemish painters worked in Portugal or sent their works to Lisbon.[2] Nevertheless, Portuguese painting possesses its own attractive and characteristic traits, from Nuno Gonçalves (*fl.* 1450), the Portuguese master whose art has universal significance, to Francisco de Holanda (1517–84), the illuminator. The Portuguese school here discussed ends with a painter of the greatest importance: Sequeira (pp. 345–8).

THE HIGH RENAISSANCE

Portuguese painting of the High Renaissance corresponds to the reign of Manuel the Fortunate (1495–1521). In 1497 the king sent Vasco da Gama to India, in 1500 Cabral to Brazil and on to Calcutta, while Corte Real sailed to North America. Goa was taken in 1510 and Malacca in 1511. No wonder the Manueline era is famed for its exuberant luxury. Great royal commissions were given to sculptors and painters. These artists worked in groups known as studios (*oficinas*). Each artist had several assistants, and commissions were often shared as collective work (*parceria*) by several masters. As happened elsewhere in Europe, sometimes one artist was responsible for the design (or for the underpainting), another for the execution or for the finishing; or the artist commissioned might leave design and execution to another. One might paint the flesh, another the draperies. Few paintings are signed, dated, or documented. Although attributions to individual artists are sometimes not possible or must be tentative, most of the important paintings can be attributed to a mere dozen masters (and their workshops) whose personal styles emerge fairly clearly. Of this group of twelve, Jorge Afonso had five as pupils and retained most of them as collaborators. Even Frei Carlos, more Flemish and somewhat apart, tends to approximate the others. Between 1500 and 1550 Portuguese painting, centred at Lisbon, Évora, Coimbra, and Viseu, displayed great stylistic and iconographic unity, perhaps partly because of strict official control.

The Lisbon School: Jorge Afonso, Francisco Henriques, the Lourinhã Master

Manuel's foremost painter, appointed in 1508 and confirmed by John III in 1529, was Jorge Afonso, who made his will in 1540. He controlled all royal painting. Gregório Lopes, Cristóvão de Figueiredo, Garcia Fernandes, and Gaspar Vaz collaborated with him and benefited by his influence. Vasco Fernandes was also in touch with him. Though no works by Jorge Afonso have been identified for certain, he can reasonably be equated with the Master of the Charola of Tomar and with the Master of 1515, also called the Master of the Main Altar of the Madre de Deus.[3]

Panels in these two churches, the ambulatory (*charola*) in the church of the Order of Christ at Tomar and the Madre de Deus at Lisbon,[4] represent the best Portuguese painting between 1500 and 1520. Their excellence suggests that they were painted by Jorge Afonso, whom the documents call the most celebrated master of that period. A weightier argument is that their style profoundly affected precisely those painters who are documented as his collaborators. The identity of the Madre de Deus and Tomar Master is corroborated by a *Pentecost* (Lisbon, Francisco Falcão Collection) which combines the architecture of the Madre de Deus Annunciation with the composition and exact type of faces and draperies of the Tomar series. Jorge Afonso appears to be a follower of Geertgen tot Sint Jans of Haarlem (St John's altar, Vienna).

The most original painting at Tomar depicts the Resurrection with a view of Lisbon (Plate 181A). In a balanced composition, typical of the master, forces at right and left are held in check, linked by curving lines and forms as well as by orderly progression from foreground to background. Colours are clear and limpid: bright carmine, greenish citron, and salmon. Faces are deftly characterized, garments voluminous and clear-cut. Jagged outlines of rocks and wispy trees are as interesting as the precise and fresh detail in the foreground still-life. The six Tomar paintings impress by their monumental size and mood, sustained in spite of manifold minutiae. Their date, around 1510, is suggested by the Madre de Deus pictures, one of which is inscribed 1515. These are by the same hand and seem later. Similarities are overwhelming. With expert knowledge of anatomy, the heads, hands, and feet are constructed alike in both series, though the Madre de Deus panels are a shade better, pointing to the progress made by the master. Heads of similar type are agglomerated in the same way. Identical pink faces,[5] massed legs, restless outlines of cyclopic rocks, and in the background spidery-legged thin figures appear at Tomar and Madre de Deus. In both series the architecture delights in the same round towers with weathervanes, depressed arches of inaccurate perspective, roundels, shell niches, columns of brown marble, and squinches. Planes parallel to the picture surface are similarly ranged in depth.

At the Madre de Deus the master shows great progress in the use of light and shade. His modelling is more careful and finished.[6] The most important panel of the Madre de Deus altar, *Christ appearing to the Virgin* (Plate 181B), is in that church and dated 1515.[7]

The picture is extraordinarily well balanced and painted with great care, precision, and authority. Firmly implanted, the two main figures demand attention. The faces have character and strong sculptural emphasis. The peaceful air of the scene is underlined by the quiet, harmonious fall of the draperies, contrasting with the embossed haloes, precious Gothic crozier, and the angular complications, steps, mouldings, and arches of the architecture. For compositional reasons, the arch behind Christ is shifted to the right, thus cutting off almost half the doorway behind it. A clear, mathematical division of space distinguishes the picture. The total impression of the interior is calm and orderly, as befits a High Renaissance work. Beyond the wall at the left there approach St John the Baptist with Adam, Eve, Abraham, and others. Above them rises a Flemish castle with a decayed wooden barn. In all panels by the master, horizontals and verticals are stressed and the figures arranged along circular paths. Ultramarine, vermilion, malachite, indigo, and other vivid colours are preferred. *Changeant* effects occur in some pictures.

The main altar from the Jesus church at Setúbal[8] (now dismantled in the local museum) was done by the same hand, but later, *c.* 1520. Jorge Afonso's gifted assistants aided in some panels. Compositions, poses, types, and brushwork follow the Madre de Deus altar. So also do the arrangement in space, treatment of the surface of objects, especially the nude and draperies, and the embossing of haloes. The Setúbal panels, though less calm, are more tightly designed, and have less luminosity and less freedom of brush. Some objects seem more drawn than painted. Together, the panels at Tomar, Madre de Deus, and Setúbal were to determine the direction of Portuguese painting.

Francisco Henriques,[9] probably a Fleming (Frans Hendricks?), though his putative style does not clearly indicate this, was married to a sister of Jorge Afonso. In 1509 Henriques is mentioned as working on altars in São Francisco at Évora. In Flanders, from 1512 to 1514, he recruited assistants for a large royal commission at the Tribunal de Relação in Lisbon. The plague of 1518 killed him and many of the helpers engaged in this work, which was never completed and eventually lost. The altars of São Francisco in Évora consist of the main retable with four series of four panels each (in Lisbon, though the Life of the Virgin is in Alpiarça), and twelve side altars, of which six exist (Lisbon). These paintings, executed by at least two and perhaps three masters, have been attributed to the Masters of São Francisco at Évora. Francisco Henriques probably painted the Life of the Virgin, the Passion set, and the side altars. One of these, the *Pentecost* (Plate 182A), shows russet changing to malachite, vermilion set against carmine, pink turning to light green or to yellow. Such *changeant* hues were widely used in Flanders even before 1500. Though intense, striking, and warm, the colouring is subtle and varied. Kings, priests, and high priests wear brocade where yellow is laid over blue, crimson, or brown; elsewhere yellow and vermilion or yellow and carmine are painted over red hues which are applied over ultramarine. The draperies spread, without regard for anatomy, in fairly voluminous folds breaking abruptly in sharp angles and ending in precise, linear edges with prominent corners. Figures are placed a few feet from the lower border and arranged roughly in a triangle with considerable emphasis on diagonal effects. Proportions are rather short. The flesh, modelled softly and almost *sfumato*, recalls Quentin Massys, whose altar of the Sorrows of the Virgin (Lisbon) was in the Madre de Deus from about 1510. In the panels ascribed to Henriques, hands tend to be clumsy and angular, and the foreshortening of the feet awkward. The foreground is enlivened by poppies and common weeds, each rising in isolation and rendered with botanical accuracy. Figures are frequently separated by a funnel-like opening in the centre, leading to a background with Nordic views upon city squares, turreted castles, or high-gabled farmhouses. Feathery silhouettes of thin-leaved trees are almost Oriental in delicate calligraphy. Clear, blue skies wax pale towards the horizon. The background is often closed by a wall parallel to the picture surface, except for the *Presentation in the Temple* with its complicated perspective of arcaded vaults. An illusion of relief-embossing prevails in precious bits such as mitres and croziers. In spite of an anticipation of Mannerist excitement, the over-all impression is calm, perhaps because of the harmonious blending of colours and the large size of the figures. Expressions are more interesting in the four Eucharistic scenes of the predella, painted earlier and by a different hand from the rest. The types are characterized and the extremities well drawn.

A contemporary of Jorge Afonso has been labelled Master of Lourinhã,[10] from his *chef d'œuvre*, *St John on Patmos* (Plate 184A), in the Misericórdia Hospital in Lourinhã, with its companion piece, *St John the Baptist*. It is the landscape which makes the *St John on Patmos* a great picture. On the left, outside the walls of a spacious city and beyond a Portuguese caravel, the saint is suffering martyrdom. In the centre a loaded donkey enters a Flemish watermill. With skill and intense evocation of reality, castles, farmhouses, and cities draw the eye into the distance as the colour changes from pale green to vivid light blue. On the right delicately painted yet stately trees balance the scene. The tallest tree has large leaves, exceptional in Portuguese painting, but typical of the Lourinhã Master, as in the triptych at Nossa Senhora do Pópulo at Caldas da Rainha, which should be ascribed to him. It is not impossible that the master was a Fleming living in Portugal and influenced by Portuguese style. He seems to have worked *c.* 1510–25 in Évora, Lisbon, and the nearby Caldas–Lourinhã region. His altar panels in Funchal Cathedral were influenced in subject-matter by those at São Francisco in Évora, but are improved in design, less cluttered, and more harmonious. The Lourinhã Master approaches Frei Carlos in the quiet mood, the peaceful clarity, even transparency of his colours, as well as in the restrained angular structure and sensitivity of his folds. The face of his Child Christ reminds one of Frei Carlos's version. On the other hand, the Lourinhã Master shares with Vasco Fernandes (who in 1514–15 was at Lisbon) a wiry, curving drapery edge and in some of his faces a vibrating spirituality.

Viseu and Coimbra: The Sardoal Master; Vasco Fernandes and Gaspar Vaz

Contemporary with these paintings are fourteen panels in the Viseu Museum from the main altar of Viseu Cathedral, painted by several different hands. The *Agony in the Garden* seems more advanced than the rest, while the *Epiphany*, *Circumcision*, and especially the *Presentation in the Temple* are poorer in quality. Unified compositions are built along curving lines (*Visitation*, *Flight into Egypt*), in an attempt to pull foreground and background together. The latter plays a more important role than in the panels from São Francisco in Évora and is better related to the main figures. At Viseu these are more dramatic in gesture and expression, though the effect is less mannered and calmer. The light is more natural and credible. In comparing similar themes at Viseu and Évora, the better quality of the Viseu altar is obvious. It seems doubtful that direct influences existed, and even less likely that the same painter participated in both altars. In some of the side altars, dating from 1509–11, particularly in the panel of the *Virgin with St Julita and St Queritus*, Évora shows progress over Viseu in the *sfumato* effect and the chiaroscuro handling. The two series might well be almost contemporary: 1500–6 for Viseu, 1503–8 for the main altar in Évora.

A homogeneous group of over thirty paintings was produced by the Sardoal Master,[11] less Flemish and more rustic than his contemporaries. His art is not unrelated to Andalusian painting. His best quality is colour. The *Epiphany* (Lisbon) glows in vermilion, ultramarine, and *changeant* combinations of yellow with indigo, pink, and claret. Claret and green are painted over blue, and contrasted by salmon. The faces, generally in three-quarter view, show oblique eyebrows forming a Y with the sharp, thin edge of the nose. Heavy-lidded, slit eyes are set in oval faces with small chins and broad cheeks. The hands have long fingers, parallel and somewhat overlapping. Concave curves run from knuckle to knuckle. There is little shading and little sense of structure. Almost pipe-shaped draperies, breaking sharply, are painted with strong diagonal lines and vigorous contrast of light and dark. Floating ribbons, cords, and stoles in curving banderoles give movement. Brocades embroidered with pearls and twisted strands add rich effects, as do the gold utensils sometimes applied like an overlay. The large, closely grouped figures have an air of decorative opulence, while space and landscape are unimportant. The Sardoal Master was active during the widowhood of Queen Leonor (1495–1525), whose insignia, a shrimp-net, frequently occurs in his works. His studio can be localized in the Coimbra region not only because his paintings were found there but also because of their stylistic relationship to the school of Viseu.

The great master of that school, Vasco Fernandes, often referred to as the Grão Vasco, was born about 1475. By 1501 he lived in Viseu, and owned a house there from 1512 till 1541. From 1506 on he painted the main altar of Lamego Cathedral, a commission paid in 1511. He befriended Jorge Afonso in Lisbon from 1513 to 1515. During the next twenty years Fernandes probably resided in Viseu and painted in the Upper Beira and Upper Douro region. In 1535 he was paid for four altars in the Santa Cruz church in Coimbra and subsequently he painted five altars in Viseu Cathedral. By 1542 he was dead.

The attribution of the main altar of Viseu Cathedral (p. 331) to Vasco Fernandes and his helpers by a writer in 1630 and several modern ones[12] is not impossible. Modelling of hands and draperies, interest in perspective and deep space, and type of vegetation and landscape offer links with Fernandes's later works. The *Descent from the Cross* contains a Magdalen seen from the back which may be compared to one in Fernandes's *Descent from the Cross* of *c.* 1515–20, also in the Viseu Museum. Either the Viseu altar is by Fernandes or he was strongly influenced by it.

The *Assumption of the Virgin* (Lisbon, from Coimbra) and the five surviving panels of the documented Lamego Cathedral high altar (in the Lamego Museum) were painted by Fernandes from 1506 to 1511. They recall Jan Provost of Bruges, a contemporary painter. The Lamego panels of the Annunciation, Visitation, and Presentation show Fernandes's mastery of perspective, his ability to draw faces, hands, and fabrics with great care, and to give an illusion of three-dimensional form as well as texture. Space and design are almost integrated, though somewhat cluttered with detail. In the poetic and dream-like *Creation of Animals* large areas of drapery undulate in a controlled rhythm of angular yet gentle creases, while razor-sharp borders curve and turn upon themselves. Admirably transparent light provides sharp contrasts or gradual transitions. Vasco Fernandes's style at this time recalls Rogier van der Weyden's.[13]

To the period 1520–35 have been assigned sixteen panels of the high altar in Freixo-de-Espada-à-Cinta, typical of the artist. Though narrative clarity is supreme, one is aware of an illuminator's floridness. The scenes are less encumbered than in the Lamego panels. The *Nativity*, an intensely felt night scene, was similarly treated by the Antwerp Mannerist Jan de Beer. *Calvary* and *Pentecost* anticipated future versions by Fernandes. Of the same period is the *Last Supper* in Viseu, which repeats types created by Fernandes in Lamego. He seems now familiar with Lucas van Leyden prints. A world of detail, mirror of the universe, invites contemplation, offering ever-new surprises as one looks from room to room. The *Pentecost* of 1535 in Santa Cruz in Coimbra (Plate 184B), signed VELASC9, is one of Fernandes's most dramatic and Mannerist works. Monumental, violently distorted figures are drawn with precision. Careful design takes one into space. Light and dark, shapes and hues are contrasted. Everything seems fresh and seen anew. The miracle rushes through the wide hall like a storm.

During his last period, from 1535 to 1541, Fernandes integrated his paintings in grand Mannerist designs. His first major work at this time is the *Christ at the House of Martha* in Viseu, bright in colour, original in presentation, with romantic vistas of towns, trees, seashores, a dragon, and a sorceress. The last great works constitute five altars with their predellas in the Viseu Museum, from the cathedral. The *Ordeal of St Sebastian* shows his range from preciousness to monumentality, and his deep tonalities in vermilion, rose, violet, carmine, yellow, and rose that changes to malachite. Draperies, recoiling and spreading, seem alive, ropes and straps wind snake-like through the landscape. Vasco Fernandes's paintings are meant to wander in and lose oneself. The *Calvary*, crowded with drinking peasants and ugly Teutonic soldiers from Massys or Bosch, suggests tragedy. Streaming with blood, Christ has expired. His face is dark, his upper body slender, and his feet swollen, deformed, and agonized. Mary has collapsed. In the distance, Judas's body dangles from a tree. Above, the transparent dynamic clouds seem to give a portent of hope. In the *St Peter* on a Renaissance throne (Plate 185B), everything is planned to create an illusion of space, from the shadow indicated behind the saint and in the shell above to the well-proportioned and foreshortened canopy suspended by strings, a favourite device of Fernandes's. In the *Quo Vadis?* seen through a window on the right, a tree in the foreground emphasizes the distance, also a fountain drawn in foreshortening and a city in aerial perspective. Even more delicate in airy shading is the other scene, *Christ calling St Thomas.* The curving, mannered draperies lead up to St Peter in a dramatic interplay of light and shadow. The embroidered cape gives a perfect illusion of reality and sculptural form. Precise outlines link foreground, middle-ground, and background. The face is drawn rather than painted, with careful blending of tones; roundness and the underlying structure are always kept in mind.

A *St Peter* at São João de Tarouca (sometimes attributed to Fernandes), seated on a Gothic throne, is less carefully drawn and painted in a very different technique, sketchy and spotty – called *macchia* in Italy. Though superficially more realistic, the anatomy is less accurate and three-dimensional. The Tarouca painter is not concerned with modelling in the round. Lighting is more evenly distributed. The effect is more painterly, and in the flesh portions there is more chiaroscuro. Background scenes show less depth. The various planes of the painting remain separate. The flatness (for instance in the throne), the lack of proportion, and the design of the draperies arranged independently of the figure, would exclude any intervention of Vasco Fernandes in the composition. São João de Tarouca also contains a companion-piece, representing St Michael, and an altar of six panels. All eight paintings show complete unity of style and brushwork. They can be ascribed in design and execution to Gaspar Vaz,[14] between 1535 and 1540. Shortly before that year, Cristóvão de Figueiredo was in the Tarouca church to appraise 'the pictures done by Gaspar Vaz'.

Évora: Frei Carlos

While Vasco Fernandes worked in the north, another eagle of Portuguese painting was active in the south. At Easter 1517 there professed at the Jeronymite monastery of Our Lady of Espinheiro near Évora a 'Frei Carlos of Lisbon, Fleming'. He was thus born of Flemish parents, either in Flanders or in Lisbon. Évora, more than any other Portuguese city, was receptive to Netherlandish artists and style; see for example the panels for São Francisco, whose Flemish antecedents have been discussed (p. 330), or the panels of the cathedral high altar (*c.* 1500), painted locally by northern masters trained in Bruges or Ghent.[15] The latter panels influenced Frei Carlos. King Manuel (d. 1521) was devoted to Our Lady of Espinheiro and ordered from Frei Carlos the main and collateral altars of this convent. Though it is not known which paintings belonged to these altars and though Frei Carlos's extant works are thus not strictly documented, many of them actually came from Espinheiro. He is said to have been buried there by 1553.

His *œuvre* is small, even if one would not accept entirely a recent beneficial pruning which has done much to clarify his style.[16] His capital work, one of the best paintings in Portugal, represents Christ appearing to the Virgin (Plate 182B). It is in Lisbon, and is dated 1529. The Virgin's robe is plum-coloured; the woman touching the door-knocker wears a green mantle over an orange garment. Her sleeve changes from blue to pink. The lilac tiara of the next woman is embroidered in gold (yellow and orange). Christ wears bright vermilion. The onyx column in the centre shimmers in many tones of red-brown. On the right is a minute view into a Flemish town. The effect of this picture comes from its limpid clarity, its dainty precision, and from the spiritual expression of its personalities, especially of the two main figures. They are so mystically inward, so quiet with life, that one becomes very still and senses a breath of divinity.

Here and in the other paintings unanimously credited to Frei Carlos[17] the mysticism of the figures is underlined by the harmonious draperies, sculptural yet gentle, the transparent veils, and the discreet though festive jewellery and ornamentation. The oval faces have high foreheads; hands and feet are slender and elongated. Outlines and planes are stressed. The mood of strength and sweetness, the colours, and sometimes faces and folds somewhat recall the style of Piero della Francesca. It has been observed that Frei Carlos used a Flemish technique in the manner of Memling, Gerard David, and Provost, a translucent fusing of brush-strokes due to the use of aqueous glazes and sizes.

A recently discovered[18] triptych by Frei Carlos (*c.* 1520; owned by E. Vilhena in Lisbon) makes certain the attribution to him of the *Resurrection*, the *Assumption*, and the *Ascension* in Lisbon, and the *Nativity* in Évora, all from Espinheiro, perhaps before 1529. Though, because of the subject-matter, the design has more movement, it is as pure and delicate and possesses the same warmth and tenderness as in his other paintings. Minor participation by assistants is probable. Morellian features in faces, hands, and draperies resemble those in the works discussed previously.[19] There is the same silvery tonality and similar colours. The interiors as well as landscapes and figure poses are curved in design.

EARLY MANNERISM: GREGÓRIO LOPES, CRISTÓVÃO DE FIGUEIREDO, GARCIA FERNANDES

Jorge Afonso's pupils – Gregório Lopes, Cristóvão de Figueiredo, and Garcia Fernandes, often called the Ferreirim Masters – led Portuguese painting to Mannerism. Their triumvirate was bound by family relationship,[20] friendship, and often partnership. Gregório Lopes (*c.* 1490(?)–1550) by 1514 was married to a daughter of Afonso. In 1518 he worked under Francisco Henriques. He served as court painter under Manuel and John III, and was made knight of Santiago in 1524. Ten years later he contracted to fulfil several commissions with Figueiredo and Garcia Fernandes. At least sixty-five works survive.[21] Though he never signed and only once dated his paintings, he often included his insignia, a tiny ladybird, as in an unpublished *Epiphany* at Lisbon (Inv. no. 41).

In the Setúbal altar (p. 330) one suspects minor interventions by Lopes and Figueiredo. The compositional traits, poses, and types of this altar were soon imitated by Lopes in the Paradise altar (at the Lisbon Museum with two predella panels). The other two are in Poznán.[22] The *Death of the Virgin*, a panel of the Paradise altar, is dated 1523 (not 1527). In most faces and hands of this altar Lopes's style is unmistakable.[23] His brushwork is derived from Afonso's, but much rougher: for instance, the wrinkles at the knuckles are often indicated by long, reddish strokes of concentric ovals. In some of the panels of the Paradise altar the parts most typical of Lopes are secondary figures. Apparently trained as a painter of backgrounds, he followed this speciality for years. His backgrounds always constitute the most original aspect of his work.[24]

In the *Prayer of Joachim and Anne* at the Misericórdia of Setúbal, the *Annunciation*, *Birth of the Virgin*, and its companion piece the *Pentecost* (*c.* 1530, all at Lisbon), forms are less static. One feels the excitement of contrasts of light and shadow and of shapes in movement. In the *Ascension* (Setúbal, Jesus Church) and the *Preaching of St John Baptist* (Lisbon),[25] Mannerism triumphs. Ovals replace circles as basic compositional form, in the placement of figures, the bending of each body, and the arrangement of the draperies. Crowds are posed diagonally instead of placing them, as before, parallel to the picture plane. Between them, a funnel leads one into the distance. Agitated, broken draperies no longer have weight and substance. To increase excitement, the ground and each plant are treated as a continuous, live carpet of moss-like, withered texture, while the foliage of trees is not airy and feathery, but dark and dramatic. Rays of light illuminate a sky of thunder-clouds. Brushwork is nervous, quick, and sketchy, giving an impression of fluidity rather than of the three-dimensional substance at which Jorge Afonso had excelled. Minute strokes build up a characteristic uneven gridwork of pigment, as thin as casein. The effect of these untidy, overlapping layers is almost that of wash. Other typical strokes follow the ductus of rounded pleats. Lopes's intentional disregard of anatomy produces grotesque misfits, for instance in the *St Jerome* (Lisbon, Inv. no. 287). Small but lively minor figures often become more interesting than the main ones, like the virtues in *Our Lady of Misericordia* at Sezimbra (Misericórdia church).

In 1536 Lopes was paid for panels in the Charola at Tomar, where his father-in-law Afonso had triumphed less than thirty years earlier. The two best are now at Lisbon.[26] The *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* presents artificial and contorted poses. Beyond three thin, repoussoir-like figures in the foreground, one is immediately attracted to the middle-ground and background, where Gothic and Renaissance elements mingle around a sixteenth-century town square. The other panel, *Virgin and Child with Angels* (Plate 183), offers an enchanted garden of symbolic trees, flowers, and the fountain of life. An inviting, romantic landscape evokes a warm summer day. Our Lady has the broad, round face which due to Garcia Fernandes became the norm in Portuguese painting. Fingers are flexed with the precious, spidery tension one expects of Lopes. The Child Christ spreads like a swastika, a pose inspired by an Italian or Flemish Mannerist print. Oddly recalling Dürer and Cranach with their circular, smiling faces and fringes, the angels are more lively than ever in their swirling draperies broken in tiny folds.[27]

Lopes's finest surviving altar, once at Santos-o-Novo in Lisbon, is now at the Museum, attributed to a 'Master of the Santos-o-Novo altar'. Its panels are most inventive and refreshing. The interior scenes show a new concept of space. The unity of Afonso's Renaissance style has been transformed into a decorative, ornamental type of architecture. Texture is valued more and more, particularly in the *Resurrection*. What at Setúbal (p. 330) had been large areas, crisp outlines, and full volumes in distinct three-dimensional relationships is now, in a similar composition, a carpet of many threads. Spatial clarity is negated in a search for heightened emotion. Every square inch of paint substance becomes interesting in the russet-and-salmon tomb overgrown with lichen and guarded by grotesque dragons. A ghostly background scene in the *Agony in the Garden* shows Judas slinking away. Rhythmic white highlights applied like silverpoint drawing were Lopes's forte, and carry an emotional charge.[28] Probably contemporary is the *Prayer of Joachim and Anne* at the Lisbon Museum, as by an unknown master.

Six panels at São João Baptista in Tomar (*c.* 1536–9) show the increasing richness and drama of Lopes's style.[29] In the choir scene, glimpsed in the background of *St Gregory's Mass*, he anticipates by a century the impressionistic treatment of the Baroque. His background themes, such as Moses striking the Rock, belong to the most imaginative and intense productions of the Portuguese school and suffice to stamp Lopes as a master. Even damascened armour and ornate brocade are to him a matter of vigorous creative life, not, as often in Portugal, of skilful routine.

After 1540, Lopes still grew in power and range. The *Last Judgement* at Lisbon (as by an unknown Portuguese master), in light blue, lemon, vermilion, and pale claret, recalls the complicated, dainty gold jewellery of contemporary Augsburg. Tintoretto was later to paint such rising hosts of angels and blessed in similar unearthly light and rotating ellipses, and Greco was to arrange St John Baptist and the Apostles similarly in the *Burial of Count Orgaz*. A fantastic architecture links God's throne to the centre of the universe.[30] Also by Lopes, and closely related, is a *Baptism of Christ* (Lisbon, Inv. no. 931, as by an unknown artist). An eerily lit night scene, the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, at Évora is notable for the vivid Mannerist architecture and for the realistic, contorted peasant on the left, like the figures Aertsen painted a few years later.[31] Similar in style, and another climax in Lopes's *œuvre*, are six panels of an altar at Abrantes (*c.* 1548). The *Burial of Christ* intensifies that at Santos-o-Novo by a new staccato rhythm and sharp accents of light. Light is now the artist's foremost interest. In the *Calvary* (Plate 186B) a strident re-enactment of the tragedy takes place before a fantastic Jerusalem. As usually in Lopes's work, circular churches are prominent. His expressive hands with elongated, bent fingers are always vehicles of an excited mood.

Three paintings of the greatest, almost frantic, contortion and striking, slashing light-effects have been attributed to Lopes as his last works: the *Circumcision* and the *Epiphany* at Lisbon, as by an unknown master, and the *Miracle of St Anthony* at the Misericórdia in Tomar, which I have not seen. The background figures in the paintings at Lisbon and the total design in all three are in Lopes's mode. Otherwise the two Lisbon pictures differ to such a degree in brushwork and architecture from his style, that they were perhaps executed by a most gifted and even more theatrical follower.

Cristóvão de Figueiredo, sworn in as Examiner of Paintings in 1515, was Gregório Lopes's companion in 1518 at the Relação. The main altar of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, commissioned in 1522, was executed by them in partnership, mostly in 1529–30. As court painter of John III's brother, Cardinal Infante Alfons, Figueiredo was asked in 1533 to paint three altars at Ferreirim. He promised to work according to 'the usual performance of himself and Garcia Fernandes', his partner and relative by marriage. This shows that the two often worked together.[32] In 1534, Figueiredo, Fernandes, and Gregório Lopes mention their joint work at Lamego and Ferreirim. The Lamego altars are lost and those at Ferreirim in poor condition (p. 339). Figueiredo in 1537 did designs for tapestries to be woven in Flanders. He painted at Batalha in 1538 and is last heard of in 1543.

Figueiredo's chief work, the *Entombment of Christ* (Plate 185A) at Lisbon, comes from Coimbra University and probably once formed the centre of the main altar of Santa Cruz. It would thus be of 1529–30, a date according with its style. The monumental composition is built on vertical and horizontal blocks, traversed by a diagonal. Facial expression, more restrained than in Lopes, is even more telling. Ascetic, drawn physiognomies are drained of all superfluous flesh. A refined chiaroscuro ennobles Figueiredo's faces and draperies. His effects are enhanced by a draughtsmanship less nervous and more sculptural and carefully finished than in Lopes. Figueiredo is more virile and collected, eschewing Lopes's brittle, dishevelled style. Typical are the ornamental panels of the tomb set against a plain horizontal ledge; the brocades of Mary Magdalen, Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus; and the sharp, precise edges of the yellow cloth in the Magdalen's hands and of Nicodemus's scarf. The rocks have none of Lopes's wispiness. Two heads of donors recall Nuno Gonçalves in intensity.[33]

Still at Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and surely from the same altar, are five panels of standing saints, attributed, in my opinion erroneously, to Garcia Fernandes. Flesh parts and draperies seem typical of Figueiredo. In the *St Roch* the folds of the angel's white garment compare with Christ's shroud. Typical is the city pushing up its tightly-packed towers. The *St Sebastian* strives for monumentality, accenting horizontals, verticals, and the diagonal. *St Lawrence*'s brocades are painted in the same technique as in the *Burial*.[34]

Figueiredo's tragic mood and great ability in the modelling of the human body predestined him to become Portugal's foremost painter of the Passion. The *Calvary* at Santa Cruz in Coimbra was probably painted around 1532–5. Ten years earlier, in the *Calvary* at Setúbal, probably partly by Figueiredo (p. 335), large compositional masses were kept in balance under a quiet sky. At Coimbra, tension arises between the sorrowing group pushed to the extreme left foreground and the soldiers shifted to the right middle-ground. Deeper, more varied, and contrasting chiaroscuro heightens the sorrowing mood of the mourners. Christ's body is more twisted and bloody against the storm-clouds of a threatening sky and a citron glory. Some of the drapery may be by Garcia Fernandes. A small *Calvary* triptych with *Ecce Homo* wings at Lisbon confirms Figueiredo's mastery of anatomy, his delicate values of light and shade, and his striving for spatial depth. His scale ranged from the monumental to the miniature. More problematic is the *Ecce Homo* at Santa Cruz in Coimbra. Though mostly by Figueiredo and in his scheme of vertical and horizontal blocks, the man seated in the centre and the four heads in a window at the right are so close to Lopes's style that his intervention is possible. Perhaps their frequent collaboration and common derivation from Afonso occasionally led Figueiredo to imitate Lopes's handling completely. Garcia Fernandes may have helped in some of the draperies.

Garcia Fernandes, the third master of the triumvirate, worked in 1514 in Jorge Afonso's shop with Pero and Gaspar Vaz, Lopes, and Figueiredo, and in 1518 under Francisco Henriques with Lopes and Figueiredo at the Relação. He married Henriques's daughter and became his successor in 1519. At Ferreirim in 1533–4 he again worked with Lopes and Figueiredo. In 1540 he stated that he had painted at Coimbra, Leiria, Montemor-o-Velho, São Francisco of Évora, Santo Eloy of Lisbon, and in India. Panels by him survive at Coimbra, the Évora church, and in the cathedral of Goa. He is last heard of in 1565. At least eighty-eight works are extant.

Because of the stylistic connexion with his later works, I would identify Fernandes[35] with the Master of the St Auta altar at Lisbon from the Madre de Deus. Fernandes's teacher Afonso had painted there in 1515. The relics of St Auta were carried to the church in 1517. The shrimp-net of Queen Leonor dates the panels before 1525, and by style one would guess *c.* 1518–20. The colour-scheme, delightful in the *changeant* green and rose of African musicians, derives from Afonso. The St Auta panels are rich and decorative but repetitive in poses[36] and lacking in facial expression, characteristics typical of Fernandes. Round faces with small, pointed, double chins, eyes looking down, and elegantly but mechanically poised hands were his speciality. His figures wear elaborate golden crowns, pearls and other jewellery, rich brocades, and puffed sleeves slashed with white. He is fond of a peculiar headgear of birds' wings, worn over the ears. Of about the same time and as pleasant in the Flemish manner of Gerard David as the St Auta altar is the *Virgin enthroned with Music-making Angels* at Lisbon, from the Paraízo Convent. Fernandes soon abandoned the sculptural volume of this balanced Renaissance composition. Of *c.* 1520–5 seem a *St Catherine with Cleric* at Lisbon, in poor condition, and a *St Michael* owned by the Duke of Palmela. Here the face, drapery folds, background, and small praying figures on a scale bespeak Fernandes's style. Of grander stuff is the São Bento altar of *c.* 1525 at Lisbon, derived from Afonso's Madre de Deus altar. In fact, two portrait heads in the *Epiphany* (Plate 186A) differ markedly in technique from the rest of the picture and accord with Afonso's brushwork. Possibly Afonso intervened in the *Christ before the Doctors*.[37] The *Epiphany* and the *Presentation in the Temple* repeat the composition of *Pope Ciriacus blessing St Auta*.[38] Fernandes favours complicated gothicizing goldsmith work, rich sword-handles, and gold chains. Collars show meticulous embroidery. Faces and hands are blander and fleshier than those by Afonso, Lopes, or Figueiredo. Compositions begin to suggest a Mannerist zigzag rhythm, through the movement of arms, hands, candles, and books. In the Palmela altar of *c.* 1530, chiaroscuro deepens and Gothic ornamentation is less prominent.[39]

More restless is the triptych of *Christ appearing to the Virgin* at Coimbra, dated 1531. This work confirms Fernandes's authorship of the famous transept altars[40] at São Francisco in Évora (*c.* 1531–3), where the Coimbra St Gabriel reappears as St Michael. The companion *St Raphael as Guardian of Portugal* excels in richness and elegance of line, colour, and chiaroscuro. Influences from Vasco Fernandes, with whom he had just renewed contact at Coimbra, now gave Garcia Fernandes's outlines a forceful, wiry resilience. He is more successful in these single figure than in large compositions.

The main altar at Ferreirim (1533–4) is lost. Most of the remaining eight panels (four of the Virgin and four of the Passion) are in poor condition, repainted, and denote execution by a helper of Fernandes.[41] This assistant simplifies the modelling and is fond of circular, ballooning draperies. The *Annunciation*, *Death of the Virgin*, and some heads in other panels approach Fernandes in quality and seem to be by him. No influence can be detected from Figueiredo and Lopes. It is therefore dangerous to speak of the Ferreirim Masters as a style, or to attribute pictures to them collectively. Particularly after 1525, it is usually quite feasible to distinguish between the styles of Figueiredo, Lopes, and Garcia Fernandes. It is much more difficult to sort out their hands between 1515 and 1525.

Under the influence of increasing Mannerism and of Fernandes's anonymous helper at Ferreirim, a further evolution of style takes place in the Passion triptych and a *Christ appearing to the Virgin* (1536) at Vila Viçosa,[42] though the facial types and composition are still the same as in the St Auta altar. Greater play is made with looping drapery shapes. A companion piece, *The Resurrection*, borrows from Lopes[43] the arabesque design of a soldier's armour and the wispy brushwork in the russet landscape background. The *Presentation in the Temple* at Lisbon, dated 1538, is more linear than in Lopes. The smiling faces and pointing hands are characteristically modelled. Compositions are less inspired than Lopes's. The architecture is heavier and often crude and symmetrically centred, with strongly-projecting cornices and often sculptured reliefs. Fernandes still uses *changeant* effects of carmine, pink, and light blue as well as a typical wavy line in the high-priest's mantle. Probably from the same altar, a *St Anthony preaching to the Fish* at Lisbon repeats a subject Fernandes had treated in the same way at Évora, but includes a well-drawn presentation of the Miracle of the Donkey as well as a realistic group of fish in striking colours. The companion-piece, an *Annunciation*,[44] shows St Gabriel in a gown of typical sling-like curves. A Ming jar reminds us that Portuguese envoys had reached China in 1516 and that Chinese porcelain was made on order for Portugal at least from 1521. The paintings of St Catherine of *c.* 1538–40 by Fernandes and assistants, for Goa Cathedral, precede by over forty years any important extant easel-paintings in the Spanish overseas possessions. They corroborate the reconstruction of Fernandes's *œuvre* here attempted. Together with the anonymous early-sixteenth-century portraits of Portuguese Viceroys at Panguim Palace, Goa, they testify to the wise cultural policies Portugal has carried out in her Dominions for over four hundred and fifty years.

Fernandes's last known picture, a *Royal Wedding* (probably of John III), dated 1541, at the São Roque Museum in Lisbon,[45] confirms his position as the most repetitious and artisan-like and least imaginative among the great Portuguese painters of the first half of the sixteenth century. Though Fernandes lived for another twenty-four years, no further paintings are known.

A talented pupil of Lopes, the São Quintino Master[46] (*fl. c.* 1535–55), painted the *Lamentation over Christ* owned by Count Rilvas at Lisbon (Plate 187A). Faces, some in shadow, are in profile or look down, with pointed small chins. Lips are a bright vermilion. Smooth flesh surfaces have bluish shadows with intense rose lights and outlines. Fingers often have rectangular cross-section and long, oval nails. Repoussoir effects of dark against light, sturdy figures, and a swaying, elliptical rhythm underlined by winding, serpentine draperies denote familiarity with Italian Mannerism. By the same hand is a *Preaching of St John Baptist* at Lisbon (Inv. no. 1031) from the Santa Joana Convent. Opaque colours are strong vermilion, yellow, light blue, and green turning to lilac. The São Quintino Master painted the Passion panels at São Quintino, including the *Calvary*, where the Christ seems influenced by Figueiredo.

Lopes's Mannerism is taken a step farther by a follower active *c.* 1555–80 at Évora, the Master of the Epiphany of Évora Cathedral (Plate 187B), who may be Francisco de Campos (d. 1580), perhaps a Fleming.[47] He distorts faces and limbs by exaggerated foreshortening. He prefers masks, roll-work detail, overloaded ornamentation, and zigzag drapery folds, thus proving strong dependence on mid-century Antwerp engravings. Like them, he borders on the grotesque, and, miniature-like, he crowds his scenes with picturesque detail. He appeals by fantasy and vivid hues. With him, Flemish influence in Portuguese painting almost came to an end. From now on, as in Spain, Italy was in command.

That the art of catching a personality still flourished in Portugal a hundred years after Nuno Gonçalves is shown in the excellent anonymous *Portrait of a Lady with a Rosary* (Plate 188A) at Lisbon. Inner peace and spiritual quality are brought out by the thin lips and the stern yet benign face, full of character and speaking of privation and self-control. The tranquil expression is underlined by the white wimple against a dark garment. The red coral beads of a rosary fall over a crimson cushion. The veined, folded hands tell of struggle overcome. Removed from the observer merely by the short distance of the narrow brown table-top, the portrait speaks with great immediacy and fine regard for plastic values.

LATE MANNERISM

The decline of art began with John III's successors, Sebastian (1557–78) and Henry (1578–80). It assumed catastrophic proportions when, during the Spanish occupation (1580–1640), there existed at Lisbon neither a court nor money from the overseas possessions to dispense patronage. One of the best painters, Vasco Pereira (p. 209), worked abroad. Mor was at Lisbon in 1552, and his Spanish pupil trained in Flanders, Sánchez Coello (p. 206), was there also until 1557. This was the last burst of influence from the Low Countries in the Portuguese capital and stimulated there the art of portrait-painting.[48] Cristóvão de Morais's (*fl.* 1557–71) signed and dated likeness of King Sebastian at the Descalzas Reales in Madrid[49] (1565; Plate 188B), is in its shy, draughtsmanlike quality closer to Sánchez Coello than to Mor. In 1570 Morais portrayed his king again (Lisbon), much in the Sánchez Coello manner but less spiritual and less refined in modelling.

Symptomatic of the inevitable change of influences – Italy instead of Flanders – is the miniaturist and writer on art, Francisco de Holanda (1517–84). John III pensioned him from 1537 to 1541 to Italy, where he gained the confidence of Michelangelo. Holanda's manuscript *Da Pintura Antiga* ('Of Ancient Painting')[50] was completed in 1548, but like all his other writings it was not published until modern times, and its effect on Portuguese art was negligible. According to tradition, King John also sent to Italy the painters Dias, Campelo, Venegas, and Fernão Gomes.[51] These are the leading artists during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The last two are Spaniards.

Gaspar Dias (*fl.* 1560–90) combines architectural vistas with elaborate wind-blown draperies. His compositions are excited because of the contrast of light and dark, and tend to be grandiose, as in the *Vision of St Roch* at São Roque church in Lisbon. Favouring heavier, less elongated proportions, António Campelo (*fl.* 1590?) in military scenes from Roman antiquity gracelessly imitated Michelangelo's strength of drawing and his colouring. Francisco Venegas [52] (*fl.* 1578–90) was, like Dias, more delicate, in the vein of Raphael and Parmigianino. Castilian by birth, and during the Spanish occupation court painter at Lisbon of Philip II (1583), Venegas had started as a goldsmith, and later became a draughtsman and designer of altars (p. 189). His signed pastel-hued paintings in the high altar of the Luz church at Lisbon (*c.* 1588–90) combine on a less exalted artistic level the effects and types of Correggio with the mystic feeling and softness in modelling of Baroccio. They strongly recall Beccafumi. Elegant and spiritual, Venegas is the strongest talent among the Late Mannerists in Portugal.[53] The *Holy Trinity* attributed to him at the Lisbon Museum may be the earliest Baroque painting in Portugal for chiaroscuro and incipient realism. The amplitude of folds and the hues of rose, grey, and citron anticipate Velázquez. The lesser Luz altar-paintings were executed by Diogo Teixeira [54] (*fl.* 1565–98), whose heavily proportioned figures *à la* Sebastiano del Piombo and lack of finesse indicate that he learned his Italian manner at second hand, perhaps from Campelo. Cristóvão Lopes's successor in 1594 as royal painter was Fernão Gomes [55] (1553–1602). A pupil of Blocklandt and Venegas, he shows this derivation in a drawing of the Ascension of Christ, signed 'F.G. f INV 1595', at the Lisbon Museum. This drawing establishes Gomes's authorship of a wildly excited, unrealistic panel of the *Pentecost* (*c.* 1595–1600, at the Lisbon Museum, Inv. no. 392), with sharply-breaking angular folds and almost caricatured hands and feet. One of the last artists of this group was Simão Rodrigues [56] (*fl.* 1562–1612), whose art is influenced by the Venetian prints of Cornelis Cort and others. Rodrigues parallels the style of Mois in Aragon, Villegas Marmolejo at Seville, and Bitti in Peru. Though less talented, Portuguese Late Mannerist painters derived, as in contemporary Spain, from Florentine and Venetian painting, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Correggio.

THE BAROQUE: DOMINGOS VIEIRA, JOSEFA D'AIALA, BENTO COELHO

Spanish rule in Portugal ended with the Restoration in 1640 when John IV (d. 1656) was proclaimed king, but generations passed before the ruined country and its court could again support artistic endeavours. The fathers of Velázquez, Valdés Leal, and Claudio Coello were Portuguese, but only a few second-rank artists strongly influenced by Spanish painting were active in Portugal. André Reinoso (*fl.* 1623–41) follows Mayno in modelling, composition, and *tenebroso* lighting. His *Adoration of the Shepherds* of 1641 at the Lisbon Museum (a larger version at São Roque) and its companion piece the *Porciuncula*, gentle in mood, seek effects by concentrated light and by unusual foreshortening of some heads. In this respect Reinoso was influenced by his teacher, Simão Rodrigues, whose *Apotheosis of Christ* and *Apotheosis of the Virgin* are still at São Roque. Reinoso's St Francis Xavier series (in the same church), long attributed to Bento Coelho, shows people from India, the Straits, and Japan.

The mid-century generation corresponding to the Classical Baroque is represented by José de Avelar Rebelo (*fl.* 1635–57), royal painter to John IV, who made him a knight of Avis in 1654. Rebelo's religious paintings at São Roque, Belem, and São Domingos de Bemfica are as weak as his portraits of the king. A seventeenth-century source states that Domingos Vieira O Escuro[57] (*c.* 1600–78), was called by Philip IV to paint at the Retiro (presumably in 1634–5). His portraits, probably all of 1635 or shortly after, show influences from Velázquez in pose, brushwork, and sympathetic observation of the sitter, while his likenesses of children follow Pantoja in arrangement. In contrast to Spanish artists, Vieira neglects space, hands, or the apparatus used in Spain to give grandeur to a sitter. He expresses perennial Portuguese qualities: sobriety, dignity, absence of pretence, modesty, and human warmth. His art is so thinly painted, so tenuously understated, that his sitters are in danger of remaining ghosts. Yet his portrait of Isabel de Moura (Lisbon, cut from a half-length), though timid, suggests life.

The Late Baroque in Portugal is represented by two artists indebted to Spain: Josefa d'Aiala (Ayalla), called Josefa de Óbidos[58] (*c.* 1630–84), and Bento Coelho de Silveira (*c.* 1630–1708). Josefa, probably born in Seville, was the daughter of the Portuguese painter Baltasar Gomes Figueira, who formed her style in lighting, modelling, and facial types. Her mother was a Spanish lady, Catarina de Ayala y Cabrera, perhaps a sister of Bernabé de Ayala, pupil of Zurbarán. Although Josefa returned to Portugal and settled at Óbidos with her parents as a child, towards the end of her life Zurbarán exerted a strong influence on her subject-matter.[59] Josefa began as an etcher. Her first print, done in 1646 in Coimbra, was derived from Rubens's style. Simultaneously she painted small religious scenes on copper, e.g. a *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* (at Oporto; another, 1647, at Lisbon). Josefa usually signed and frequently dated her works. 'Emancipated with permission of her parents', she painted from 1661 on larger religious images on canvas (altar in Santa Maria at Óbidos; another, 1672, at Cascais). *The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* (Plate 191A), plunged in artificial light, exemplifies the fussy Late Baroque excitement of her art.

Josefa was fond of still lifes. One of her best (owned by Dr Armando Patrício at Lisbon) is planned, like her religious paintings, as an interwoven fabric of intense local colour, sculptural values, and sharp contrasts of light and shade. Her graphic line dwells on edges of leaves, on tiny branches, or on insects as if they were borders of lace and jewellery. She painted the Holy Family lovingly gathered, saying grace before eating, winding yarn in the carpenter's shop, or resting on the Flight. The latter scene and Josefa's style in general are a parallel to the slightly later Bolivian Holguín in linearity, *tenebroso*, and in festive, mystic introspection. They are effective almost in the manner of folk art. Beyond bright colours – vermilion, lilac, sienna, green – and elegant accessories – pearls, jewellery, crowns, ribbons, brocades, lace, and flowers – Josefa contributed new themes. Never married, she experienced the greatest joy in portraying, with the spirit of a cloistered nun, the Infant Baptist and the Child Christ, or the Virgin caressing him. She convinces by her frank, naive, and tender sentimentality, devout religion, sense of design, and meticulous perfection of detail, as if she had left the etcher's for the embroiderer's needle.

Bento Coelho's *Pietà* of 1656 on copper (Lisbon, Viscount of Sacavém) seems influenced by Josefa's *Marriage of St Catherine* done ten years earlier, also on copper (Lisbon). Sketching rapidly ('a picture a day'), in brilliant hues of mauve, pink, and blues against a dark background, Bento Coelho is the Portuguese Valdés Leal. His artistic stature compares with that of his exact contemporary, Valdés Leal's pupil Matías Arteaga. It is possible that Coelho studied in Spain. From 1687 he was royal painter. Though he neglected details of execution, his pictures (at the Madre de Deus and at São Cristóvão in Lisbon) have verve, intensity, and a curvilinear rhythm.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE VIEIRAS AND SEQUEIRA

The eighteenth century in Portugal was a time of splendour. John V (1706–50) called foreign artists to Portugal and sent promising young Portuguese to Rome. Francisco Vieira de Matos, called Vieira Lusitano[60] (1699–1783), was in Rome in 1712–19 and in 1721–8. In 1733 he became court painter, succeeding Quillard, and late in life was made a Knight of Santiago. Vieira's production as draughtsman, etcher, and painter is large. The artist's courtship and profound love for his wife were complicated by external interference, and his art reflects his sentimental afflictions. He was an able craftsman in modelling, and especially in distribution of light and shade. But his work suffers from academic correctness and a lack of spontaneity. Allegorical and symbolic references multiply. It is an intellectual art, not lacking in suggestions from Poussin. Vieira was elected teacher at the Academy of S. Luca in Rome, and years later became the first Director of the Academy of the Nude, founded at Lisbon in 1780 by C. Volkmar Machado.

Vieira's predecessor at court, Pierre Antoine Quillard (Paris 1701–Lisbon 1733), arrived in Portugal in 1726. Strongly influenced by Watteau and of good quality, Quillard's genre scenes and his etchings of fireworks, dances, and 'amusements champestres' introduced Portugal to the charms of French Rococo. Quillard was also a portraitist of note.[61] Simultaneously royal portraits at Vila Viçosa Palace were painted by Giovanni Domenico Duprá (Turin 1689–Rome 1770).

The Lisbon earthquake of 1755 destroyed much of the best Portuguese art. Yet the reconstruction under Pombal provided many commissions in sculpture and painting. Under Mary I (1777–91), the statesman Pina Manique founded a Royal Academy of Design and sustained the Portuguese Academy in Rome, founded in 1791. Students were sent there at royal expense, others by aristocrats, ambassadors, and even the Association of Oporto Wine Merchants, who were mostly British.

João Glama Ströberle (Lisbon 1708–Oporto 1792), son of a German, studied in Rome for twenty years and after his return lived mostly at Oporto. His *Earthquake at Lisbon in 1755* (Lisbon Museum) seems more an academic exercise than an eye-witness account of events.

Pedro Alexandrino de Carvalho (1729–1810) is less eclectic than his better-known Portuguese contemporaries because he is one of the few who did not go to Italy. A

Portuguese Tiepolo, he specialized in ceiling paintings. His sketch drawings are facile in composition, strong in chiaroscuro, and more spontaneous than most competitors'. Angels and allegorical figures among clouds suggest vivid movement and give the illusion of flying.

Ströberle's pupil, Francisco Vieira, called Vieira Portuense (Oporto 1765–Madeira 1805), was in Rome at the Portuguese Academy, and won a first prize at the Academy of S. Luca (1791) and membership of the Parma Academy (1794),[62] where he copied Correggio and made designs for several monumental sets of engravings edited by his friend Bodoni. Over 815 academic drawings, mostly after paintings seen on European trips, are in the Lisbon Museum.[63] His eclectic art is based now on Correggio, as in the *Jupiter and Leda*, now on Van Dyck, as in the *Pietà* (both in the Lisbon Museum, painted in London, *c.* 1800).[64] Vieira's best work was done during the three years he spent in London (1798–1800) in the company of Bartolozzi (whose niece he married), Angelica Kauffmann, etc. After ten years abroad, he returned to Portugal in 1800 and became court painter and Director of the Oporto Academy, but died soon after.

Domingos António de Sequeira (Lisbon 1768–Rome 1837) [65] is a master of European significance. The son of a fisherman, Sequeira studied first in Pina Manique's Royal Academy of Design under a pupil of Vieira Lusitano. In 1788 the queen sent him with a scholarship to Rome, where he won several second prizes at the Academy of S. Luca and in 1793 was elected a member. In 1795 he returned home. William Beckford, then travelling through Portugal with a grand retinue, was his client. Appalled by the subservient situation of Portuguese artists, Sequeira tried in vain to found an academy on the model of the Roman one as a forum for exhibitions, prizes, and lucrative commissions. Disappointed, he withdrew as a novice into a Charterhouse (1798–1802). He became First Court Painter (1802) and in 1805 successor to Vieira as Director of the Oporto Academy. In 1807, while Sequeira was away in Oporto, the French invaded Portugal and the court escaped to Brazil. Sequeira made friends with Count de Forbin, the future founder of the Luxembourg, and painted an allegory of *Lisbon sheltered by Junot* (Oporto). Consequently, after the liberation Sequeira spent nine months in prison (1808–9), though he kept his title and salary as First Court Painter. After his release Sequeira designed and made with one hundred workmen (1812–16) John VI's magnificent gift to Wellington, the monumental silver service showing the general's victories (London, Apsley House). In 1820 the Constitutionalists triumphed in Lisbon. Simultaneously the Liberals won in Spain. Sequeira enthusiastically supported the liberal movement. After the absolutist counter-revolution of 1823 he sought voluntary exile. Goya, for the same reason, did likewise in 1824. After a week in London and two years in Paris (1824–6), Sequeira settled in Rome, where he died in 1837. At the Paris Salon of 1824, competing against Gérard, Gros, Prud'hon, Girodet-Trioson, Géricault, Delacroix, and Lawrence, he won a gold medal. At Rome he was elected Counsellor to the painting class of the Academy (1834), and received honours from the courts of Portugal and Brazil.

Three phases have been distinguished [66] in Sequeira's art: 1788–1807 – academic, Neo-Classic style (Rome and early years at the court of John VI); 1807–23 – elegant portraits and allegories (invasions and liberal revolution); 1823–37 – religious painting in a visionary, impressionistic style (emigration in Paris and finally Rome).

The allegory of the *Foundation of the Casa Pia by Pina Manique* (1792–4, Lisbon), huge and academic, shows the future portraitist. A *Conversion of St Paul* of 1792 (Alpiarça, Relvas Museum) predicts the future chiaroscurist who, in a dynamic composition, powerfully expresses through light a supernatural vision. The sincerity of Sequeira's monastic retreat is proved by a *St Bruno at Prayer* of *c.* 1800 (Lisbon), bold in foreshortening, intense in mood and simplicity of design, suggesting the lonely force of prayer. After he re-emerged into the world, his style, up to then substantial and sculptural, underwent a profound change, largely because of the arrival from London of Vieira Portuense (1802), Bartolozzi (1802), and Pellegrini (1803). Vieira's incisive characterization of a *Gentleman* (*c.* 1800, Lisbon), softly diffused in the English style, suggests drawing-room elegance. Bartolozzi's (in Lisbon until 1812) prints went in the same direction. Pellegrini stayed in Portugal until 1810 and exerted the most influence on Sequeira, because of their close affinity. Pellegrini's likenesses seized the personality of his sitters. His chiaroscuro and Venetian colouring gave them elegance and grandeur.

Under the influence of these artists as well as English prints, but above all because of his own maturing, a gradual change from Neo-Classicism to Romanticism can be observed in Sequeira's portraits and allegories from 1803 to 1823. The portrait of the Viscount of Santarém and Family (*c.* 1805–10, Lisbon; Plate 190B) seduces by the most subtle, delicate harmonies of pale green, mauve, brown, and grey. One admires the placing of the group, aristocratic and yet informal. The marvellously perceptive *Count of Farrobo* (1813, Lisbon) has been compared to Goya's *Marquis of San Adrián*. Pose and park background come from English paintings. Sequeira painted his children, touchingly sympathetic (1816). Their mother had died two years earlier in labour. His daughter at the piano, *c.* 1821 (both at Lisbon), suggests tenderness by expression and sensitive colours. The charcoal drawing of Sir William Carr Beresford (*c.* 1815, Lisbon), relaxed in pose, velvety in the darks, and luminous in the lights, has the rich scale of values of a mezzotint. Sequeira's grasp of personality, his ability to be natural, unheroic, bourgeois, and full of spirit reveal a romantic rather than Neo-Classical attitude. In thirty-one vital portraits of Deputies to the Constituent Assembly (*c.* 1822, Lisbon), he drew as many characters – fops, gourmets, wits, and cynics, *beaux esprits*, snobs, thinkers, and men of action. Even Goya never probed more deeply than Sequeira in his *João da Cunha Sotto Maior*.[67] Warm-hearted and monolithic, the portraits of Dr A. Ribeiro Neves (1825, Oxford, Ashmolean), and of Sequeira's friend the engraver Gregório Francisco de Queirós (*c.* 1823, Lisbon, private collection; Plate 189B) show how Sequeira now used all the resources of light and shade in subtlest nuances.

His allegories, too, are increasingly and masterfully preoccupied with chiaroscuro.[68] Historical sketches (*c.* 1805–20), for instance *Alfons V knighting his Son in Arzila Mosque* (*c.* 1805), anticipate by a generation the romantic flavour and chiaroscuro effects of Eugenio Lucas and Genaro Villaamil in Spain. His best allegorical painting celebrates the Proclamation of the Constitution (1822, Lisbon). As usual, his elaboration of the theme proceeded through many drawings and sketches from the first linear arabesque in pen via subtle charcoal renderings of chiaroscuro values to vigorous yet sensitive evocations in oil. Sequeira was a master of grouping and moving masses. In freeing the allegory from banality he gave it imaginative, poetic validity. The theatrical composition is handled like an operatic climax.

During his third and last phase, in Paris and Rome, Sequeira became a great master of chiaroscuro. He began in Paris to experiment intensely and successfully with lithography. His prizewinning entry at the Paris Salon of 1824, *The Last Days of Camões*, was planned as a pathetic, agonizing chiaroscuro theme by candle-light, a challenge to the brilliant colouring fashionable in Paris. A sketch of John VI (1825–6, Lisbon) is close to Goya in quality. Reds, golds, blues, and whites vibrate from the enveloping romantic half-tones. In this work by a great colourist, the light sings. *The Mocking of Christ* (*c.* 1830, Lisbon; Plate 189A) anticipates Daumier and nineteenth-century social painting. The scene is lifted from dusty convention and becomes actuality. Christ, a suffering human being, is tormented by men of flesh and blood, workers or a street mob. Giving the theme realism, Sequeira makes it new, universal, and timeless. On a transparent, creamy ground, the small picture is painted in grey, light brown, and white, almost a grisaille. Also in Rome he painted a tender oil sketch of the *Virgin and Child* (Lisbon), impressionistic *à la* Manet, catching a breathless moment of mother love, probably inspired by one of his first grandchildren. His daughter had married at fifteen and a half, in 1827.

Sequeira's last and among his greatest works are four cartoons in charcoal heightened with white of the *Descent from the Cross* (1827), *Epiphany* (1828), *Ascension* (1832), and *Last Judgement* (1832–3; Plate 190A). The influence of Rembrandt's Hundred Guilder print and similar works is strong in types, composition, and especially in the treatment of light as a continuous, mystical fluidum. It would be erroneous to consider Sequeira essentially a draughtsman rather than a colourist. Vieira Portuense's colours are crude and conventional compared to Sequeira's sensitive taste. In his mature and in his late works, colour is always strongly implied and the effect painterly, even when he uses monotone. The suggestion of rich, interweaving tonalities is one of the most significant facets of his art. 'The imprecise outlines vibrate like the string of a musical instrument and the light creates around the main groups resonances which heighten the universal meaning of the drama.' [69] Colour, light, and music! The *Ascension* and the *Last Judgement* (Plate 190A) anticipate in pathetic twilight-feeling of fear and liberation the shelter drawings by Henry Moore, one of the great creations of twentieth-century art. Light and shadow are transcendent in immaterial fluidity. It is as if a great hymn rises from the multitude, a visionary unity and movement of masses no opera director ever achieved. 'A mood of transfiguration arises which touches upon the supernatural.' Although Sequeira was never in Spain, and met Goya, if at all, only at Paris in 1824, both artists received parallel suggestions, had parallel ideas, and were buffeted by parallel events. They derived from Rembrandt the ability to transfigure matter by light. But Goya, more pessimistic, was a moralist depicting vices and horror. Sequeira was an optimist whose faith in a better world expressed itself in allegories of victories, great deeds, apotheoses, triumphs of men and ideas. A lyricist in the Portuguese tradition, Sequeira gave grace, elegance, and delicacy to his incisively human, warm-hearted portraits and spiritualized through suggestions of colour, light, and music his allegories, religious or worldly.[70] The persuasive power of his musical and poetic evocation is so great that Sequeira takes his place with Blake and Turner. As a portraitist he equals Ingres, as a precursor of impressionism not quite Goya.

BRAZIL

Colonial Painting in Brazil cannot compare in quality to that in the Hispanic areas. During the brief Dutch interlude at Pernambuco (1630–54) Frans Post and Albert Eckhout,[71] under the orders of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, painted faithful descriptions of the Brazilian landscape and natives. In Portuguese and Spanish America artists were almost never inspired by the land and milieu in which they lived.[72] In both areas the common source of Colonial painters was European engravings, from missals, bibles, prayer-books, corporation books of religious brotherhoods, sheets commemorating canonizations, popular prints, and so forth. Prints by Italian and Flemish artists were preferred as models, but in the eighteenth century German and French illustrated books were also popular. Themes were entirely religious, except for a few portraits of benefactors.[73] Having very low social rank, painters neither signed nor dated their works. Biographical information is lacking on most, and the quality of their output in Brazil deplorable.

Somewhat more interesting are the frequent ceiling-paintings, usually on wood, in naves and sacristies. Thus the mulatto João de Deus Sepúlveda [74] painted in 1764–8, in São Pedro dos Clérigos, Recife, a *St Peter enthroned* in a perspective architecture framed by an undulating oval balustrade in perspective which is the top of a columnar order in rapid foreshortening. The effect is dizzy and destroys the illusion, since the centre has no relation to the surrounding, being at right angles to it. José Soares de Araujo [75] at the Carmo, Diamantina, Minas Gerais painted in 1778 the *Chariot of Elias*, in a static, geometric, linear style. The best Brazilian ceiling stems from Manuel da Costa Ataíde in São Francisco at Ouro Preto (1803–4; Plate 191B): fantastic, grandiose, and light-hearted, curving Rococo forms agree with the bluish and pink fair hues. Columns, volutes, flowers, and garlands of pierced rocaille are peopled by charming Rococo angels. In painting, as in the other arts, Minas Gerais was the last bulwark of the Rococo in the Iberic world.

LIST OF THE ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A.	*Arquitectura.* Madrid
A.A.F.	*Arte en América y Filipinas.* Seville
A.B.	*Art Bulletin.* New York
A.B.B.	*Anales y boletín de los museos de arte de Barcelona.* Barcelona
A.E.	*Arte español.* Madrid
A.E.A.	*Archivo español de arte* (formerly *A.E.A.A.*, *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*). Madrid
A.I.A.A.	*Anales del Instituto de arte americano e investigaciones estéticas.* Buenos Aires
A.I.I.E.	*Anales del Instituto de investigaciones estéticas.* Mexico
Angulo, *Historia*	D. Angulo, E. Marco Dorta, and M. Buschiazzo, *Historia del arte hispano-americano*, 3 vols. Barcelona, 1945–55
A.Q.	*Art Quarterly.* Detroit
B.A.	*Belas Artes.* Lisbon
B.A.N.B.A.	*Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes.* Lisbon
B.M.	*Burlington Magazine.* London
B.M.N.A.A.	*Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (formerly *Boletim dos Museus Nacionais de Arte Antiga*). Lisbon
Braun, *Jesuitenkirchen*	J. Braun, *Spaniens alte Jesuitenkirchen.* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1913
B.S.E.E.	*Boletín Sociedad española de excursiones.* Madrid
Chueca, *Arquitectura*	F. Chueca, *Arquitectura del siglo XVI.* Madrid, 1953
dos Santos, *Escultura*	R. dos Santos, *A escultura em Portugal*, II. Lisbon, 1950
F.B.	J. Cavestany, *Floreros y Bodegones, Exposición*, Madrid, 1936 and 1940
G.B.A.	*Gazette des Beaux-Arts.* New York
Gómez-Moreno, *Águilas*	M. Gómez-Moreno, *Las águilas del renacimiento español.* Madrid, 1941
H.A.H.R.	*Hispanic American Historical Review*
J.S.A.H.	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.* Louisville, Kentucky
Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*	P. Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America.* New York, 1951
Lafuente Ferrari, *Breve Historia*	E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Breve Historia de la pintura española*, 4th ed. Madrid, 1953
Llaguno-Ceán, *Noticias*	E. Llaguno y Amirola, ed. A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Noticias de los arquitectos de España*, 4 vols. Madrid, 1829
N.H.	*Notes Hispanic.* New York
P.M.L.A.	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.* New York
R.E.A.	*Revista española de arte.* Madrid
Resumen	L. Torres Balbás, L. Cervera, F. Chueca, and P. Bidagor, *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España.* Madrid, 1954
Revista S.P.H.A.N.	*Revista do Serviço do Patrimonio histórico e artístico nacional.* Rio de Janeiro
R.N.A.	*Revista nacional de arquitectura.* Madrid
Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*	F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*, 5 vols. Madrid, 1923–41
Sancho, *Arquitectura*	A. Sancho Corbacho, *Arquitectura barroca sevillana.* Madrid, 1952
Sancho, *Dibujos*	A. Sancho Corbacho, *Unos dibujos arquitectónicos.* Seville, 1947
Schubert, *Geschichte*	O. Schubert, *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien.* Esslingen, 1908

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Thieme-Becker	U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, 37 vols. Leipzig, 1907–50
U.V.	*Universidad de Valladolid, Boletín del Seminario de arte y arqueología*. Valladolid
Weise (1956)	G. Weise, *Die spanische Plastik der Renaissance und des Frühbarock*. Tübingen, 1956
Z.f.B.K.	*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*. Leipzig
Z.f.K.	*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*. Munich

NOTES TO PART ONE

CHAPTER I

p. 1 1. Full account of career with bibliography in L. Torres Balbás, *Arquitectura gótica* (Ars Hispaniae VII; Madrid, 1952).

2. Its remote antecedents are Catalan Gothic churches of the fourteenth century. Nearer to Guas is the Parral church plan by Juan Gallego, *c.* 1459.

3. Guas may have been anticipated at the Cartuja de Miraflores near Burgos by the unknown architect whose church, begun in 1454, was not in use until 1494.

4. Main article: M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Hacía Lorenzo Vázquez', *A.E.A.A.*, I (1925), 1–40. Cf. Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 22.

p. 2 5. Chueca, *op. cit.*, 25, following Gómez-Moreno, derives Vázquez from the Rossellino follower Francesco di Simone Ferrucci of Siena, to whom the Palazzo Bevilacqua in Bologna (1481) is attributed.

6. C. de Villalón, *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente*, ed. Serrano y Sanz (Madrid, 1898); Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, 'Anales eclesiásticos y seculares', *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, LXX (1879); Ch. de Davillier, *Recherches sur l'orfévrerie en Espagne* (Paris, 1879), 50–1.

7. José Camón Aznar, *Arquitectura plateresca*, 2 vols (Madrid, 1945). Earl Rosenthal, 'The Image of Roman Architecture in Renaissance Spain', *G.B.A.*, LII (1958), 329–46, stresses the intention of the builders of the period as the imitation of Roman imperial models. This article is valuable for bringing together the main literary sources of the period on architectural and ornamental practice.

p. 4 8. L. Torres Balbás, L. Cervera, F. Chueca, P. Bidagor, *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España* (Madrid, 1954).

9. Recent discussions of E. Egas by F. Chueca, *La catedral nueva de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1951), 235–7; and *Arquitectura*, 42.

10. L. Torres Balbás, *Arquitectura gótica*, warns that no document supports the attribution of the Toledo Hospital.

11. The cloister was finished in 1504; the stair belongs to the same campaign. N. Pevsner (*An Outline of European Architecture*, London, 1945, 151–3) was the first to remark upon the Spanish origin of the principal types of monumental staircase (open-well, forked, and 'imperial').

12. The term is from Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 35–6.

13. G. G. King, *Mudejar* (Bryn Mawr, 1927), 199.

p. 5 14. His views found expression in a controversy over the vaults of Salamanca Cathedral in 1522, discussed by F. Chueca, *La catedral nueva de Salamanca*, 131–3.

15. A. Ceán, in Llaguno y Amirola, *Noticias*, I, 197–8.

16. M. Gómez-Moreno, *Águilas del renacimiento español* (Madrid, 1941). Cf. also pp. 128–30.

p. 6 17. Felipe Vigarny was one of the three foreign masters who taught the Spaniards 'perfect architecture and sculpture', in the words of a document of *c.* 1539 bearing on the reconstruction of the *cimborio* of Burgos Cathedral. G. E. Street, *Spanish Gothic Architecture*, ed. G. G. King, I (New York, 1914), 25.

18. Earl Rosenthal, unpublished dissertation, New York University, 1953. Chronology: Siloe model 1528–31; foundations completed 1531; axial radiating chapel vaulted 1540: rotunda chancel arch completed 1552; chevet vaults closed in 1559.

19. On double transepts (antecedents in Roman Imperial design and in Romanesque examples) see P. Verdier, 'Les transepts de nef', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, École française de Rome* (1952), 181–215.

p. 7 20. Basic article: Com. García Rey, 'El famoso arquitecto Alonso de Covarrubias', *A.*, IX–X (1927–8).

21. J. Azcárate, 'Alonso de Covarrubias en el Hospital de Santa Cruz, de Toledo', *A.E.A.*, XXIII (1950), 79–80; F. Layna Serrano, 'Alonso de Covarrubias y la iglesia de la Piedad en Guadalajara', *B.S.E.E.*, XLV (1941), 31–48.

p. 8 22. Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 164, characterizes Villalpando as the most *raffiné* and cerebral of Renaissance artists in Spain.

23. V. Gaspar, *B.S.E.E.*, XXVI (1918), 189–91.

24. John Hoag, unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1957; J. Agapito Revilla, 'Un laborioso arquitecto castellano del siglo XVI, Rodrigo Gil', *A.*, V (1923), 57–63; Gómez-Moreno, *Águilas*, 104.

p. 8 25. J. Camón Aznar, 'La intervención de Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón en el manuscrito de Simón García', *A.E.A.*, XIV (1940–1), 300–5, and G. Kubler, 'A Late Medieval Computation of Gothic Rib-Vault Thrusts', *G.B.A.*, XXVI (1944), 135–48. The Simón García manuscript was published by J. Camón Aznar, as *Compendio de arquitectura y simetría de los templos conforme a la medida del cuerpo humano, (1681)* (Salamanca, 1941).

26. F. Colonia's most memorable work is the heavy Puerta de la Pellejería in the north transept of Burgos Cathedral (1516).

p. 9 27. Chueca, *La catedral nueva de Salamanca*, 43, 111–40.

28. V. Lampérez, 'El trazado de la Catedral de Toledo', *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, III (1899), 19–20.

p. 10 29. R. Martos López, *La iglesia de El Salvador* (Ubeda, 1951); F. Chueca, *Andrés de Vandelvira* Madrid, 1954), 36.

30. Begun 1542 to designs by Bartolomé de Bustamante (1499/1501–70). Double court 1547–8. Church 1562–1603. Façade and cloister correspond to the style of Serlio's published designs. M. Pereda de la Reguera, *Bartolomé de Bustamante Herrera* (Santander, 1950); Braun, *Jesuitenkirchen*, 56–7.

31. Gómez-Moreno, *Águilas*, 126. The façade theme recurs in Portuguese India, at the Jesuit church in Margão (M. Chicó, 'Algumas observações acerca da arquitectura da Companhia de Jesus no distrito de Goa', *Garcia de Orta*, Lisbon, 1956). I know of no other imitations of the roundel theme between coupled pilasters in Spain or Portugal.

32. R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London, 1949), 68–9: Raphael's Palazzo Vidoni-Caffarelli (1515); the destroyed Casa di Raffaello by Bramante for Count Caprina, finished by Raphael in 1517.

33. L. Torres Balbás, 'Los patios circulares', *XIV*^{e} *Congrès international de l'histoire de l'art. Résumés* (Bern, 1936).

p. 11 34. The exact chronology is still incomplete: 1537/8, south façade portal complete; wooden model prepared 1537–8; death of Machuca 1550; west portal 1551–63; annular vault completed 1612. Work stopped 1633. A. Gallego Burín, *Guía de Granada* (Granada, 1950), 96 f., has details to add to the account by M. Gómez-Moreno in *Águilas*. See also M. Antequera, *Unos días en Granada* (Granada, 1950), 99.

35. W. Lotz, 'Die ovalen Kirchenräume des Cinquecento', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, VII (1955). Machuca's ground plan of 1542 shows it clearly: is it a late alteration? Machuca may have taken the idea from Peruzzi.

36. These are of 1542–7, by *maestre* Ruberto, Martín Cano, and others, except four in the east façade, of 1591 by Diego de Aranda and others. A. Gallego Burín, *Guía*, 102 f.

37. Llaguno-Ceán, *Noticias*, II, 45, 57.

p. 12 38. S. de Zuazo Ugalde, *Los orígenes arquitectónicos del real monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1948).

39. F. Oelmann, 'Zur Kenntnis der karolingischen und omaijadischen Spätantike', *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung*, 39–40 (1924–5), 230.

40. A. Portabales Pichel, *Los verdaderos artífices de el Escorial y el estilo indebidamente llamado Herreriano* (Madrid, 1945), has unsuccessfully tried to prove that the design was by the stonemasons and supervisors rather than by the architects.

41. Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 362 f.

p. 13 42. The expression is F. Chueca's, *La catedral de Valladolid* (Madrid, 1947), 157.

43. The turning-ramp design figured in A. Ruiz de Arcaute, *Juan de Herrera* (Madrid, 1936), opp. 27, is probably Toledo's.

44. See Herrera's letter relating his services, dated 1584, in A. Ponz, *Viaje*, Bk IX (ed. 1947); M. Lorente Junquera, 'La galería de convalecientes, obra de Juan de Herrera', *A.E.A.*, XVII (1944), 137–47.

45. Llaguno-Ceán, *Noticias*, II, 291; Ponz, *Viaje*, Bk IX.

46. Text in A. Ruiz de Arcaute, *op. cit.*, 147–9; cf. section opp. 49. Philip II appointed Paciotti chief military engineer for the State of Milan in 1560. Paciotti submitted a copy of St Peter's in Rome for the competition (Llaguno-Ceán, *Noticias*, II, 121), which pleased Philip more than any.

p. 14 47. The best plans and elevations are P. Perret's prepared under Herrera's direction and re-issued with commentary by Luis Cervera, *Las estampas* (Madrid, 1954). See also M. López Serrano, *Trazas de Juan de Herrera* (Madrid, 1944). Tracings of nearly all the drawings were first published without commentary in A. Ruiz de Arcaute, *op. cit.*

48. M. Lorente Junquera, 'Sobre la cúpula del Escorial y sus precedentes italianos', *A.E.A.*, XIV (1940), 377–83.

49. Juan de Minjares executed the design, finishing it in 1598. Remodelled for use as the Archive of the Indies in 1785/6 (Sancho, *Arquitectura*, 257).

p. 15 50. J. M. Guallart, in Chueca and Miguel, *Juan de Villanueva* (Madrid, 1949), 392.

51. The words are A. Ceán's, written in 1804 on the death (1648) of Juan Gómez de Mora (*La catedral de Sevilla*, I (Seville, 1804), 135).

p. 16 52. L. Cervera, in *Resumen*, 137; also F. Chueca, *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española* (Madrid, 1947), 58.

p. 17 53. L. Cervera, 'La Cachicanía', *A.E.A.*, XXII (1949), 215–31, and 'San José de Ávila', *B.S.E.E.*, LIV (1950), 5–155. Other works: San Bernabé at Escorial Bajo, L. Cervera, *A.E.A.*, XVI (1943), 361–79; possibly Fuencisla sanctuary in Segovia, 1598–1613, F. X. Cabello de Castro, *Estudios segovianos*, I (1949), 390–401.

54. Other works: San Miguel, Valladolid (1583–91); the Colegiata in Palencia (1584–98). See Chueca, *La catedral de Valladolid*, and F. García Chico, *Documentos* (Valladolid, 1940). At Monforte de Lemos, Tolosa lengthened the conventual façade c. 1594. See J. M. Pita, *Monforte de Lemos* (Santiago, 1952). His work there prefigures the crowning galleries of J. Gómez de Mora's Clerecía dormitories in Salamanca (p. 21).

55. Other early oval plans: Seville Cathedral chapter-room (by Riaño (?), 1530–82); El Greco's church (1590–9) for the Colegio de Doña María de Aragón in Madrid (destroyed); San Hermenegildo, Seville (1616); the Corral de la Montería, a theatre in Seville, dedicated 1626 (destroyed).

56. M. Pereda de la Reguera, *Juan de Nates* (Santander, 1953).

57. M. Durán, *B.S.E.E.*, XXXVI (1928), 153.

58. Pita Andrade, *Monforte de Lemos*.

59. J.-F. Ráfols, *Pere Blay* (Barcelona, 1934).

60. Schubert, *Geschichte*, 97.

p. 19 61. Braun, *Jesuitenkirchen*, 52, 56–7, attributes these and others to Bustamante. Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 170, discounts his architectural knowledge. Documents in Pereda de la Reguera, *Bartolomé de Bustamante*.

62. E.g. top stages of the Giralda in Seville, by H. Ruiz II (1558–68); façade cornice, Santiago Hospital, Ubeda (1562–75); Cartuja gateway in Jerez, by Andrés Ribera (1571). On the Ruiz family, C. López Martínez, *El arquitecto Hernán Ruiz en Sevilla* (Seville, 1949).

63. Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 198, connects them p. 20 with the circle around the painter Pablo de Céspedes.

64. J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental*, III (Seville, 1892), 58.

65. Lorenzo de San Nicolás, *Arte y uso de arquitectura*, I (Madrid, 1736), 182, discussed pediments p. 21 in 1633, quoting Vitruvius on 1 : 9 proportions; mentioning the fashionable steep extreme (1 : 5); and stating his own preference for moderately steep proportions (1 : 6). The ratio of the Encarnación approaches 1 : 4.

66. Lázaro de Velasco after 1580, objecting to Herrera's design for Santa María de la Alhambra in Granada (*A.E.A.*, XIV (1940), 7).

67. R. Ricard, *Estudios geográficos*, XI (1950).

68. F. Iñiguez Almech, *Casas reales y jardines de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1952). The Panadería was burned down in 1672 and the Plaza Mayor was rebuilt after the fire of 1790. Only the ground-floor arcades of the Panadería survive of Gómez de Mora's work.

69. Herrera borrowed parts of this design from Serlio's Rosmarino project (Bk VII, ed. 1619, 215) for a 'Provençal gentleman near Lyon'.

70. His façade of 1619–27 for the Alcázar at Madrid perished by fire in 1734. Prints and a model made before 1626 record its appearance (Kubler, *Arquitectura española, 1600–1800*, *Ars Hispaniae*, XIV, Madrid, 1957).

71. J. Bernia, *Historia del palacio de Santa Cruz* (Madrid, 1950).

72. Marqués de Saltillo, *A.E.*, XXI (1951).

73. Conde de Polentinos, *B.S.E.E.*, XX (1912), 230–54.

CHAPTER 2

1. The main altar in the Compañía at Alcalá de p. 22 Henares, c. 1618, is his (Braun, *Jesuitenkirchen*, 78).

2. Toledo (now San Ildefonso): first campaign 1628–42; pause 1642–71; cornice-level in nave 1671–5; nave vaults by 1706; consecration 1718.

Madrid, San Isidro: first stone 1622; elevations by Bautista; Pedro Sánchez died 1633; Buensuceso Chapel 1660–5. Other works: El Salvador, Madrid (c. 1638–65, destroyed after 1842); Comendadoras de Santiago, Madrid (c. 1650; an attribution – F. Iñiguez, *A.E.A.*, IX (1933)); chapel of the Hospital of the Third Order of St Francis, Madrid (begun 1662); Sacramento Church, Madrid (begun 1671).

p. 22 3. *Arte y Uso de Arquitectura*, i (Madrid, 1736), 140–5.

4. Llaguno-Ceán, *Noticias*, iii, 370 f.

5. R. Martorell y Tellez-Girón, 'Alonso Carbonel', *R.E.A.*, v (1936), 50–8; M.-A. López, *A.E.A.*, xxv (1952), 167–9.

p. 23 6. *Arte y Uso*, i, 259.

7. F. Macho Ortega, *B.S.E.E.*, xxvi (1918).

8. Vergara repeated the scheme of the Toledo Sagrario in 1595–7 at the monastery of Guadalupe.

9. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, ii (Munich, 1924), 521, 635.

p. 24 10. San Miguel de los Reyes, begun by Covarrubias, has towers of *c.* 1580 flanking Olinda's portals.

11. J. Braun, *Jesuitenkirchen*, 55. Alonso Matías S.J. (1580–1629) built the main altars of the ex-Profesa (now University Chapel) in Seville and in Cordova Cathedral (1619–26). See Llaguno-Ceán, *Noticias*, iii, 357 ff., for Matías's curious contention that jasper was cheaper than gilded wood in 1618. Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649) finished the retable of San Gerónimo in San Isidoro del Campo at Santiponce near Seville before 1612: it is a good example of his early Mannerist style in many varieties of scale.

p. 25 12. Usually attributed without foundation to Alonso Cano.

13. Both dialects were familiar to the author ('D.Z.') of the Sevillian notebook of architectural drawings of 1662–3, published by A. Sancho Corbacho, *Dibujos*. D.Z., perhaps the son or grandson of Miguel Zumárraga, copied a linear design by Cano as well as schemes of foliated encrustations like those of Santa María la Blanca in Seville (1659).

14. As shown by E. Rosenthal, *loc. cit.* (Note 18, Chapter 1).

15. A. Gallego Burín, *Barroco granadino* (Madrid, 1956), 24.

16. The Magdalena is said to copy a destroyed Granada church by Cano, the Angel Custodio (built 1653–61 by J. L. Ortega).

p. 26 17. Sancho, *Arquitectura*, 268.

p. 27 18. F. de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia … de Sevilla* (Seville, 1671). I owe knowledge of the rare plates of this book to John Hoag.

19. J. de Alcahalí, *Diccionario* (Valencia, 1897).

20. The Escuelas Pias (now Museo Provincial) of 1683–1757 is his design. The river façade recalls the Chancillería in Granada, with a five-bay centre flanked by harmonic towers five storeys high.

21. M. Chamoso, *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos*, i (1944), 45; *A.E.A.*, xii (1936), 219.

22. P. Pérez Costanti, *Diccionario* (Santiago, 1930), 15; S. González García-Paz, *A.E.A.A.*, xi (1935), 279–82.

23. Schubert, *Geschichte*, 163; V. Ruiz Argilés, *A.E.A.*, xxvi (1953), 37–50. p. 28

24. The *estípites* of the Panadería in its remodelled form were common in Plateresque ornament (Guadiana Palace, Ubeda; Morlanes House, Saragossa, 1555).

25. F. Chueca, *La catedral de Valladolid*, 192; T. Ríos, *Boletín del museo provincial de bellas artes* (Saragossa), lx (1925).

26. E.g. at the Sindone Chapel (1657–94) and p. 30 S. Lorenzo (1666–87), both in Turin, illustrated in his *Architettura civile* (Turin, 1737).

27. E. Coudenhove-Erthal, *Carlo Fontana* p. 31 (Vienna, 1930); J. Braun, *Jesuitenkirchen*, 150.

28. The Neo-Classical critics E. Llaguno and A. Ceán-Bermúdez invented for the *Noticias de los arquitectos* a battery of abusive terms to assault the style of the period 1680–1760. Their principal targets were J. B. Churriguera, Pedro Ribera, and Narciso Tomé. Some other epithets: 'delirious fools', 'jerrybuilders', 'babblers'.

29. A. Sancho Corbacho's *Arquitectura barroca sevillana* (Madrid, 1952) is the fundamental study for the eighteenth-century architects of western Andalusia.

30. E. Tormo, *La vida y la obra de fray Juan Ricci* (Madrid, 1930).

31. Leonardo inherited a design of the 1670s, amended by Eufrasio López de Rojas in the plan and by José Granados in the elevations (1682).

32. The idea of continuous tribunes is Herreran (Escorial church), via the Sangre Hospital and Sagrario Churches in Seville.

33. A. Camacho Baños, *El templo de San Luis en Sevilla* (Seville, 1935).

34. Surely Ambrosio's in Seville are the Sagrario p. 32 in Santa Catalina (1732) and the public chapel of the Cartuja (1752–8); also the sacramental chapel at El Arahal (1763–6). Sancho, *Arquitectura*, 111 f.

35. Attributed to Hurtado by R. Taylor (following A. Gallego Burín), *A.B.*, xxxiii (1950), 31.

36. J. R. Mélida, *Cáceres*, ii (Madrid, 1924),

146 f.; Fr. Francisco de San José, *Historia de Guadalupe* (Madrid, 1743).

37. Hurtado prepared plans for the cathedral parish church (Sagrario) in 1704–5. José de Bada (1691–1755) completed it from 1717. The sterile Palladian portal is Bada's. Hurtado's plan repeats the 'inner-lining' of tribunes in the Salvador church at Seville; the elevation follows Siloe's adjoining cathedral design.

38. Taylor found no proof for Hurtado's authorship of the Cartuja sacristy, although he believes that the executants were following a Hurtado design.

39. A document of 1728 (Llaguno-Ceán, *Noticias*, IV, 116) assigns the tabernacle chamber to Teodosio Sánchez de Rueda.

40. E.g. José Ratés (d. 1684) and his stepson José Simón de Churriguera (d. 1679) executed the design of Francisco de Herrera for the altar in the church of the Monserrat Hospital in 1674 (destroyed 1903): it follows the type invented by Pineda for the Caridad Hospital in Seville in 1670 (p. 26).

A. García y Bellido, 'Estudios ...', *A.E.A.*, V–VI (1929–30); F. P. Verrié, *Divulgación histórica*, VIII (1949), 168–71.

p. 33 41. The competition design (T. L. Martin and E. Sarmiento, *Architectural Review*, LXXIII (1933), 193–7) whereby José Benito first attracted notice in 1689 for the catafalque of Queen Maria Luisa in the Encarnación Church adds little that is new to Pineda's monument of 1671.

42. F. Chueca, in *Resumen*, and A. López Durán, *A.*, XIV (1932), 169–75.

43. Llaguno-Ceán, *Noticias*, IV, 112. His interest in city government appears in his treatise of 1719 on the ordinances of Madrid, *Ordenanzas de Madrid*, 1796.

p. 34 44. D. Moreno Meléndez at the Colegiata in Jerez (p. 25); José Vallés of Murcia, the likely author of San Patricio at Lorca (1694–1710); the doubling of the façade of San Marcos in Leon (1715–19) by Martin de Suinaga.

45. F. Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo* (Philadelphia, 1943), 225, 229. French influence upon the Spanish development is negligible. See Yves Bottineau, 'Philip V and the Alcázar at Madrid', *B.M.*, XCVIII (1956), 68–74.

46. The attribution, like all others in this section, is A. Sancho Corbacho's, *Arquitectura*, 161.

47. Earliest example: L. Fernández de Iglesias's doorway (1703–5) of the Palacio Arzobispal in Seville, in which Díaz participated. The form is latent in F. Bautista's elevations of San Isidro in Madrid.

48. Both illustrated with discussion in *Catálogo monumental de la provincia de Sevilla* (Seville, 1939–55).

49. L. Casas Deza, *Boletín de la academia de bellas artes de Córdoba*, 1–2 (1922–3). p. 35

50. *Pinjantes* of stone or brick, resembling the textiles hung out from the windows in Spanish cities on festive occasions, first appear in the 1660s (doorways by S. Herrera Barnuevo, 1664–9, for the San Isidro Chapel in San Andrés; notebooks of 1662–3 by D.Z., Sancho, *Dibujos*).

51. Digest of documents, A. Gallego y Burín, *El barroco granadino* (Madrid, 1956), 165–6. See also L. Casas Deza, *loc. cit.*

52. R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, 39, ascribes structure and p. 36
decoration to F. Hurtado on stylistic grounds: undulant mouldings, foliated brackets, medial bosses in pilasters, which are all traits in general use by 1700. A. Gallego y Burín, *El barroco granadino*, 53 ff., uses the same elements to prove authorship by José de Bada.

53. In 1707 only the ground floor was up; F. Stolf and Francisco Vergara continued until *c.* 1740. The relief over the door in the *genre pittoresque* of Rococo framing is by Ignacio Vergara (1715–76). Schubert, *Geschichte*, 252.

54. P. Gutiérrez Moreno, *A.E.A.A.*, IV (1928), 183–6.

55. Cayón built the façades and inner elevations p. 38
after 1762. The towers above the façade and the façade attic are by Machuca y Vargas in the 1790s. The crossing dome was built by Juan Daura in the nineteenth century.

56. Llaguno-Ceán, *Noticias*, IV, 106. Few designs other than doorways have been ascribed since:

(1) the design of an elevation for the royal palace, Madrid (*A.*, IX (1927), 127; Gaya Nuño, *Madrid* (1950), 51);

(2) the stable at La Granja (paid for in 1742 by Isabel Farnese);

(3) a barracks at El Pardo (Schubert, *Geschichte*, 135).

57. F. Chueca, in *Resumen*, 158.

58. P. Gutiérrez Moreno, 'La ermita de N. Sª. del Puerto y su arquitecto Pedro de Ribera', *A.E.*, VIII (1927), 219–22.

p. 38 59. M. L. Caturla, *Pinturas, frondas y fuentes del Buen Retiro* (Madrid, 1947).

60. J. M. Torrija, *A.*, IX (1927), 94 gives a photogrammetric plan. Cf. A. Tamayo, *Iglesias barrocas madrileñas* (Madrid, 1946), 53–4.

p. 39 61. J. Moreno Villa, 'Tres dibujos ...', *A.*, X (1928), 211–19.

62. A comparison with the Woolwich Arsenal, ascribed to Vanbrugh as of exactly the same date, is instructive. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England – London*, II (Harmondsworth, 1952), 453.

p. 40 63. J. Camón, *A.E.A.*, XIV (1940–1), 473–4; F. Chueca, *La catedral nueva de Salamanca*, 189.

64. Narciso's birth at Toro is poetically glorified by F. Rodríguez Galán, *Octava maravilla* (Toledo, 1732):

> Nueva recibe la Arquitectura Ley
> Que un Castellano Phidias ha inventado;
> Donde el arte mas glorias debe a Toro,
> Que al Corintho, y Latino, Jonio y Doro.

65. Castaños y Montijano, *A.E.*, V (1916), 219; T. L. Martín and E. L. Sarmiento, *loc. cit.* (Note 41).

66. Described by F. X. Castañeda (*Relación* Toledo, 1732), 22 f. and by J. de Lobera y Mendieta in another poem of 1732 (F. de B. San Román, *Real Academia de bellas artes y ciencias históricas de Toledo*, I (1919), 221).

p. 41 67. A. García Bellido was first to note a break between the styles of Alberto and his brothers, in Alberto's earliest known work, the choir-closing of Salamanca Cathedral (1724).

68. Plan in Oskar Jürgens, *Spanische Städte* (Hamburg, 1926).

p. 42 69. A. García Bellido, *A.E.A.*, V (1929), 38. These towers are known by a wooden model, illustrated by Schubert, *Geschichte*, 176.

CHAPTER 3

p. 43 1. Breñoso and Castellarnau, *Guía* (Madrid, 1884), 17. The Alpages Church was designed by Cristobal Rodríguez de Jarama, built in 1681–90, completed 1702–5. Schubert, *Geschichte*, 304.

2. S. Martín Sedeño, *S. Ildefonso*, 8th ed. (Segovia, 1867), 30–1.

p. 44 3. J. D. Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurff* (Vienna, 1721), part 4, plates ix, xi.

4. Cf. the elevations of Melk in Austria by Jacob Prandtauer (after 1701).

5. F. Chueca, *El Semblante de Madrid* (Madrid, 1951), 67.

6. F. Iñiguez, *A.*, XVII (1935), figures 24–6: drawings incorrectly attributed to Ventura Rodríguez. p. 45

7. *Ibid.*, figure 21.

8. Some adorn the nineteenth-century Plaza de Oriente. Tamayo, *Iglesias barrocas madrileñas*, 269 ff.

9. Drawings of 1743 (Fernández de los Ríos, *Guía de Madrid*, 232–42), enriched still further with doubled T-flights in the upper half in 1745 (M. Durán, *A.*, IX (1927), 135).

10. Section in Iñiguez, *loc. cit.*, figure 22, erroneously given as a drawing by Ventura Rodríguez.

11. E. Lafuente Ferrari, *R.E.A.*, II (1933), 306–16.

12. F. Iñiguez, *Casas reales y jardines de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1952). Copies of Herrera's plans, dated 1636, are in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (A. Barcia, *Catálogo*, nos 699–702).

13. L. Calandre, *El palacio del Pardo* (Madrid, p. 47 1953).

14. F. Chueca and C. de Miguel, *Juan de Villanueva* (Madrid, 1949), 383. Letter of 20 October 1762. The standard life is by L. Pulido López and T. Díaz Galdos, *Biografía de Don Ventura Rodríguez* (Madrid, 1898).

15. Chueca, *A.E.A.*, XV (1942), 182–210, rightly p. 48 relates it to Juvara's design for S. Filippo in Turin and to Borromini's S. Carlino in Rome.

16. Tamayo, *Iglesias barrocas*, 267 f., connects Rodríguez with these designs, although any precise definition of his work at the palace is difficult.

17. Possibly because of Bonavia's duties at Aranjuez, façade and chapels were built in 1743 by Virgilio Ravaglio (Tormo, *Iglesias*, 105–6).

18. T. Ríos, *Boletín del museo provincial de bellas artes* (Saragossa), núm. 11 (1925), has documents and reproductions.

19. E. Kaufmann, *Three Revolutionary Architects* p. 49 (Philadelphia, 1952), and *Architecture in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

20. Earlier at the Salesas Reales (1750–8) for Doña Bárbara de Braganza, by F. Carlier and F. Moradillo. The Portuguese influence is strongly evident on the windowed flanks.

21. An earlier trial is Rodríguez's rebuilding of the Victoria church at Cordova (1772–8) after the collapse of Baltasar Devreton's dome. On the

Covadonga design, see F. Chueca, *A.E.A.*, XVI (1943), 61–87.

22. J. M. Azcárate, *Boletín de la Universidad Compostelana*, 1955; *Architecture françoise*, III (Paris, 1752–6), no. XV.

23. One most regrets that Rodríguez never carried out his beautiful design for the library of the Estudios Reales in Madrid (1775), with converging-ramp stairs (p. 55) of Andalusian type and windowed pendentives like those of Granada. Simón and Chueca, *A.E.A.*, XVII (1944). The glass factory at La Granja has been attributed to Rodríguez (Fagoaga and Muñico, *Descripción, Segovia* (Segovia, 1845), 192). It resembles a double-ended Ottonian church, with the fenestration of the design for the Madrid Library.

24. Plans of both in G. Kubler, *Arquitectura española 1600–1800* (*Ars Hispaniae*, XIV, Madrid, 1957).

p. 50 25. Documents in Chueca and Miguel, *Juan de Villanueva*, 385–6, and Iñiguez, *A.*, XVII (1935), 105.

26. Unbuilt design for Liria Palace, Madrid, *c.* 1773 (Museo Municipal, no. 1066); Altamira Palace for the Marquess of Astorga, built 1773–5.

27. It probably relates to a lost design of 1772 for Toledo Cathedral, described by Ceán, and it has an attic terrace like the 1686 façade of Jaén Cathedral.

p. 51 28. José de Sierra (*c.* 1830) 'Paralelo', reprinted in Chueca and Miguel, *Juan de Villanueva*.

29. First expressed by A. Calzada, *Historia de la arquitectura española* (Barcelona, 1933).

30. J. R. Mélida, *Cáceres* (Madrid, 1924), II, 9.

31. *Papeles Críticos*, reprinted in digest in Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, V, 133 f.

p. 52 32. Hermosilla's chief work is the Colegio de San Bartolomé in Salamanca (1760), with a Roman portico façade and wide Pompeian intercolumniations in the *patio*.

33. In 1767–73 the Escorial became a settlement of more than 1000 permanent residents, with inns, houses, and estates. Villanueva's later works in the Escorial (Ministers' houses, 1785, and north staircase in the court of the palace, 1793) are analysed at length by Chueca and Miguel, *Juan de Villanueva*.

34. E. Kaufmann, *Three Revolutionary Architects*, 469 f.

35. Other works: Puerta de Alcalá (1764–78); San Pascual at Aranjuez (1765–70); Casa de Ministerios, Madrid (1776), his best façade, like Fernando Fuga; Santa Ana in Valladolid (1783), Herreran in severe surface.

36. L. Blanco Soler, *A.*, IX (1926). p. 53

37. Other church designs, M. Durán, *A.*, XIII (1931), 155. The design was altered in execution by Custodio Moreno for the Caballero de Gracia. p. 54

38. Population in Andalusia rose from 756,000 in 1723 to 1,214,000 in 1799. G. Niemeier, *Siedlungsgeographische Untersuchungen in Niederandalusien* (Hamburg, 1935), 51.

39. L. Cuevas Alcober, *Un ejemplar español de arquitectura industrial* (Madrid, 1946). Sancho, *Arquitectura*, 344 gives the design to a Hollander, Sebastian van der Beer, whose façade for the Hall of Charles V in the Alcázar at Seville (1757–60) is much more provincial than the Herreran façades of the Factory. p. 55

40. Ponz, IX, vi, para. 77.

41. The entire edifice is gradually being remodelled to house the Faculties of the University of Seville. The east and south portals have been built since 1952.

42. Exceptions: the Merced, Osuna (by Alonso Ruiz Florindo, 1767–75), and the Victoria at Estepa (1760–6). The latter may reflect the Contini Tower of 1683 at Saragossa.

43. Segmented towers have vaulted chambers on several levels (e.g. Murcia Cathedral). Shafted towers are of Moorish construction – a tower inside a tower, with an annular stair winding like a screw thread between them.

44. Plans and sections in *Catálogo … Sevilla*, III.

45. Sancho, *Arquitectura*, 203 f. No document supports the attributions. p. 57

46. *Jerez y los Puertos* (Madrid, 1947), xii. The dates at Jerez are late, and the uncharted style of Cadiz proper is probably more significant. It derives more directly from D. A. Díaz (p. 34) than from A. M. de Figueroa.

47. Examples: Virgen del Puerto, Madrid (1718), Lora del Río, Jesús Nazareno (1733–64), Loyola, near Azpeitia (*c.* 1730?); San Juan de Dios, Murcia (1745–82); San Marcos, Madrid (1749–53).

48. A. Gallego Burín, *Barroco granadino*, 48, 106–7.

49. Taylor, *A.B.*, XXXIII (1950), 195.

50. M. Bolea Sintas, *Catedral de Málaga* (Malaga, 1894).

51. *Escuela de arquitectura civil*, published under anagram Athanasio Genaro Brizguz y Bru. Second edition 1804. p. 58

p. 58 52. *Compendio mathematico.* The architectural section had four editions 1712, 1727, 1757, 1794, all at Valencia.

53. S. Aldana Fernández, *Antonio Gilabert* (Valencia, 1955), brings the documents to light.

54. The Communion Chapel at Elche with inverted and windowed pendentives is attributed to Bort by Tormo, *Levante* (Madrid, 1923), 294. It is closer to the school of V. Rodríguez, and may be the work of a military engineer, Marcos Evangelio, in 1758–67. Drawings in *R.N.A.*, IV (1945).

55. Lozano, *A.E.A.*, XXV (1952), 53–8.

p. 59 56. Designed by Alexandre de Rez, according to J. F. Ráfols, *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña* (Barcelona, 1951–4).

57. Typical: Almatret (prov. Lérida), Rupit, Sarriá, or S. Celoni.

58. Pedro Costa (1693–1761) was a pupil of Bibiena, as well as Rudolf. A. María de Ros, *A.E.A.*, XV (1940–1), 542–7. Costa remodelled the façade of Gerona Cathedral in 1730–3, and he made the funeral monument for Philip V at Cervera in 1748.

59. The drawing in the cathedral museum at Vich is based upon the illustrations of Bibiena's *L'architettura civile* (Parma, 1711).

60. F. Chueca, in *Resumen*, 159.

p. 60 61. T. Biurrún, *Príncipe de Viana*, II (1941), 24–53.

62. Calzada, *Arquitectura española* (Barcelona, 1933), 339, supposes the intervention of Valencians at Mués.

63. J. Peñuelas, *B.S.E.E.*, XXVI (1918), 265–71.

64. Other early works: circular lady-chapel of N. S. de los Ojos Grandes at Lugo Cathedral (1726); main cloister of San Martín Pinario at Santiago, in progress 1741 (unsure attribution). J. Couselo Bouzas, *Galicia artística* (Santiago de Compostela, 1933), 234 f.

p. 61 65. J. M. Azcárate, *A.E.A.*, XXIV (1951), 193.

66. Sánchez Bort was Jaime Bort's nephew, and probably his pupil. In 1763 he planned the church of Ferrol Nuevo. J. J. Martín González, *U.V.*, XIV (1947–8), 47–8.

67. Angel del Castillo, *Arquitectura en Galicia* (Barcelona, n.d.).

CHAPTER 4

p. 62 1. D. Angulo, *Historia*, I, 79–120. E. Palm, *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española*, 2 vols (Ciudad Trujillo, 1956), is definitive.

2. Plan and section (D. Angulo, *Planos de ... América*, I, 1933–9, plate 36) drawn in 1770. The entire court and the partitions at I are projected parts of the conversion into a prison.

3. N. Pevsner, *Outline of European Architecture* (London, 1945), 151–3. p. 63

4. V. Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura civil en España*, I (Madrid, 1922), 56.

5. G. Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1948).

6. F. Chueca, *La catedral de Valladolid* (Madrid, 1947), explains the use of this scheme of Gothic origin in finding the dimensions of the aisles and nave bays.

7. Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 88; cf. G. Weise, *Die spanischen Hallenkirchen der Spätgotik und der Renaissance* (Tübingen, 1953).

8. The form of the portal is obscured by the p. 64 seventeenth-century addition of a porch, supporting the chapter-room above, and blocking the form of the only integral Gothic doorway in America.

9. A. Muro Orejón, 'Alonso Rodríguez primer arquitecto de las Indias', *Arte en América y Filipinas*, I (1935), 76–88.

10. E. Palm, 'Rodrigo de Liendo', *Publicaciones de la Universidad de Santo Domingo*, XXVIII (1944).

11. In 1511 Moya was employed at San Agustín p. 65 in Seville (Angulo, *Historia*, I, 117).

12. I. Rubio Mañé, *La casa de Montejo en Mérida de Yucatán* (Mexico, 1941).

13. D. Angulo, *Bautista Antonelli. Las fortificaciones americanas del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1942); E. Marco Dorta, *Cartagena de Indias* (Seville, 1951).

14. J. García Preciat, 'La catedral de Mérida', p. 66 *A.E.A.A.*, XI (1935), 73–93.

15. The narrow towers; the hall-church formula; and the coffering of the dome all resemble Portuguese hall-church cathedrals of the period 1550–1600 (p. 104), such as Leiria or Portalegre. The façade recalls São Antão in Évora (begun 1557) more than any Spanish monument.

16. The façade of Caracas Cathedral, by Andrés de Meneses, was built in 1710–13. The tower is of 1770. C. M. Möller, *Arte en América y Filipinas*, II (1949), 75–84.

17. An exception is the cathedral of Ciudad Bolívar (Venezuela) under construction in 1771–8 to designs by Bartolomé de Amphoux, derivative from the style of A. M. de Figueroa, and completed in the 1830s.

p. 67 18. F. Prat Puig, *El pre-barroco en Cuba* (Havana, 1947). For full bibliography of Cuban architecture, see D. Angulo, *Historia*, III, 831–5.

19. Sancho, *Arquitectura*, 220.

p. 68 20. The thesis of a Canary Island component in American architecture was first proposed by Lozoya, *B.S.E.E.*, XLVIII (1944), 5–14, in connexion with the panelled balconies of viceregal Peru.

21. The regional unity of Caribbean architecture was first recognized by M. Buschiazzo, *Estudios de arquitectura colonial hispanoamericano* (Buenos Aires, 1944), 63, as ‘arquitectura litoral o costera’.

p. 69 22. The phrase is Robert Ricard's, see *La ‘conquête spirituelle’ du Mexique* (Paris, 1933). This fundamental work examines the technique of the Mexican colonization. For architecture, G. Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols (New Haven, 1948).

23. For contrary opinion, see D. Stanislawski, ‘Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World’, *Geographical Review*, XXXVI (1946).

p. 71 24. E.g. Montefrío (1543) and Illora (1545–8); Gómez-Moreno, *Águilas*.

25. Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 253. Portuguese examples are worth mention, e.g. the parish church of Caminha, begun 1488 (Chicó, in *História da arte em Portugal*, II (Oporto, 1953), 230). Eastern Andalusia and Portugal probably both reflect *mudéjar* antecedents in the region of Seville. D. Angulo, *Arquitectura mudéjar sevillana* (Seville, 1932).

p. 72 26. The rotund reliefs of Tlalmanalco also recall the Manueline handling of Italian arabesque themes, as in the gateway of the Belem tower at Lisbon (F. Arruda, 1515–20).

p. 73 27. A. Neumeyer, ‘The Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration in Spanish Colonial America’, *A.B.*, XXX (1948), 104–21, postulates a ‘mestizo art’ unified in Latin America by ‘admixtures of Indian pre-Conquest tradition’, taking the form of ‘flat, grooved, or embossed designs’ in ‘two-dimensional, symbolically abstract modes’, analogous to the folk art of other regions.

28. For an account of early provisional cathedral buildings, see D. Angulo, *Historia*, I, chapters VII–VIII, and G. Kubler, *Mexican Architecture*, *passim*. Another measure of the rate of change can be taken from drawings showing the appearance of the *plaza mayor* as a fortified Plateresque square about 1575, and transformed as a Renaissance urban composition in 1596.

29. The only exception is the incomplete design by Toribio de Alcaraz in 1549 for the cathedral of Michoacán at Pátzcuaro, with a chevet with five long radiating chapels. An eighteenth-century scheme to continue the project converted it into a pentagon.

30. The lost model by J. M. de Agüero of Havana and Mérida for the cathedral of Mexico (Angulo, *Historia*, I, 419) on Claudio de Arciniega's plans was probably made after 1584, when Arciniega took command in the capital.

31. The spires are nineteenth-century replacements for the domed tower tops recorded in a drawing of 1689 (Angulo, *Historia*, I, figure 576).

32. The cornice profiles in the form of reversing curves surely date from a remodelling of the late eighteenth century, perhaps inspired by Havana Cathedral (p. 68). p. 74

33. Born before 1528, died 1593, arrived in Mexico before 1555, designed the funeral monument of 1559 for Charles V. See F. Cervantes Salazar, *Túmulo imperial*, facs. ed. J. Fernández and E. O'Gorman (Mexico, 1936).

34. F. Chueca, *La catedral de Valladolid*, 48, prefers 1585 for the designs by Herrera to the usually accepted date of 1580. Cf. Angulo, *Historia*, I, 414.

35. The north tower, Puebla, was finished by Carlos García Durango in 1678; the south tower by Miguel Vallejo, 1731–68 (inscriptions). p. 75

36. Atl and Toussaint (*Iglesias de México*, VI (Mexico, 1927)) accepted 1590 as the date of the dome of the Franciscan church in Xochimilco. Angulo, *Historia*, II, 512, prefers an eighteenth-century date. p. 76

37. Atl and Toussaint, *op. cit.*, IV, 6.

38. Peninsular polygonal arches: chapel of San Isidro at San Andrés, Madrid (*c.* 1657), and one of pentagonal outline (1681/3) at the base of the Contini Tower, the Seo, Saragossa. The earliest Mexican examples are the door of the Concepción (1655) in Mexico City, and the door of the Congregación in Querétaro (1675–80). The European prototype for this form is Michelangelo's Porta Pia.

39. H. Berlin, ‘Three master architects in New Spain’, *H.A.H.R.*, XXVII (1947), 375–83. p. 77

40. Arrieta earlier used octagonal towers at San Miguel (1690–1714) in Mexico City. They suggest

that his early training may have been in Levante or Aragon, where towers of octagonal and hexagonal plan, deriving from *mudéjar* traditions, are common (e.g. Valencia, Miguelete Tower and Santa Catalina, Teruel, Seo at Saragossa).

p. 77 41. His also is the north tower (inscription, 1678).

42. Polygonal arches are exceptional in Puebla (Carmen Chapel of the Third Order, *c.* 1750) and Oaxaca (niches, Soledad façade, 1689).

p. 78 43. Such 'Mannerist' stucco compartments in Puebla adorn the street façade of Santo Domingo, executed in the second third of the seventeenth century.

44. G. Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico* (Colorado Springs, 1940).

p. 79 45. D. Angulo, 'Eighteenth-century Church Fronts in Mexico City', *J.S.A.H.*, v (1946–7), 27–31.

46. V. M. Villegas, *El gran signo formal del barroco* (Mexico, 1956).

47. Arrieta's façade of 1733–7 for the Inquisición Palace in Mexico City shows these false transoms. They were imitated in Puebla at the Colegio de San Pantaleón soon after 1745.

48. The chapel entrance of 1772 was supervised by Lorenzo Rodríguez; Gonzalo Obregón, 'La capilla de las Vizcaínas', *A.I.A.A.*, 8 (1942), 21. The monograph by the same author, entitled *El Real Colegio de San Ignacio de Mexico* (*Las Vizcaínas*) (Mexico, 1949), gives a full history of the institution and the building.

49. Earlier exterior *estípites* in Mexico are discussed by Villegas, *op. cit.*, 154–5. Cf. J. A. Baird, jr, 'The Ornamental Niche-Pilaster in the Hispanic World', *J.S.A.H.*, xv (1956), 5–11.

p. 80 50. Angulo, *Historia*, II, 550. See also M. Toussaint, *Tasco* (Mexico, 1931), 120–2. Permission to build, 1751. Completion 3 December 1758.

51. The 2 : 1 proportions, the corner *estípites* of the belfries, and the intermediary *estípites* all relate this design, still undated, to the *parroquia* in Taxco. The usually accepted date has been *c.* 1780. The church fabric has been assigned to 1745. P. Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo* (New York, 1951), 81.

52. Dr Atl (Gerardo Murillo), M. Toussaint, and others, *Iglesias de México*, VI (1927).

53. Other façades of this style in and near the capital, though commonly attributed to Rodríguez, lack his *cachet*: the Santísima Trinidad (1755–83); the façade of the Balvanera Chapel at San Francisco (*c.* 1770–80); the Vera Cruz church (1759–76); and San Martín at Tepotzotlán. Only the Balvanera Chapel betrays Rodríguez's mastery of changing rhythmic intervals.

54. The Casa de Mascarones (1766–71) exemplifies the *estípite* style in domestic building, and it contrasts sharply with Guerrero's more studied style. p. 81

55. The Casa de los Azulejos (after 1751) was the first important building in Mexico to use Puebla glazed tiles on façades.

56. J. A. Baird, jr, 'Eighteenth-Century Altarpieces of the Bajío: The Querétaro Style', *A.B.*, XXXV (1953), 195–216. p. 82

57. Santa Rosa, dedicated 1752; Santa Clara, completed before 1777. The altars span the years from 1765 to 1792. Gudiño designed the volutes of the flying buttresses of Santa Rosa.

58. F. Almela Vives and A. Igual Ubeda, *El arquitecto y escultor valenciano Manuel Tolsá* (Valencia, 1950); F. Mariscal, *La arquitectura en México*, II (Mexico, 1932), 49–56. J. Fernández, *El arte moderno en México* (Mexico, 1937).

59. M. Toussaint, *La catedral de México y el sagrario metropolitano* (Mexico, 1948).

60. R. Newcomb, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California* (Philadelphia, 1925).

61. The most complete bibliography is by D. Angulo, *Historia*, III, 825–31.

62. S. Toscano, 'Chiapa: su arte y su historia coloniales', *A.I.A.A.*, II (1942). p. 83

63. The upper storey of the cathedral façade is a nineteenth-century remodelling.

64. M. Solá, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano* (Barcelona, 1933), 102–3, was the first to mention Quito in connexion with Antigua.

65. S. D. Markman, 'Santa Cruz, Antigua, Guatemala, and the Spanish Colonial Architecture of Central America', *J.S.A.H.*, XI (1956), 12–19.

66. Occasional examples of the beaded column appear in Mexico, e.g. the portal of the parish church at Zimapan in the state of Hidalgo. An undated Andalusian example at El Arahal, at the door of the Vera Cruz Chapel, is believed by the authors of the *Catálogo … Sevilla*, I (1939), 171, to show American influence. p. 84

p. 85 67. F. Chueca, in *Resumen*, 187.

CHAPTER 5

p. 86 1. H. Velarde, *Arquitectura peruana* (Mexico, 1946), 93.

2. This transfer of textile patterns to stone has become confused with considerations of race in the fashionable designation as 'mestizo style'. Mestizo means 'half-breed'. A. Neumeyer, 'The Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration in Spanish Colonial America', *A.B.*, XXX (1948), 104–21, followed by H. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 8, and P. Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, 167.

p. 87 3. J. de Mesa and F. T. Gisbert de Mesa, 'Un diseño de Bramante realizado en Quito', *B.S.E.E.*, LV (1951), 245–6.

4. J. G. Navarro, *Religious Architecture in Quito* (New York, 1945). The towers rose one stage higher before the earthquake of 1868. The nave, ruined in an earthquake of 1755, was rebuilt by 1770.

p. 88 5. E. Marco Dorta, in Angulo, *Historia*, II, figures 85, 90.

6. E. Marco Dorta, 'Arquitectura colonial, Francisco Becerra', *A.E.A.*, XVI (1943), 7–15.

7. J. G. Navarro, *La iglesia de la Compañía en Quito* (Madrid, 1930).

8. M. Buschiazzo, *Estudios de Arquitectura colonial Hispano-Americana* (Buenos Aires, 1944), 63–77.

9. G. Hernández de Alba, *La iglesia de San Ignacio de Bogotá* (Seville, 1948).

10. A four-light *espadaña* adorned San Francisco at Caracas of 1593 (Angulo, *Historia*, I, figure 675). Fray Andrés de San Miguel designed a five-light *espadaña* for San Angel D.F., Mexico, in 1615–17 (M. Toussaint, *A.I.I.E.*, 13 (1945)). An early example in Spain is the Merced *espadaña* at Ecija in 1630.

p. 89 11. G. Kubler, 'The Quechua in the Colonial World', *Handbook of South American Indians*, II (Washington, 1946); H. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949); E. Marco Dorta, in D. Angulo, *Historia*, I, 617–710.

12. H. Wethey, 'Hispanic Colonial Architecture in Bolivia', *G.B.A.*, XXXIX (1952), 47–60.

p. 90 13. Full discussion in Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*.

p. 91 14. Wethey, *op. cit.*, 262, believes that the plan of San Pedro derives from the Compañía at Quito (begun 1605). The foliated surfaces of the chapels (*c.* 1700) exemplify the late seventeenth-century aesthetic of total foliation as at the Rosario Chapels of Puebla and Tunja. The domed aisle bays, as Wethey remarks, were widely copied (p. 73) at Lima (San Francisco and Merced), Arequipa, and Trujillo.

15. R. Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artífices coloniales de la América meridional* (Buenos Aires, 1947). E. Marco Dorta, *La arquitectura barroca en el Perú* (Madrid, 1957), 20, follows H. Cornejo Bouroncle of Cuzco in attributing the Compañía portal to Diego Martínez de Oviedo. The resemblances between the Cuzco style and the work of Baltasar Álvares in Portugal *c.* 1600 can best be explained by the common debt of both to Netherlandish ornamental sources.

16. Discussion of Peruvian race and caste in G. Kubler, *The Indian Caste in Peru 1795–1940* (Washington, 1952). E. Marco Dorta, in Angulo, *Historia*, II, 166, refers to the highland manner as 'planiform' decoration. p. 92

17. Throughout Hispanic South America, such exposed galleries were invariably preferred to the tribune storeys which were so common in Jesuit churches in Europe and Brazil. J. Braun, *Jesuitenkirchen*, 6–7; C. Leu-Llorens, *Les éléments médiévaux de l'architecture baroque* (Lausanne, 1944), 89.

18. The Merced in Lima also has a converging ramp stair. This was built in 1759–62, but possibly repeated an earlier plan. E. Marco Dorta, in Angulo, *Historia*, II, 146. p. 93

19. B. Gento Sanz, *San Francisco de Lima* (Lima, 1945).

20. Wethey, following Calancha (1638), ascribes the first use of the triple rhythm in arcades to a destroyed cloister at San Agustín, Lima, built *c.* 1575–1600 (*Colonial Architecture*, 90).

21. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture*, 167, regards Ayaviri as deriving from Lampa, and Marco Dorta, in Angulo, *Historia*, II, 200, maintains the opposite. No document resolves the question. p. 94

22. F. Boas, *Primitive Art* (Oslo, 1928).

23. C. Lozano, *A.E.A.*, XXVI (1953), 287. p. 95

24. First used, more incoherently, at the main portal of San Francisco in Lima before 1674.

25. A derivation first proposed by Lozoya, *B.S.E.E.*, XLVIII (1944), 5–14.

26. Cf. the circular Serra do Pilar cloister at Oporto (late sixteenth century). p. 96

27. On the Quinta Presa, G. Kubler, 'Observaciones sobre la arquitectura actual en Lima', *Las Moradas* (Lima), III (1949), no. 6. Eduardo Saenz-

Rico Urbina, of Barcelona, has recently discovered correspondence proving Amat's activity as the designer of the Virreina Palace in Barcelona (p. 59), and of other edifices. See also V. Rodríguez Casado and F. Pérez Embid, *Construcciones militares del virrey Amat* (Seville, 1949).

p. 96 28. Harold E. Wethey, *Arte en América y Filipinas*, II (1952), 121–36.

p. 97 29. Nazca pottery was unknown until about 1900, when Max Uhle discovered the burial-grounds of the south-coast valleys of Peru.

30. After 1726 according to Wethey (*Colonial Architecture*, 160). There are no documents for this remodelling of the sixteenth-century adobe church.

31. R. Mariátegui Oliva, *Una joya de arquitectura peruana de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Lima, 1942).

p. 98 32. A. Benavides Rodríguez, *La arquitectura en el virreinato del Perú y en la capitanía general de Chile* (Santiago, 1941).

33. The splendid publications by the Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes (*Documentos de arte argentino*, 26 vols, Buenos Aires, 1939–47) are the best guide.

34. The Jesuit *Cartas Annuas* of 1671 (quoted by Buschiazzo in D. Angulo, *Historia*, III, 641–2) specify Lemer's activity as a shipbuilder and his dependence upon French texts.

p. 99 35. Others are the Pilar Church (1716–32), the Cabildo façade (1721–51), and Santa Catalina (1737–45), all in Buenos Aires. Santa Teresa at Córdoba (1753) shows a more Borrominesque version of Blanqui's style.

36. Muñoz repeated the Córdoba dome in a simpler version in 1759 at San Francisco at Salta, in the north-west.

37. A. Sancho Corbacho, *Jerez y los puertos* (Madrid, 1947).

p. 100 38. J. Giuria, *La arquitectura en el Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1950). M. Buschiazzo, 'La arquitectura de las misiones de Moxos y Chiquitos', *A.I.A.A.*, 5 (1952). The new church at Assy in Haute-Savoie repeats the Yaguarón system, even to the colouring of the outer surfaces.

CHAPTER 6

p. 101 1. R. dos Santos, *L'Art portugais* (Paris, 1953).

2. R. dos Santos, *O estilo manuelino* (Lisbon, 1952), has reconstructed the principal personalities. M. Chicó, in *História da arte em Portugal*, II (Oporto, 1948), discusses the spatial and structural achievements.

3. F. Pérez Embid, *El mudejarismo* (Seville, 1944), connects these elements rather with Andalusia than with Africa. They have no indigenous base in Portugal, and their diffusion is limited to the central provinces. Diego Díaz of Lisbon, however, signed a geminated window of this style in Mexico City in 1535 (L. Alamán, *Disertaciones*, II (Mexico, 1844), 85, 102).

4. The Belem nave belongs to the family of late fifteenth-century hall churches (Seo, Saragossa) and civic edifices (Valencia, Palma, Saragossa, and Barcelona Exchanges) in Spain. F. Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 31, 279, 348; G. Weise, *Die Spanischen Hallenkirchen* (Tübingen, 1953).

5. V. Correia, *As obras de Santa Maria de Belem de 1514 a 1519* (Lisbon, 1922). The nave, originally four bays long, was remodelled *c.* 1520–30 to accommodate a deep choir tribune extending two bays in depth.

6. Other Portuguese examples of single-span vaults on aisled plans: Arronches and Freixo-de-Espada-à-Cinta (communicated by Professor Chicó).

7. R. dos Santos, *O estilo manuelino*; V. Correia, *As obras de S. M. de Belem*. Boytac's share in the plan is uncertain. Castilho completed the cloister, the chapter-house, and the sacristy. The sanctuary exterior by D. de Torralva, completed in 1570, is in the manner of Juan Bautista de Toledo (p. 12), but the interior is Portuguese in the coffering proportions.

8. At Coimbra, Santa Cruz, and the palace (1508–13); at Batalha, the cloister, the fountain, and the clerestory of the unfinished chapels. Stylistic attributions: Golegã, Montemor-o-Velho, São Julião at Setúbal (portal), Madalena at Olivenza.

9. This device may have been borrowed from Boytac by Plateresque architects, and it had a revival in eighteenth-century Catalan architecture (p. 59). Mário Chicó inclines to assign the form to late medieval Galician prototypes. p. 102

10. The ribbed domes have a genealogy leading through the Caliphate of Cordova to Byzantium. Gothic versions are known. M. Chicó, in *História da arte em Portugal*, II, 314–21, and figures 324 and 330. p. 103

11. T. Espanca, *Évora* (Évora, 1949), 78, names Miguel de Arruda (1500–63) and Manuel Pires together with Torralva.

12. In 1551, the remains of Manuel I and his wife were moved to the newly built sanctuary-mausoleum. F. A. de Varnhagen, *Noticia histórica e descriptiva do mosteiro de Belem* (Lisbon, 1842), 30. At Santa Cruz, Coimbra (Boytaca, 1508–13), the depth is twice the width; the Belem apse is deeper (20/9 m.).

13. Contract in Sousa Viterbo, *Diccionario*, III, 130.

14. F. da Hollanda (1518–84) sketched similar corner turrets in the court of the Villa Imperiale at Pesaro in 1539–40 (designed by G. Genga, *c.* 1530); E. Tormo, *Os desenhos* (Madrid, 1940), plate 44.

J. B. Bury, in *Portugal and Brazil* (Oxford, 1953), 156, notes resemblances to Serlio woodcuts: the likenesses are distant.

p. 104 15. Plan and views, *Inventário artístico de Portugal*, I (1943), 57.

16. By R. dos Santos, *Art portugais* (Paris, 1953), 21.

17. R. dos Santos gives it (*op. cit.*) to Torralva; M. Chicó, *História*, II, 297, prefers Castilho. Manuel Monteiro, *S. Fructuoso* (Braga, 1939), 24, compares the plan to the Visigothic building, supported by a chronicle of 1619.

18. T. Espanca, *Alguns artistas de Évora nos seculos XVI–XVII* (Évora, 1948), 120–2. In construction *c.* 1564. Analogous, and of about the same date, is the palace chapel at Salvaterra de Magos (*Inventário*, III (1949), 59).

19. Others by Álvares: Monsaraz, parish church (1563) with Tuscan supports; first project (unbuilt) for São Roque, Lisbon (1563). Attributed to Álvares: Portalegre Cathedral (1556–60), Olivença (*c.* 1574–84). Santo Antão at Évora (1557–77) is by Manuel Pires, completed by Miguel Arruda. It has domes rather than rib-vaults. Pires was Royal Master of Works in the Alentejo district after Diogo de Torralva's death. Álvares succeeded him in this post in 1570 (T. Espanca, *loc. cit.*).

20. Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 279.

p. 105 21. The equivalents in Andalusia are the *mudéjar* side-lighted and arcaded churches of the province of Seville; D. Angulo, *Arquitectura mudéjar sevillana* (Seville, 1932), 9.

22. G. Bazin, *L'architecture religieuse baroque au Brésil* (Paris, 1956), 61–3.

23. The impressive Ionic colonnades of the cloister at Grijó near Oporto, rebuilt in 1574, are possibly by A. Álvares.

24. R. dos Santos, *B.A.*, 3 (1951). Llaguno, *Noticias*, III, 38, says he was related to Jacome da Trezzo, the lapidary of the Escorial.

25. A. Ruiz de Arcaute, *Juan de Herrera* (Madrid, 1936), 90.

26. M. Gómez-Moreno, *A.E.A.*, XIV (1940). An analogous arrangement is the Palladian retrochoir at S. Giorgio (1560) and the Redentore (1576), both in Venice. A seventeenth-century plan of São Vicente shows the church as we know it today. (J. de Castilho, *Lisboa Antiga*, VII (1937), 76, signed by João Nunes Tinoco, active from 1638.) p. 106

27. Terzi may also have drawn upon late medieval Portuguese sources, such as the narthex beneath the choir tribune at the Loios church at Évora (built 1485–91; remodelled *c.* 1530), as suggested by M. Chicó.

28. R. Taylor, 'El padre Villalpando (1552–1608) y sus ideas estéticas', *Academia* (Madrid), 1952. *In Ezechielem explanationis* began to appear in 1596.

29. Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, 241, 245, and M. Buschiazzo in *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, III, 723–4, have noted the 'civil fenestration' of Brazilian church architecture. Bazin, *op. cit.*, 341, in classifying Luso-Brazilian façades, fails to account for this phenomenon and so under-rates the importance of São Vicente, whose influence is great in the colonial architecture of Portuguese India (analysed in M. Chicó, 'Igrejas de Goa', *García de Orta* (Lisbon, 1956), and Brazil (São Bento, Rio de Janeiro, and Cathedral, São Salvador, Bahía).

30. R. dos Santos, *História*, III (1956), 17–18. Dos Santos also gives him the beautiful colonnaded walk (*c.* 1592) of the Episcopal Palace (now Museum Machado de Castro) at Coimbra.

31. *Inventário*, III, 116. For lost works by Terzi, G. Matos Sequeira, *B.A.*, X (1942), 13–17.

32. R. dos Santos, *História*, III, 22–9. The Desterro church of the Cistercians in Lisbon, now a hospital, shows B. Álvares's Roman manner, closer to Terzi than his northern work. Begun 1591.

33. São João Novo at Oporto is usually mentioned as a copy of the Grilos Church. By its decoration, the date should be between the Grilos and the Sé Nova at Coimbra.

34. Attributed by R. dos Santos, *ibid.*, 27, to B. Álvares on unconvincing external grounds.

35. The closest Italian parallel is Ammanati's S. Giovannino, S. J., Venturi, XI, part 2, figure 312. p. 107

36. This scheme is repeated at Coimbra at São Pedro dos Terceiros (before 1650) and in Lisbon, at

São Francisco de Paula, by the Italian Giacomo Azzolino (active 1752–86).

p. 107 37. Works by Spaniards of this period in Portugal are surprisingly few: the most notable example is the remodelling of the façade of Viseu Cathedral by Juan Moreno of Salamanca, *c.* 1635 (F. Almeida Moreira, *La catedral de Viseu*, Oporto, 1927), with a huge three-storeyed portal of retarded Spanish Purist style.

38. C. de Passos, *Porto* (Oporto, 1935), 35.

39. R. dos Santos, *História*, III, 42–7.

40. *Inventário*, III, 66.

p. 108 41. The remodelling of Santo Tirso (1679) is surely his. R. dos Santos, *História*, III, 45.

42. The earliest example of the reception-hall nave is not necessarily Santa Clara. Many Lisbon churches destroyed in 1755 may have shown this form somewhat earlier than the Coimbra church.

43. G. Bazin, *op. cit.*, 333, has compared the churches of this type to the 'cloisonné' churches of Armenian medieval architecture, studied by J. Baltrušaitis, *L'église cloisonnée* (Paris, 1941). Hispanic 'discontinuous spaces' are closer in time, space, and conception.

44. The church is faced with cut *pedra lioz* (pseudo-marble) brought to Brazil from Lisbon as ship's ballast. Bazin, *op. cit.*, 80–1.

45. São Bento at São Salvador was planned by a Spaniard, Frei Macário de São João, before 1676; São Bento in Rio was rebuilt in 1668–93 on plans of about 1670. Bazin, *op. cit.*, 88.

p. 109 46. First grouped and discussed by G. Bazin in *B.A.*, 2 (1950), who rightly compared San Cayetano at Saragossa (1681–97) and the Pasión façade at Valladolid (1667–72).

47. R. dos Santos, *História*, III, 38.

48. R. dos Santos, *B.A.*, 2 (1950).

p. 110 49. R. dos Santos, *História*, III, 49, believes the plans for the present unfinished edifice to be by Antunes rather than Tinoco.

50. *Ibid.* R. dos Santos also attributes to Antunes the octagonal Jesus das Barrocas church at Aveiro (1722).

51. G. Matos Sequeira, *B.A.*, 3 (1951), 24–6.

52. R. C. Smith, *A.B.*, XVIII (1936), was the first to identify and discuss the type. Dr Carlos de Azevedo of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Lisbon is preparing a book on it.

53. The long article by R. C. Smith, *A.B.*, XVIII (1936), is fundamental, establishing Ludwig's biography and his sources.

54. A French derivation appears in the segmental window heads of the apses, possibly reminiscences of Ludovice's eight years of military service (cf. p. 59 on the military associations of these window heads in Spain). p. 112

55. R. C. Smith, *J.S.A.H.*, XV (1956), 17.

56. R. dos Santos, *História*, III, 61, and figure 13. Now Hospital de San José.

57. A. de Magalhães Basto, *Nasoni e a igreja dos Clérigos* (Oporto, 1950). E. Lavagnino, *Artisti italiani in Portogallo* (Rome, 1940).

58. G. Bazin, *B.A.*, 2 (1950), 6.

59. Another instance of Spanish influence at Oporto is the two-towered façade of San Ildefonso (1724–30), adorned with cubical *placas recortadas* like those of the Magdalena Church at Granada (p. 25).

60. Other works: Episcopal Palace, Oporto, 1734; participation, Lamego Cathedral, 1734–40; Misericórdia façade, Oporto, 1750. The lateral loggia of the cathedral is too early for Nasoni (before 1731: Bazin, *loc. cit.*, 8). The design of the Freixo Palace near Oporto, *c.* 1749, upon a towered alcázar plan, is attributed to Nasoni, although its decoration seems to be an extension of the style of Braga (Bazin, *ibid.*, 7). p. 113

61. J. B. Bury, *J.S.A.H.*, XV (1956), 7; R. dos Santos, *História*, III, 62. Two drawings for fountains in the Museu da Mitra are signed 'Charles Mardell'; they are more Rococo than later drawings signed Carlos Mardel. p. 114

62. *Inventário*, V (1955), 74. Not finished in 1769; *azulejos* dated 1795. The scheme reappears at Leiria after 1755 in the hilltop shrine of N.S. da Encarnação.

63. Plan in Bazin, *Architecture* (1956), figure 60. By Sebastian Soares?

64. A. Caldeira Pires, *História do palácio nacional de Queluz*, 2 vols (Coimbra, 1924).

Queluz has been repeatedly altered. The north-east corner is one-storeyed again, since the fire of 1934 destroyed F. A. de Sousa's insensitive upper floor added *c.* 1790.

65. Rebuilt on a new design after 1940, behind a façade spared by the fire of 1934. António Ventura Porfirio, *Occidente* (November, 1940).

66. Marcus Cheke, *Dictator of Portugal. A Life of the Marquis of Pombal, 1699–1782* (London, 1938), 74–6, describes the organization and compares the p. 115

design to the London of Queen Anne. Massive English influence reappears at Oporto, at the Hospital of Santo António, designed by John Carr of York in 1769, and the Factory House, built for the winegrowers' association by the British consul, John Whitehead, in 1786–90. Rose Macaulay, *They Went to Portugal* (London, 1941), 399.

67. Azzolini also built the Belem riding school (now Museu dos Coches) and São Francisco de Paula in Lisbon. The façade of this church has an ogee pediment and side entrances like São Pedro dos Terceiros at Coimbra.

68. J. B. Bury, *J.S.A.H.*, xv (1956), 7–15.

69. A. Feio, *Uma figura nacional, Carlos Amarante* (Braga, 1951).

p. 116 70. G. Bazin, *Architecture* (1956), treats all aspects, including the derivations from Portugal. M. Buschiazzo's chapters on Brazil in Angulo, *História*, ii–iii, are important, though lacking in sustained discussion of Portuguese monuments.

71. Exceptions: the Jesuit missions in the extreme south, and the rural architecture of São Paulo (Luís Saia, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, 8 (1944)). It is too early to attempt any synthesis of Brazilian civilian building, but the houses show many traits of vernacular design. Several articles in *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, especially vols 1, 7, 8, 9, and 11, have opened the subject. Similar studies from Portugal, where religious monuments alone have been studied, are much needed.

72. Barcelos, N.S. da Cruz, an octagon-rotunda rebuilt 1705; Lisbon, Menino Deus, 1711; Cascais, N.S. dos Navegantes, *c.* 1715 (plan in J. B. Bury, *A.B.*, xxxvii (1955), figure 17); Braga, São Sebastião, 1717; Aveiro, Barrocas, 1722; Oporto, Santo Ildefonso, 1724–30; Campo-Maior, São João Baptista, 1734; Ponta Delgada (Madeira), São Pedro dos Clérigos (undated).

73. The doorways of Lisbon *lioz* were added *c.* 1780.

74. On peripheral corridors, invisible from the p. 117
nave, and restricted to the use of the clergy, see Bazin, *Architecture*, 102. Earlier prototypes than Bazin's are S. Fedele in Milan, and Herrera's Escorial church.

75. The portal of the Recife church strangely resembles the work of J. B. Pérez at Valencia (p. 27). R. C. Smith connects it with Claude de Laprade's style at Coimbra and Aveiro.

76. R. C. Smith, *J.S.A.H.*, xv (1956), 16–23. The four-storeyed edifices, flanking the church and housing the nave corridors, were built in 1820 and after 1850.

77. Repeated in Rio at São Francisco de Paula (1759).

78. See p. 195 on the terracing and statues by Aleijadinho. The final terraced setting belongs to the Portuguese pilgrimage group with the Bom Jesus at Braga (begun 1723); N.S. dos Ares, Viana do Alentejo (1743); N.S. da Pedra, Óbidos (1747); N.S. dos Remédios, Lamego (1750–61).

79. Paul Dony, *Das Münster*, x (1957), 22, suggests that Dominikus Zimmermann adapted at Wies (1745–54) the Brazilian chevet of tribunes and transversal sacristy, learned from some Benedictine who had been in Brazil.

80. R. Trindade, *São Francisco de Assis de Ouro* p. 118
Preto (Rio, 1951) (Publ. DPHAN, No. 17).

81. The drawn-back cylindrical towers recall São Pedro dos Clérigos in Rio (begun 1733? destroyed 1942). This church had glazed pendentives like those by Hurtado in Spain (p. 32).

82. Bazin, *Architecture*, 182. Attributed to An- p. 119
tónio de Sousa Calheiros. Often dated too early, as of 1748.

83. Modified by F. de Lima Cerqueira.

NOTES TO PART TWO

CHAPTER 7

p. 123 1. G. Weise, *Spanische Plastik*, i–iv (Reutlingen, 1925–39); M. Gómez Moreno, *La escultura del Renacimiento en España* (Florence–Barcelona, 1931).

2. F. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura* (Seville, 1649), in Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, ii; J. J. Martín González, *Esteban Jordán* (Valladolid, 1952).

3. The fundamental importance of the Renais- p. 125
sance in Spanish life is summarized in G. Weise, *Die spanische Plastik der Renaissance und des Frühbarock* (Tübingen, 1956), 4–7. A. L. Mayer, *Spanische Barock-Plastik* (Munich, 1923), 5, alleged that 'Spanish sculpture leads immediately from the Gothic to the Baroque'.

p. 126 4. B. G. Proske, *Castilian Sculpture* (New York, 1951), 298–304; Weise, *op. cit.* (1956), 10. The cardinal's son, Rodrigo de Mendoza, employed Renaissance sculptors from Lombardy, Carrara, and Genoa for his castle at Calahorra, Granada (1509).

5. For Vasco de la Zarza (*fl.* 1499–1524) at Avila and Toledo), an artist influenced by Fancelli, see Proske, *op. cit.*, 345–9.

p. 127 6. Gómez Moreno, *Águilas*, 111–40, 224–38. Machuca's designs for reliefs for his Palace of Charles V at Granada are classical in style, and none perceptibly influenced the course of Spanish sculpture. Machuca was assisted by his son-in-law Orea (1537–44), the Milanese Nicolo de Corte (1548–52), and the Fleming Antonio de Leval (1551–6). Classical mythology, rare in Castile, was used in Andalusia, also on the Seville Town Hall (1527–34) by Riaño, and on various structures at Ubeda by Vandelvira.

7. R. Longhi, 'Comprimarii spagnoli della maniera italiana', *Paragone*, no. 43 (1953).

8. *Diálogos de la pintura* (Lisbon, 1548), in Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, I, 117, 120.

9. Gómez Moreno, *Águilas*, 17–32, 189–96; H. E. Wethey, *A.B.*, XXV (September 1943), 226–38; *idem*, *A.B.*, XXVIII (March 1946), 58–9; J. M. Madurell, *A.B.B.*, VI (July–December 1948), 345–73; J. Ainaud, *ibid.*, 375–9; F. Bologna, *Sculture lignee nella Campania, Mostra* (Naples, 1950), 76; J. Milicua, *A.E.A.*, XXIV (1951), 331–4; D. Roggen, *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XIV (1953), 207–46; F. Bologna, *Opere d'arte nel Salernitano, Mostra* (Naples, 1955), 84; M. E. Gómez Moreno, *Bartolome Ordóñez* (Madrid, 1957).

10. This date is controversial. A Latin inscription, kindly communicated to me in a letter by Professor Ferdinando Bologna, indicates that the chapel was finished by 6 January 1516, the day of the Epiphany represented in Ordóñez's relief. The shipment of 93 *carrete* of marble in 1517 formerly assumed to be for the Caraccioli Chapel was actually for Barcelona Cathedral. The first 200 ducats, paid to Ordóñez under the contract of May 1517 with the chapter of Barcelona Cathedral, were for the purchase of marble. On 11 December 1517, at Naples, Ordóñez ordered from Carrara 202 ducats' worth of marble to be put on board ship. The identity of the amount of money suggests that this marble was to be shipped from Carrara to Barcelona. The boat foundered off Cap Hyères, but the load was recovered and claimed by Barcelona. Both Wethey, *A.B.*, XXV (1943), 231, and Weise, *op. cit.* (1956), 20, recognized the absence of any influence from Michelangelo in the Caraccioli altar. The Bonifacio tomb (*c.* 1518) and the Spanish works of both Ordóñez and Siloe are, however, strongly affected by Michelangelo, thus furnishing another argument in favour of an early date for the altar (1514–15) rather than one that would make it contemporary with the Barcelona commission (1517–18). Less successful than the Barcelona stalls are the marble reliefs of the *trascoro*, where Ordóñez had three helpers whom he had brought from Italy in 1519. The panel most likely to be by Ordóñez is the *First Martyrdom of St Eulalia*. The others seem less subtle in their unrelieved verticality.

11. Weise, *op. cit.*, III^1, 105–45; Wethey, in Thieme-Becker, XXXI (1937), 26–7; *idem*, *A.B.*, XXII (1940), 190–6; XXV (1943), 226–38, 325–35; Weise, *op. cit.* (1956), 21–5; Gómez Moreno, *Águilas*, 35–108, 196–224. p. 128

12. Bologna, *Sculture lignee*. p. 129

13. *A.B.*, XXV (1943), 333–6.

14. Diego's authorship is suggested by the design and many details such as the decorative panels and friezes, the framework surrounding the top tier, and the crowning medallion of God the Father. The carving may have been done largely by assistants.

15. Payment was not made until 1544 (Gómez Moreno, *Águilas*, 92, 218), but Wethey, *A.B.*, XXV (1943), 331, seems to be right in assuming an earlier date for stylistic reasons.

16. Contemporaries and sometimes collaborators of Forment at Saragossa were the Aragonese Morlanes, the Florentine Moreto, and the Frenchman Gabriel Yoli (see J. Ibáñez-Martín, *Gabriel Yoli* (Madrid, 1956)). p. 130

17. Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte* (Munich, 1924), 217 ff.; W. Friedländer, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 46 (1925), 49 ff.; N. Pevsner, *ibid.*, 243 ff. The term Mannerism, proposed by Pevsner for the style of 1520 to 1590, has been accepted by most. p. 131

18. Weise, *op. cit.* (1956), 50–1, sums this up very well for the period 1520–50, which he calls 'anti-classical' or 'Frühbarock', the latter a misleading term, since it should be reserved for the very different style of 1590–1620, when Caravaggio's art triumphed.

19. Vasari, Salviati, Volterra, Tibaldi, and the Zuccari represent the second phase. It was carried

by Heemskerck, Marten de Vos, Spranger, Hans von Aachen, and Cock to the Netherlands, Prague, and Vienna. Shortly before 1600, Bloemaert and Wtewael constituted a last Mannerist centre at Utrecht. Mannerist painting and sculpture in Spain occur simultaneously. Weise, *op. cit.* (1956), 51, claims that painting comes later and is less frequent. He objects to the term Mannerism in Spanish art for either 1520–50 or 1550–90, and alleges that the basic traits of the Italian Mannerism of 1520–50 do not apply to Spain. As such he lists external formalism; affected, precious expression; and the movement imposed rather than born of inner need. Such qualities exist in Spain as well as in Italy, especially in the minor masters, but do not by themselves define the essence of Mannerism. The greatest artists share a spiritual anguish and restlessness, derived in either country from Michelangelo as well as from Gothic survival. Weise neglects painterly illusionism in Italian Mannerism, though he rightly stresses it in contemporary Spanish sculpture.

p. 132 20. Agapito y Revilla, *Boletín de la Sociedad castellana de excursiones*, IV (1909–10), 513–21, 537–45; V (1911), 25–9; R. de Orueta, *Berruguete y su obra* (Madrid, 1917); Weise, *op. cit.*, II¹, 125–50; III², 285–310; IV, 22–39; Gómez Moreno, *Águilas*, 143–82, 238–52; Weise, *op. cit.* (1956), 31–6.

21. G. Weise, *Pantheon*, XXII (1938), 270–83.

p. 133 22. During the 1520s and 1530s many Spanish cathedrals acquired elaborate choir stalls and sumptuous monstrances. Juan Rodríguez and the Fleming Lucas Giraldo carved the *trascoro* of Avila Cathedral under the influence of Zarza in 1531–6. Siloe influenced the style of the choir stalls begun in 1534 by the same artists and continued in 1544 by the Dutch Nicolás Cornelies. The figures outdo Vigarny in refinement and understanding of anatomy, and the grotesques are of refreshing humour and inexhaustible variety. The Frenchman Guillén Donzel (Weise, *op. cit.*, III², 318–22), in a vigorous three-dimensional style possibly influenced by Juni, carved the stalls of San Marcos at Leon in 1537–43, and the German Nicolás de Colonia those of Astorga Cathedral in 1547, also in a manner approaching Juni's.

23. For the subjects, see E. Tormo, *B.S.E.E.*, XXII (1914), 286.

24. Berruguete's last work, the marble monument of Cardinal Tavera of 1557–61 in the Hospital of St John the Baptist at Toledo, was largely executed by gifted followers. It is of marked classicism, graceful, and tranquil. Only the cardinal, an extraordinary evocation of death, seems to be by Berruguete himself.

25. Diego de Sagreda, *Medidas del Romano* p. 134
(Toledo, 1526), preferred Renaissance to Mannerism as he endeavoured to harmonize Vitruvius and the Plateresque style. Neither Cristóbal de Villalón, *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente* (Valladolid, 1539), nor Felipe de Guevara, *Comentarios de la pintura* (1560(?)), in Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, I (1923), 157, understood Berruguete, the first praising his work as derived from the Greeks, and the second damning it because not so derived.

26. Foremost among them Francisco Giralte and Isidro de Villoldo. See also the choir stalls at the Colegiata of Logroño (Weise, *op. cit.*, II¹, 146–9) and the work of the Fleming Arnaldo de Bruselas at Logroño and Saragossa.

27. Weise, *op. cit.*, III¹, 64–105; Wethey, in Thieme-Becker, XXXIV (1940), 344–5.

28. Massed figures, arranged in isocephalic rows, p. 135
create a tumultuous impression. Draperies, landscape backgrounds, and the lack of perspective are medieval. The last relief, *Lament and Resurrection*, completed in 1513, is more orderly, idealized, and Italianate. Vigarny's Renaissance city gate in the relief of the *Via Crucis* of 1498, though poor in perspective, is one of the earliest examples of the new style in Spain. One does the artist a kindness by assuming that his work at Toledo, Palencia, and Burgos Cathedrals (1503–12) was mostly carried out by assistants. Much better and influenced by Siloe are the stalls at Santo Domingo de la Calzada (Logroño) by Guillén de Holanda under the direction of Andrés de Nájera (1521–5) and at San Benito, Valladolid (1525–9; Proske, *op. cit.*, 283–5).

29. First attributed to Vigarny by Wethey, *A.B.*, XXV (1943), 339–40.

30. Weise, *op. cit.*, III², 206–41; Wethey, in Thieme-Becker, XXXIV (1940), 86–7; J. Camón Aznar, 'Juan de Balmaseda', *Goya*, no. 12 (May–June 1956), 358–68.

31. Doubted by Wethey, see preceding note. p. 136

32. Weise, *op. cit.*, II¹, 158–64; III², 314–47; E. García Chico, *Juan de Juni* (Valladolid, 1949); J. J. Martín González, *Juan de Juni* (Madrid, 1954); Weise, *op. cit.* (1956), 42–9. Other important French sculptors of the Mannerist period in Spain were Guiot de Beaugrant, Esteban Jamete, Esteban de Obray, and Juan Picardo. From the Netherlands came Roque Bolduque, Domingo de Amberes, and Rodrigo and Martín de la Haya.

p. 136 33. Weise, *op. cit.*, II^1, 159. Working in soft clay, Juni is less classical and more elegant than Rustici.

34. J. J. Martín González, 'Juni y el Laoconte', *A.E.A.*, XXV (1952), 59–66, demonstrates similarities between the *Laocoon* and Juni's art and assumes an Italian journey. However, Juni could have seen engravings or copies. Serpent forms in his work proceed from the general Mannerist exaltation of the *linea serpentinata* (Lomazzo).

35. Begarelli's terracotta *Pietà* of 1544–6 in S. Pietro at Modena seems empty by comparison with Juni's.

p. 137 36. A *paso* represents a Passion scene carried through the streets during Holy Week processions.

p. 138 37. *U.V.*, VI (1933–4), 319–83; Chueca, *Arquitectura*, 317–28. From engravings after Serlio, Vredeman de Vries, and many others, Corral derived the use of caryatids, canephora, terms, and atlantids favoured also by Vandelvira at Jaén and a few architects in Castile.

p. 139 38. E. Plon, *Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni* (Paris, 1887); J. Babelon, *Jacopo de Trezzo et la construction de l'Escorial* (Paris, 1922); B. G. Proske, *Pompeo Leoni* (New York, 1956).

p. 140 39. Weise, *op. cit.*, II^1, 217–31.

p. 141 40. Tormo, *B.S.E.E.*, XX (1912), 65–97; XXI (1913), 117–57, 245–65. Becerra's altar for the Descalzas Reales at Madrid of 1563 was burned in 1862. The artist's pen sketch (Biblioteca Nacional) shows more importance given to the centre, and the use of open pediments, oval frames, and striated columns. Becerra favoured reclining figures on his pediments and in his stylobates.

41. J. Camón Aznar, *El escultor Juan de Ancheta* (Pamplona, 1943).

42. Ancheta also imitated Quercia's facial types and drapery folds, but without the rhythmic harmony of Quercia's garments. Ancheta's are artless.

43. Weise, *op. cit.*, II^1, 265–70; J. J. Martín González, *Esteban Jordán*.

p. 142 44. At Medina de Ríoseco, in an altar of 1577–99 at Santa María in which Becerra, Juni, and Jordán had a share, a strong reaction against the simplicity of the altar of the Magdalen can be felt. A monumental two-storeyed order of richest plasticity combines Michelangelesque and Palladian elements with the complicated but clear structural orchestration of Vignola and della Porta.

45. T. Biurrún, *La escultura religiosa y Bellas Artes en Navarra durante la época del Renacimiento* (Pamplona, 1935); J. E. Uranga, *Retablos navarros del Renacimiento* (Pamplona, 1947); Weise, *op. cit.*, II^1, 98–101, 107–11, 255–60.

46. J. Hernández Díaz, *Imaginería hispalense del Bajo Renacimiento* (Seville, 1951).

47. Vázquez here attempts greater monumentality by concentrating the group.

48. Pacheco, in Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, II, 168. p. 143

CHAPTER 8

1. R. de Orueta, *Gregorio Hernández* (Madrid, 1920); E. García Chico, *Gregorio Fernández* (Valladolid, 1952); M. E. Gómez Moreno, *Gregorio Fernández* (Madrid, 1953). p. 144

2. Fernández's figures of the three Archangels (1606, Valladolid, San Miguel) recall Leoni's more Mannerist versions of this theme (Escorial). p. 145

3. Roelas lived at Valladolid from 1598 to 1602. p. 146

4. Cruz Cerqueira, 'As imagens e os painéis de S. Domingos de Benfica', *Olisipo*, IX (July and October 1946), 136–43, 203–23; D. de Macedo, 'Notas sobre o imaginário Manuel Pereira', *B.A.*, no. 9 (1956), 25–34. Many statues at Madrid were destroyed in the Civil War before they had been studied or photographed. p. 147

5. J. Hernández Díaz, *Juan Martínez Montañés* (Seville, 1949).

6. See Note 46 to Chapter 7. p. 148

7. Hernández Díaz, *Montañés*, 14.

8. Montañés's iconography, typical of the Spanish Baroque, exalted the cult of the Virgin, especially in her childhood and as the Virgin of Sorrows, as well as the cult of Christ: Christ crucified, Ecce Homo, Christ at the column, Christ carrying the Cross, or the dying Christ. Popular saints were the two St Johns, St Bruno, St Dominic, St Francis, St Anthony, St Diego of Alcalá, St Peter Alcántara; the Spanish saints canonized early in the seventeenth century: St Teresa, St Ignatius, St Francis Xavier, St Francis Borja, St John of God; the ascetic saints: St Mary Magdalen, St Mary of Egypt, St Jerome, St Onofrius, and St Paul Abbot; later, St Francis de Paul, saint of charity.

9. Montañés not only followed the Revelations of St Brigid, but was also influenced by a small bronze Christ, erroneously said to be derived from Michelangelo, which was cast in numerous versions at Seville after 1596. p. 149

10. Espinosa de los Monteros, *Teatro de la santa Iglesia metropolitana de Sevilla* (Seville, 1635).

11. The statue was usually executed in wood by his assistants from a clay model by Montañés, and then finished by the master. After 1604 the polychromy was carried out by Pacheco, who preferred matt colours to the 'glazed-dish' effect customary until then.

p. 150 12. Hernández Díaz, *Montañés*, 53.

p. 151 13. D. Angulo, *La escultura en Andalucía*, 3 vols (Seville, 1931–6) III, 1–3. This altar (p. 56) contained some of Zurbarán's greatest paintings (p. 248).

14. J. Hernández Díaz, *Comentarios en torno a la figura del escultor Juan de Mesa 1583–1627* (Seville, 1933).

p. 152 15. H. E. Wethey, *Alonso Cano* (Princeton, 1955).

16. Wethey, *op. cit.* In comparison to Montañés, Cano aims at a more inward, contemplative feeling and a freer, more natural pose.

p. 153 17. R. de Orueta, *Pedro de Mena* (Madrid, 1914); Angulo, *La escultura en Andalucía*, II (1933).

18. A. Gallego Burín, *Un Contemporaneo de Montañés, el escultor Alonso de Mena y Escalante* (Seville, 1952).

p. 154 19. Among the earliest representations of this theme in the Hispanic world may be a painting on serge by Gregorio Gamarra (1607, Cuzco, Recoleta).

p. 155 20. A. Gallego Burín, *José de Mora* (Granada, 1925).

p. 156 21. J. Hernández Díaz, *El retablo sevillano en el siglo XVII* (Seville, 1931); *idem*, 'Papeletas para la historia del retablo en Sevilla durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVII', *Boletín de Bellas Artes*, Seville, nos 2–3 (1935–6).

22. Hernández Díaz, *Montañés*, 21–2.

p. 157 23. Small Solomonic columns appeared in the tabernacle on the high altar of Seville Cathedral in 1597. The earliest Solomonic columns on a monumental scale in a Spanish altar were commissioned in 1625 for the Reliquary Chapel of Santiago Cathedral (R. Otero Túñez, *Boletín de la Universidad Compostelana*, no. 63 (1955)). The Jesuit lay brother Francisco Díaz del Ribero (1592–1670), who had studied at Seville, used large Solomonic columns in his altar in the Jesuit church at Granada (1633 ff.), influenced by Cano's at Lebrija. See R. C. Taylor, *A.B.*, XXXII (1950), 27.

24. Hernández Díaz, in Thieme-Becker, XXVII (1933), 55.

25. A. García Bellido, 'Estudios del barroco español', *A.E.A.*, V (1929), who also discusses the Solomonic column. p. 158

26. Elogios de Don Ventura Rodríguez, *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (Madrid), XLVI, 372.

27. Few studies of this largely uncharted field exist. See Note 31 to this chapter and J. A. Baird, *The Eighteenth Century Retable in the South of Spain, Portugal and Mexico* (Harvard University, doctoral thesis, 1951). Even the latest guide-books tend to pass over some of the world's finest eighteenth-century altars.

28. 'The *estípite* consists of a base, surmounted by a shaft which thickens as it rises like an inverted obelisk. Then, in some instances suddenly, while in others gradually, it narrows at the neck and is crowned with a capital', says R. C. Taylor, *A.B.*, XXXII (1950), 29, note 37. From about 1705 on the *estípite* alternated with and eventually replaced the Solomonic column as the chief support in the wooden altars, because it could be broken up into many parts, thus favouring the dissolution of structure which is the main characteristic of Hispanic eighteenth-century altars prior to 1770–80.

29. See de F. de B. San Román, *Boletín Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo*, II (October 1919), 223–40; L. Martin, *Architectural Review*, LXXIII (1933), 196 ff.; Wethey, in Thieme-Becker, XXXIX (1939), 265–6. p. 159

30. J. A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Descripción artística de la catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, 1804).

31. A. Sancho Corbacho, *Arquitectura barroca sevillana del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1952), 22–5, 271. This is the best study of eighteenth-century altars in any Spanish region. p. 160

32. R. C. Taylor, *A.B.*, XXXII (1950), 25–61.

33. P. Quintero, 'Sillas de coro españoles', *B.S.E.E.*, XVI (1908), 98–9; R. Aguilar, 'Bosquejo histórico de la ejecución de la sillería del coro de la catedral de Córdoba', *Boletín Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Córdoba*, XVII (July–December 1946), 173–214.

34. M. Chamoso Lamas, *La arquitectura barroca en Galicia* (Madrid, 1955); R. Otero Túñez, 'Unos planos inéditos del archivo de la Catedral de Santiago', *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos*, XIX (1951), 219–27; *idem*, 'Los retablos de la iglesia de la Compañía, de Santiago', *ibid.*, XXVI (1953), 397–408.

35. C. Martinell, 'El escultor Luis Bonifás y Massó', *A.B.B.*, VI$^{1-2}$ (1948), 1–288, a model of conscientious research. p. 161

p. 161 36. M. D. Salazar, 'Pedro Roldán escultor', *A.E.A.*, XXII (1949), 317–39; H. Sancho Corbacho, *Pedro Roldán y sus discípulos* (Seville, 1950), proves that Roldán was born at Seville, not at Antequera.

p. 162 37. Seville Cathedral preserves the medieval Dance of the Seises before the high altar. Holy Week at Seville is a time of social celebration, anything but tragic. The bullfight, Sevillian style, is a graceful rather than a tragic ballet.

38. In the eighteenth, as in the later sixteenth century, the emergence of women artists is characteristic. The virile seventeenth-century Baroque did not stimulate feminine talents.

39. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, in Thieme-Becker, XXVIII (1934), 381–2.

40. E. Orozco Díaz, *Catálogo de la exposición de esculturas granadinas en barro* (Granada, 1939), on the history of terracotta sculpture in Spain, and its popularity at Granada from the Late Baroque onwards.

41. A. Gallego Burín, 'Un escultor del siglo XVIII, Torcuato Ruiz del Peral', *Boletín Universidad de Granada*, VIII (June–October 1936), 314–95.

42. F. Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo* (Philadelphia, 1943).

43. A. Igual Ubeda and F. Morote Chapa, *Obras de la escultura valenciana del siglo XVIII* (Castellón de la Plana, 1945).

44. J. Sánchez Moreno, *Vida y obra de Francisco Salzillo* (Murcia, 1945).

p. 163 45. E. Serrano Fatigati, *Escultura en Madrid* (Madrid, 1912).

46. *Compendio histórico, topográfico y mitológico de ... San Ildefonso* (Madrid, 1831); J. Digard, *Les jardins de la Granja et leurs sculptures décoratives* (Paris, 1934).

47. E. Lord, 'Una obra desconocida de Luis Salvador Carmona', *A.E.A.*, XXIV (1951), 247–9; *eadem*, 'Luis Salvador Carmona en el Real Sitio de San Ildefonso', *ibid.*, XXVI (1953).

CHAPTER 9

p. 164 1. G. Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols (New Haven, 1948).

2. P. Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (New York, 1951).

3. A. Carrillo y Gariel, *El Cristo de Mexicaltzingo* (Mexico, 1949), disproves the theory that corn paste (ground with orchid bulbs) was used.

4. J. B. Couto, *Diálogo sobre la historia de la pintura en México* (1860–1), (ed. Mexico, 1947), 120: 'The quality generally characterizing the whole school [of Mexican painting, but equally true elsewhere in Latin America] is the suavity and blandness which seem inspired by the sweet atmosphere one breathes in the land and which reflects well the character of its inhabitants'. p. 165

5. E. W. Palm, 'Plateresque and Renaissance Monuments of the Island of Hispaniola', *J.S.A.H.*, V (1946–7), 1–14; D. Angulo, *El Gótico y el Renacimiento en las Antillas* (Seville, 1947); *idem*, *Historia*, II (1950), 261–4; Palm, *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1955).

6. R. Ricard, *La 'Conquête Spirituelle' du Mexique* (Paris, 1933); M. Toussaint, *La pintura en México durante el siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1936); J. Enciso, *Edificios coloniales artísticos e históricos* (Mexico, 1939); Angulo, *Historia*, I, chapter 2; II, chapters 8 and 10; Kubler, *op. cit.*, chapter 8; E. W. Weismann, *Mexico in Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950).

7. In Mexico, the undercut, flat relief was often depressed below the surface of the stone. A groove frequently ran parallel to the border.

8. They are filled to the brim with ornament like p. 166 the engraved panels by Fra Antonio de Monza (Milan, *c.* 1500), have spiral fish forms as in Zoan Andrea's prints (Mantua, *c.* 1500), and perhaps are done with knowledge of the paired dolphins in the engravings of the Master J. G. (Netherlands, *c.* 1525); see R. Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des 15.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1926–8), plates 17, 20, and 78^2.

9. Free-standing sculptural decoration consisted chiefly of churchyard crosses and fonts (Weismann, *op. cit.*, 6–13, 200). Crosses were set up before each church and adorned with flowers. As in Europe, they were originally of wood, painted with the symbols of the Passion. Soon they were carved in stone and became *tequitqui* (Acolman, Atzacoalco). Some, stubby and short, recall pre-Conquest proportions. Indian are the flowery excrescences on top and at the end of the arms, where hands seem three-pronged lilies. Indian is the hollow in the centre which once held an obsidian disc, as in Aztec statues. This precious stone put inside a pagan idol was meant to give life, just as the human heart symbolizes life. Cut in low relief over the surface of the crosses, the Passion symbols do not narrate in European fashion, but operate as abstract ideographs, akin to Indian picture language

before the coming of the white man. See J. Moreno Villa, *La escultura colonial en México* (Mexico, 1942).

No free-standing statues of major significance, either Mexican or European, survive. Of good quality are a *Purísima* at Xochimilco (*c.* 1595), imitating Andalusian models, and a *St Anne with the Virgin and Child* at Santa Mónica at Puebla, attributed to J. B. Vázquez or his circle (Angulo, *Historia*, II, figures 231 and 237).

10. At Yanhuitlán, the original columns have been replaced by spiral ones.

p. 167 11. A. Neumeyer, 'The Indian contribution to architectural decoration in Spanish Colonial America', *A.B.*, XXX (1948), 104–21, especially 113–16. This important article interprets the principles of Latin American decoration.

12. Double and triple columns, slightly projecting in front of each other, attempt to give movement. The wings come forward, and the intermediate sections are at an angle. The restless entablatures have flat and curving sections. When chapel after chapel, even whole churches, were lined with altars in which nothing seemed more important than anything else, the result was boring. Architectural force was blunted by small-scale decoration growing over all forms. For the major altars the usual division in nine compartments was maintained. See Weismann, *op. cit.*

p. 168 13. *Vita et Miracula Christi ex Novo Testamento* (Paris, n.d.), engravings by Campion, Humlot, and Jollain.

14. Weismann, *op. cit.*

p. 169 15. J. Muriel, *Conventos de Monjas en la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1946).

16. H. Berlin, *Papers of the 29th International Congress of Americanists 1949*, ed. Sol Tax (Chicago, 1952); see also *idem*, 'Three Master Architects in New Spain', *H.A.H.R.*, XXVII (1947), 377–81.

17. J. A. Baird, 'Eighteenth Century Retablos of the Bajío, Mexico: The Querétaro Style', *A.B.*, XXXV (1953), 195–216 (210).

p. 170 18. Guatemalan examples are a *Virgin* at Panajachel, San Francisco, *c.* 1600; *St Cecilia* at Antigua, *c.* 1620; and a *Virgin at the foot of the Cross* at San Juan del Obispo, *c.* 1640. At Panajachel is also an authoritative figure of an Archangel, *c.* 1625–40.

19. H. Berlin, *Historia de la imaginería colonial en Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1952).

p. 171 20. J. Vredeman de Vries, *Caryatidum vulgo termas vocat sive athlantidum*, ed. G. de Jode (Antwerp, 1565). Vredeman (Leeuwarden, *c.* 1527–1623), painter and architect, was a pupil of Cornelis Floris and influenced by Serlio and Vitruvius. He worked at Antwerp and Malines, and in Friesland in 1549–70, at Aachen in 1570–2, at Liège in 1573–5, and in Antwerp in 1577–85, and after the Spanish re-occupation of Antwerp in 1585 for the rest of his life in Protestant cities: Frankfort, Wolfenbüttel, Danzig, Hamburg, Prague, Amsterdam, and The Hague. Over twenty different sets of engravings after his designs, with over four hundred plates, were published between 1555 and 1604 and re-published until 1870. These engravings were of great influence in the Netherlands, Germany, Scandinavia, England, and Latin America. His grotesques and roll-work anticipate Early Rococo art. 'He best and most comprehensively represents the ornamental style of his time.' R. Hedicke, *Cornelis Floris* (Berlin, 1913); P. Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich* (Berlin, 1920), 91 ff.; Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter etc.*, I, 49; Thieme-Becker, XXXIV (1940), 575–8.

21. A follower of Robles, perhaps Francisco Cruz Castillo, carved before 1607 the *Christ and St Peter*, at the Concepción. In the choir of that church is a seated *Virgin* of *c.* 1600, more closely derived from Robles. Not by the team of Robles and Rivera is the crudely hewn and painted *Baptism of Christ*, on top of the main altar of San Francisco.

22. Two reliefs of the *Eleven Thousand Virgins* p. 172
(Bogotá, Museo de Arte Colonial, from Santa Clara at Tunja); and two statues, a *Virgen del Pilar* in Santa Bárbara at Tunja, and a *St Lucy*, in San Lázaro at Tunja. These figures, 3 feet high, have stocky arms and large hands. The same or a rival workshop in 1603 produced statues of St John the Baptist and St Blaise, both at San Lázaro, with fine *estofado* of flower grotesques.

23. Probably a Spaniard, to judge by his style. See L. A. Acuña, *Ensayo sobre el florecimiento de la escultura en Santa Fé de Bogotá* (Bogotá, 1932), the best study of Colonial sculpture there.

24. Two reliefs were wrongly interpreted: the *Martyrdom of St Catherine* (not St Barbara) and the *Conversion of St Paul* (not St James Fighting the Moors) are shown.

25. In investigating Ecuadorian art, the excellent p. 173
professional photographs of Bodo Wuth at Quito are of great help. No serious documented study has been made of Colonial art at Quito and even less in the rest of Ecuador, though Father J. Vargas's *Arte*

colonial quiteño (Quito, 1944), and *El arte quiteño en los siglos XVI–XVIII* (Quito, 1949), are a valuable introduction. J. G. Navarro's books (e.g. *La escultura en el Ecuador* (Madrid, 1929)) offer good illustrations. Unfortunately his attributions are often capricious and his claims for the priority and superior quality of Quito art over that of other Latin American countries exaggerated.

p. 173 26. *St John Baptist* (Cathedral), *Denial of St Peter*, and, in the writer's opinion, *Christ carrying the Cross* (both at San Francisco).

27. One wonders if any decoration remains of the grandiose church described in 1581, see Angulo, *Historia*, I, 602–3.

28. The slender Ionic support at San Francisco was recently replaced by a garish triplet of male caryatids. A newel figure with spiral legs is partly anticipated in Vredeman de Vries's *Caryatidum etc.*, plate 8, though the Quito carver gave it human legs.

p. 174 29. Archbishop F. González Suárez, *Historia general de la República del Ecuador* (Quito, 1890–1903).

30. The same master carved an altar to the right of the high altar in Tunja Cathedral.

p. 175 31. J. G. Navarro, *La iglesia de la Compañía en Quito* (Madrid, 1930), 65 ff.

32. Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, 137–40.

33. The Inca rulers were remembered nostalgically throughout Colonial times, and pictures of them were frequent.

p. 176 34. See H. E. Wethey's admirable *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), of great usefulness in the study of Peruvian choir stalls, pulpits, and altars; also R. Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artífices coloniales de la América meridional* (Lima, 1947); with Appendix, Lima, 1955.

35. According to a document in the Biblioteca Nacional at Sucre, found and kindly communicated by its Director, Dr Gunnar Mendoza.

36. Monumental double columns might date from before 1650, and the carvings of the side sections from *c.* 1660. More intact though less able are two transept altars of brick and plaster in the Asunción at Juli (*c.* 1585–95). Two pedestals, with relief busts, support four Corinthian columns in the usual Palladian arrangement. Related are the less important cloister altars at Santo Domingo at Cuzco and those at Huaro and Checacupe. Of similar type are four altars in the cloister of San Francisco at Quito (*c.* 1600–20).

37. Hernández Díaz, *Imaginería hispalense, etc.*, figures 28–9, 42, 48–9, 51, 58, 70, 81.

38. E. Harth-Terré, 'Tesoros de la catedral de Lima', *A.I.I.E.*, III, no. 11 (1944), 5–18. p. 177

39. The arm-rests of the Bishop's throne show youths imprisoned in strap-work of concave-convex profile, a motive found for instance in the *Caryatidum* (*op. cit.*), plate 19, where one also sees swags with apples and the draped female heads ubiquitous not only from Trujillo to Sucre but also adopted on Flemish precedent in Spain and Portugal. Below the seats, and in other Peruvian stalls on the back, are panels of flat ellipses and semi-circles within a rectangle. These are not *mudéjar* but Flemish. Much of the other exuberant ornamentation was derived from Antwerp Mannerist prints.

40. A follower of Zurbarán painted this vision (Cadiz).

41. A gilt and painted writing-desk in the Spanish style. p. 178

42. These volutes, intact ten years ago, were recently broken off, disfiguring the finest Latin American pulpit. Similar vandalism daily diminishes the remaining fraction of Colonial art. No adequate measures have been taken by Church, state, or citizenry. General pride in tradition is not sufficiently specific and is not reflected in an active programme of preservation. There exists no education in schools and seminaries, even less civic societies, to appreciate and conserve local art.

43. For the iconography of figured pulpits, see Wethey, *op. cit.* 209–10.

44. No retable by any of the great altar-makers at Lima is extant. Some late seventeenth-century altars remain at the Jesuit church of San Pedro, where an altar of St Ignatius is a copy of the transept retables of the Compañía at Quito (after Andrea Pozzo; see p. 175 and Wethey).

45. Discovered by Wethey (*op. cit.*, 212). In 1607 Pastorello painted several large scenes of St Ildefons for Sucre Cathedral and died there the year following, according to unpublished documents generously communicated by Dr Gunnar Mendoza.

46. The inscription was read by the author thus: p. 179
ESTA CAPILLA Y RETABLO HIZO EL P^{e} F J^{v} (Juan) VIZCAINO SIENDO PRIOR CAPELLAN AÑO 1614 ... RETABLO AÑO 1615 PINTOLO DON SEBASTIAN ACOSTOPA (that is, tupac) YNGA. Wethey's reading (312, note 7) differs.

47. The top of the centre part might be that early; the attic of the sides looks like work of 1660–5.

48. The Solomonic column became a general feature in Peru about 1675, about the same time as in Spain and Mexico. For earlier examples in these countries, see Note 23 to Chapter 8 and p. 167.

49. Some of the figure sculpture (angels, putti, and virtues) might copy Bitti's previous high altar. The mutilated high altar at Copacabana (1668–84) is more conservative, but stresses – like that of the Compañía at Cuzco – rectangular, *alfiz*-like shapes. The original appearance is more nearly shown in a painting on copper owned by Dr Alejandro E. Shaw at Buenos Aires.

p. 181 50. The centre section is often tripartite, usually with a porchlike niche reinforced by two columns. This arrangement is also often seen in Europe.

51. Imaginative eighteenth-century altars survive at Ayacucho, Trujillo, and Cajamarca. One at Trujillo Cathedral is free-standing, like the altars of Spain and Mexico. The high altar at Cajamarca Cathedral has lilting grace and originality in its decorative motifs, flaming flowers on the main orders, and feather-like crests. More interesting than the rebuilt altars at Sucre is a pulpit at San Miguel (*c.* 1680), resembling those at the cathedral and the Compañía of Cuzco but with caryatid *estípites* on the intermediate base below the niches, and also flanking the speaker's panel.

52. On sculpture and architectural sculpture in Bolivia see articles by H. E. Wethey in *A.I.A.A.*, III (1950), 7–14; *A.Q.*, XIV (1951), 283–306; *G.B.A.*, XXXIX (1952), 47–60, and XL (1952), 193–208; *A.A.F.*, III (1952), 126–36.

p. 182 53. J. L. Pagano, *El arte de los argentinos*, I (Buenos Aires, 1937); Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes, *Documentos de arte argentino*, 21 vols (Buenos Aires, 1939–46); L. A. Ribera–H. Schenone, *El arte de la imaginería en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1948).

CHAPTER 10

p. 183 1. Vasari states that King John II asked Lorenzo de' Medici for an Italian artist. Thus, early in 1491, Andrea Sansovino may have carried the Renaissance to Portugal, but there remains no evidence of a tradition established by him. According to Vasari, Sansovino stayed until 1500 (except for a conjectured visit to Italy in 1493–6). Of his Portuguese works listed by Vasari none survive. A tondo of the Virgin and Child of *c.* 1496–9, in the Lisbon Museum and perhaps by Sansovino, suggests in the *contrapposto* of the angels familiarity with Michelangelo's *Madonna of the Steps*. Justi (*Jahrbuch der Königl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, IX (1888), 234) attributed to Sansovino three glazed terracotta statues at Belem (two now in the Lisbon Museum), more placid than Sansovino's St Laurence altar at Monte San Savino. Of these, the *St Leonard* may possibly be by Sansovino, but the *Virgin and Child* is related to the style of Silvestro dell' Aquila (*c.* 1476–*c.* 1500), follower of Rossellino. See G. Battelli, *Andrea Sansovino e l'arte italiana della Renascenza in Portogallo* (Florence, 1936); H. Huntley, *Andrea Sansovino* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); E. Lavagnino, *Artisti italiani in Portogallo* (Rome, 1940); F. Bologna, *Sculture lignee nella Campania, Mostra* (Naples, 1950), 163.

2. Olivier de Gand in 1499 designed an altar in the San Eugenio Chapel of Toledo Cathedral.

3. R. dos Santos, *O Manuelino* (Lisbon, 1953). For works by Diogo Pires the younger and most of the Portuguese sculpture mentioned in this chapter, see general discussion and superb illustrations in R. dos Santos, *Escultura*.

4. Chanterene probably carved the effigy of Count Henrique (*c.* 1515) in Braga Cathedral, related to the Virgin above the effigy of Sancho I at Coimbra. The statue of Bishop Diogo de Sousa, also at Braga Cathedral, seems too crude for Chanterene. See T. de Carvalho, *Arte e Arqueologia*, I (1930–2), 10–28, 68–82, 142–56, for the literature on the French Renaissance carvers in Portugal. P. Vitry, *Bulletin des études portugaises*, Lisbon, II^{1} (January–May 1932), 1–33, is the most perceptive study on this subject.

5. Some details in the (restored) west portal are elegant and well composed, others coarse, as if the carvers had had difficulty in following the master's design. p. 184

6. Some of the pedestals, canopies, and ornamental parts and such niche figures as the superb Madonnas are in the Renaissance style, perhaps by Chanterene.

7. The hands are new. The effigies of Aires Gomes da Silva and Brites de Meneses at São Marcos near Coimbra (*c.* 1522) may have been carved by Chanterene to judge by their style. Otherwise their monuments may be by Diogo Pires the younger, mentioned at São Marcos in 1522.

p. 184 8. In 1531 the three central niches were put in. It is not clear when and by whom the Virgin and the two prophets were made. The Virgin (by Chanterene?) is a prototype for those by Ruão (Plate 96A). The author of the statues on the façade of Santa Cruz, presumably Chanterene, carved the excellent lateral altar of St Peter, in the Old Cathedral. Free-standing orders, emphasis on movement, space, and perspective anticipate the Sintra altar. Scroll brackets, canopy turrets, baluster colonnettes of oval section, all in splayed perspective, are as worthy of Chanterene as the free *contrapposto* of the statues and the spacious, dramatic composition of the reliefs. The side parts are topped by figures leaning over balconies, a perspective illusion typical of Chanterene. Another masterpiece by him is the graceful *Virgin of the Annunciation* in the Coimbra Museum. All these works are of limestone from Ança near Coimbra, so easily cut that Coimbra became Portugal's lapidary centre.

9. In the Pinheiro monument, St John Baptist stands on a dragon like the one in the socket of the pulpit of Santa Cruz. The top finial of the monument recalls the candelabra above St Augustine in the pulpit. Loguin (p. 185) might have had a subordinate hand in this monument, which shows greater harmony and restraint than the pulpit. He also may have designed the attic of the Silveira monument with its spandrel medallions and nude female figures with fish-tails.

10. This monument set a precedent in Portugal. Compared to the hodge-podge of the monuments at Santa Cruz, those at Óbidos and Tomar are of unified conception. From the monument at Tomar derives the portal of the Convento da Conceição at Portalegre (1538).

11. Here the same supports were employed. One may credit Chanterene with the over-all design (markedly splayed and related to the altar of St Peter; Note 8 *supra*), the kneeling effigy, and the magnificent relief of the Assumption. The Gois monument is more Mannerist than the Óbidos monument in that it emphasizes the sides through a projecting and receding top cornice and in the attic small niches in the form of temples, and by the high, narrow attic window splayed with convincing perspective.

The main altar of São Marcos near Coimbra has been dated 1522 and attributed to Chanterene (*Arte e Arqueologia*, I (1930–2), 144–6). The supports recall those of the Gois monument, but the execution seems later and by a rustic imitator, incompetent in the composition of scenes and the design of figures, including the predella.

12. The monument to Bishop Jorge de Melo in Nossa Senhora da Conceição at Portalegre seems weak for Chanterene, but may be designed by a follower; the niche figures seem by a pupil of João de Ruão.

13. Chanterene probably designed the top-heavy, well-proportioned Mannerist chimney at Sintra Palace, resting on *estípite* herms and displaying a spirited equestrian combat against a background of fruit garlands, swags, and trophies. p. 185

14. Columns from the refectory of São Paraízo (1533), now in the Évora Museum, are too mean in proportion to have been designed by Chanterene. Below *zapata*-like capitals, grotesque human-headed animals mark the corners. In the shaft, a fluted column is tied into a rectangular pier. At Trofa de Vouga, half-way between Coimbra and Oporto, four monuments were ordered before 1537 by Duarte de Lemos, rival of Albuquerque in the conquest of India and South America. The kneeling statue of the founder is even better than Silveira's at Gois and also probably by Chanterene. R. dos Santos (*Escultura*) believes it to be by Hodart. The design in general recalls Tuscan art. It is more classical than the Gois monument, as witnessed by the triangular pediments, the sober double columns (as at Sintra), and the pilasters. Other structural elements compare with Chanterene's Costa monument at Évora. Except for effigy and design, the execution might largely be by Loguin.

15. Also spelled Locin, Loquin, Luquin, Luchin.

16. See V. Correia, *Obras*, III (Coimbra, 1953), 85.

17. T. de Carvalho, note 4 *supra*. The pulpit is usually attributed to Ruão or to Chanterene. Simpler contemporary pulpits are at São Marcos near Coimbra and at Santa Cruz, Santarém. The movement of bodies in the pulpit of Santa Cruz, the reliefs in the Silêncio cloister, and the relief altars from the Manga cloister (now in the Coimbra Museum) seems to surpass Ruão's efforts in this respect. The badly mutilated Manga altars differ stylistically from Ruão's Virgins (Plate 96A), although in 1533–4 Ruão was paid a fairly large amount for work in the turret chapels of the Manga cloister, presumably for these altars. In 1541, a canon of Santa Cruz wrote that Ruão 'and

other great masters' made them. These statements can be reconciled with the style by assuming that the work was farmed out by Ruão to others, especially Loguin. See V. Correia, *Arte e Arqueologia*, I (1930–2), 110–11. The Manga altars anticipate in small size and understanding of anatomy the relief of St Jerome of *c.* 1544 in the Vilhena mansion at São Silvestre near Coimbra, with two other small figures by the same hand. All resemble the Cordova altar (p. 186).

p. 186 18. An altar of Our Lady of Mercy and a figure of St Roch of *c.* 1531, both in Varziela near Cantanhede, I have not seen. The attribution to Loguin, advanced by Luis Reis Santos, seems sound, since they appear to be by the maker of the pulpit of Santa Cruz. Loguin's characterization is always less profound and individualized than Chanterene's. The thin folds and the clouds anticipate the Cordova altar (Plate 95B).

19. The ceiling recalls the vaults of the chapels in the Silêncio cloister at Santa Cruz, attributed to Loguin.

20. By Loguin may be the portal to the chapel, derived from the Pinheiro monument, as well as the window and the main portal, dated 1536, with an attic as at Portalegre and in the relief of the Virgin at São Silvestre. The trapezoidal attic (with curving sides loaded by animals or figures) topped by mouldings and finally a semicircle, is shaped as in Chanterene's monument to Alonso de Portugal.

21. Don Rafael Aguilar generously acquainted me with the receipt of payment.

22. Related to Loguin are the portals at Arronches, and at Santa Magdalena in the now Spanish town of Olivenza (see Chueca, *Arquitectura*).

23. V. Correia, *Obras*, III, 102–13; D. de Macedo, *Phelippe Hodart* (Lisbon, 1956).

24. P. Q. Garcia, *João de Ruão* (Coimbra, 1913); V. Correia, *Arte e Arqueologia*, I (1930–2), 192–206; *idem*, *B.A.N.B.A.*, IX (1941), 16–19; R. dos Santos, *Escultura*, 35–45. Many attributions to Ruão await further research.

p. 187 25. His brother-in-law was Cristóvão de Figueiredo, whose partner Garcia Fernandes may be called the João de Ruão of Portuguese painting.

26. After 1540, sculpture at Coimbra became increasingly conventional, cf. the tomb of João Gomes da Silva of 1559 (not 1555) and the Chapel of the Magi (1566), both at São Marcos, probably under the direction of Ruão, who seems responsible for the *Assumption* relief. Antwerp ornament is copied on flat walls. In the main relief of Ruão's mutilated altar of the Assumption in São Domingos (1558–65; now a garage), three verticals hover unrelated over a horizontal. Calmness and order, though not quality, recall the Italian Quattrocento. Here, as at the Colégio de São Tomás (1547) and at Ruão's altar at Cantanhede (*c.* 1554), heavy Corinthian columns and multiple arches were used.

27. By Tomé Velho are the sculpture and possibly the design of the altar of the Holy Sacrament at the Old Cathedral (1566) and the São Teotonio altar (1582) in Santa Cruz. To Tomé Velho one can confidently attribute four relief busts of Dominican saints with typical prominent cheek bones and set in Antwerp cartouches (Coimbra Museum, from Colégio de São Tomás) and a *Via Crucis* (Museum, from Graça church), heavy as Imperial Roman statuary. The altar of the Sacrament has a stone tabernacle shaped like a precious turreted temple, as in many contemporary Portuguese altars.

28. E.g. in the predella of Ruão's altar at São Domingos; the two portals from Santa Ana (1600–10), built into São João d'Almedina; and at São Marcos. Antwerp roll- and strap-work with grotesques came to Portugal not only through Flemish prints and paintings but also through the books printed at Lisbon in 1554–63 by João Blavio of Cologne, and at Coimbra in 1556–99 by the Portuguese António de Mariz, who received all Plantin's books and became Portugal's foremost publisher with over ninety imprints. He was printer to the king, the university, and the archbishop. p. 188

29. A relative of Vasco de la Zarza? (Note 5 to Chapter 7).

30. See Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter*, I, plate 158².

31. Though, particularly around 1635, strong natural movement is favoured, I do not follow E. d'Ors (*Lo Barroco*, Madrid, n.d.), who calls Baroque such anti-classical or irregular styles as the Manueline, Mannerism, or the Rococo, nor would I insist on the anti-classicism of Baroque forms. On the contrary, their classicism, i.e. balance, harmony, and unity of forces, should be stressed. For instance, an altar of 1643 at Lamego (*B.A.*, no. 2 (1950), 40, figure 8) is Baroque precisely because of its classicism, a marked preponderance of the centre and subordination of details and the sides to the whole, even though some of the details were taken over by

the Baroque from Mannerism. See the illuminating paper by N. Pevsner, 'The Architecture of Mannerism', *The Mint* (1946), 116–38, with bibliography.

p. 188 32. Pevsner, *loc. cit.*, 131.

33. Two altar designs of 1656, one with voluted, broken pediments (R. dos Santos, *B.A.*, no. 2 (1950), 64–5), lag twenty years behind comparable structures in Spain.

p. 189 34. A. de Lacerda, in *Historia de Portugal*, VI (Barcelos, 1934), 606; Marqués de Lozoya, *A.E.A.*, XIV (1941), 127–8.

35. None of the wooden altars survive which were erected between 1450 and 1550 to accommodate the still extant panels by Nuno Gonçalves, Jorge Afonso, Francisco Henriques, the Sardoal Master, Gregório Lopes, Garcia Fernandes, etc. Presumably their architectural importance was slight. Until 1580, Portuguese altar design was ruled by Italo-French tradition, imported by Chanterene, Loguin, and Ruão, and the preferred material was stone. After the change of dynasty, wooden altars with paintings instead of sculpture were favoured exactly as in Spain.

36. For a thorough discussion of the Portuguese altars mentioned in the text, see two excellent articles: R. C. Smith, *B.A.*, no. 2 (1950), 14–56; G. Bazin, *ibid.*, no. 5 (1953), 3–28. L. Costa, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 5 (1941), 43–76, made the first basic study. I am following Smith's exposé, and am deriving the Brazilian material from G. Bazin's monumental, masterly *L'architecture religieuse Baroque au Brésil* (São Paulo and Paris, 1956), I (text). On the Solomonic column, see Note 23 to Chapter 8; also Smith, 25 and note 57; Bazin, *L'architecture*, I, 239.

37. Lisbon Museum, drawing no. 662. The second plan, of 1590, for the church of São Sebastião e São Vicente, as it was then called, does not show this altar.

38. An excellent design for a funeral monument (Lisbon Museum, drawing no. 380) by Venegas's colleague, the painter António Campelo (*c.* 1590–1600), underlines the Baroque expansiveness and realism reached by designers at Lisbon in the late sixteenth century.

39. See Costa, figure IVa, for similar forms in Brazil, particularly from the Jesuit College, now in the Misericórdia, Rio de Janeiro.

p. 190 40. Called by Smith (*op. cit.*, 49–51) pseudo-Solomonic columns.

41. Bazin, *B.A.*, figures 18–26.

42. Smith, *op. cit.*, 26.

43. R. C. Smith, *G.B.A.*, XLIV (October 1954), p. 191
163–90, an excellent paper. Eighteenth-century art is there called a Baroque renewal of the Manueline after the long interval of negative Mannerist practices, whereas I stress its anti-Baroque Neo-Mannerism.

44. Felix Adausto, who came to Lisbon perhaps from the Basque town of Deusto (Guipúzcoa), carved in 1725–6 four Evangelists for niches of the apse of São Miguel de Alfama. They fall outside the scope of Portuguese art and point to the Spanish origin of the sculptor. Rhythm rather than form is evoked by their small heads, long, tense necks, and absence of any suggestion of a body. Excited angular draperies crystallize in regular bunches of sharp, regular folds. See R. dos Santos, *Escultura*.

45. A. de Carvalho, *A Escultura em Mafra*, 2nd ed. (Mafra, 1956); R. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600–1750* (London, 1958).

46. A lively *Angel* from Ouro Preto, in the Museo Histórico Nacional at Rio de Janeiro, combines forms of the Aveiro and the Lisbon candle-bearers. The hair is dynamically modelled and the face expressive.

47. Smith, *op. cit.*, 28 and 50. p. 192

48. Altars at Paulistas, Nossa Senhora da Pena, and at Comendadoras de Avis. This Lisbon style, as expressed in São Miguel de Alfama, where he had worked in 1723–5, was taken by Manuel de Brito to Rio. His church of the Third Order at Rio (1726–9), built with F. X. de Brito, set a widely imitated example of a decorative, orderly Southern Joanine style, in contrast to the exuberant and fantastic Joanine style of the North (Oporto and Aveiro, as well as Bahia and Pernambuco).

49. Smith, *op. cit.*, 28–30.

50. Smith, *op. cit.*, 40.

51. Another Mannerist revival, popular in p. 193
Andean churches and found in Portugal, is the ornamental vertical side fringe with masks, heads, and fantastic animals, birds, or fish.

52. See, for instance, the diary of P. F. Ramponi, published by C. de Azevedo, in *Garcia de Orta, India Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1956).

53. Rococo are the outstanding eighteenth-century choir stalls in the Cistercian nunnery of Lorvão (Coimbra District). Carved *c.* 1750–60 of tropical woods, their most original feature is the

bracketed pilasters (*quartelões*) and the corresponding bulging parts of the entablature. Chair backs have undulant conch outlines of two alternating shapes. Minuscule decoration like relief embroidery is applied to flat plain fields. One senses the approaching regularity of Neo-Classicism. See *Inventário artístico de Portugal, Distrito de Coimbra* (Lisbon, 1953), 198.

p. 194 54. See Carvalho, Note 45 *supra*.

55. D. de Macedo, *Machado de Castro* (Lisbon, 1957). Castro founded in Lisbon the Casa da Escultura das Obras Públicas, was in charge of all royal work of sculpture, and later helped to direct the Academy for the Drawing of the Nude.

56. M. J. de Mendonça, *B.M.N.A.A.*, III, no. 1 (1955), 22–9. Outstanding are a Berruguetesque *St Mark* (Inventory no. 72), a *St Jerome* (?) anticipating G. Lachaise (Inv. 580), and a *Christ* (Inv. 78). Numerous other contemporary sculptors excelled in clay. António Ferreira (born before 1731–d. *c.* 1795) is fluid and elegant though down-to-earth in his figurines for *presepi*. Joaquim José de Barros Laborão (1762–1820) likewise made such scenes, but also large allegorical statues (Ajuda Palace), royal portraits, and an exquisite light-hearted relief in clay, representing the Victory of the Arts (Lisbon, Museum).

57. R. M. F. de Andrade, 'Contribução para o Estudo da Obra do Aleijadinho', *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 2 (1938), 255–97, is the basic study of Aleijadinho's life.

58. These physical handicaps were easier to bear than social ones. He was ineligible for the artists' religious brotherhood and had to join one for mulattoes. Often commissions planned and carried out by him were nominally assigned to others on whose payroll he was entered as a labourer.

59. Excellent understanding of the Aleijadinho p. 195 group is given by J. de Sousa Reis, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 3 (1939), 207–26; also by Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, 252–5.

60. Such a transition can be seen in São Francisco at Ouro Preto, in the *Trinity* above an *Immaculate Conception*. Two angels kneel on the curved, broken pediment.

NOTES TO PART THREE

CHAPTER II

p. 199 1. See F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Pintores de cámara* (Madrid, 1916); *idem, Los Retratos de los reyes de España* (Madrid, 1948), for reproductions of royal portraits; E. Tormo, *En las Descalzas Reales*, 2 vols (Madrid, 1917, 1944).

2. P. Johansen, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LXI (1940), 17 ff. Melchor Alemán, Antonie Claessens, and Juan Flamenco worked at the court besides Sithium, but it is not known whether they painted portraits.

3. This chapter is based, as every study of sixteenth-century Spanish painting must be, on the investigations of Chandler R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, IX–XI (Cambridge, Mass., 1947–53), and Diego Angulo, *Pintura del Renacimiento* (Madrid, 1954), quoted as 'Post' and 'Angulo'.

4. The distribution of work between these artists was investigated by C. Justi, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVI (1893), 1–10; *idem, Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischer Kunst*, II (Berlin, 1908), 135–49; E. Bertaux, *G.B.A.*, II (1907), 103–30; I (1908), 344–50; and Post, XI, 186–207. The American scholar sagaciously explained which panels should be attributed to whom, certain compartments being done in collaboration.

5. Post cited as precedents Leonardo and Pier di Cosimo.

6. This recurs in other works by Yáñez, such as p. 200 the *St Catherine* at the Prado.

7. Angulo, *Alejo Fernández* (Seville, 1946); Post, X, 8–93.

8. Post, IX, 162–234; Angulo, *Juan de Borgoña* (Madrid, 1954); Post, *G.B.A.*, XLVIII (December 1956), 129–42.

9. Post, XI, 48–82; M. González Martí, *Joanes* p. 201 (Barcelona, 1926); A. Igual Úbeda, *Juan de Juanes* (Barcelona, 1943).

10. *Francisco Ribalta and his School* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 13.

11. Post, IX, 302–38. p. 202

12. *Officina ferrarese* (Rome, 1934); *Paragone*, IV, no. 43 (1953), 3–15; F. Zeri, *Paragone*, IV, no. 43 (1953), 49–51.

p. 202 13. R. Longhi, *Paragone*, IV, no. 43 (1953), 3–15. By Machuca, as Post, X, 259–73, recognized, is the triptych formerly in the Valenzuela Collection.

p. 203 14. Angulo, *Pedro de Campaña* (Seville, 1951); F. Bologna, *Paragone*, IV, no. 43 (1953), 27–49.

15. See Note 3 above; also J. Hernández Díaz, in Thieme-Becker, XXXII (1938), 253.

p. 204 16. V. de Sambricio, *U.V.*, VII (1940), 131; R. Robres and V. Castell, *Boletín Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, XXI (1945), 36–48; A. Rodríguez Moñino, *Los pintores badajoceños del siglo XVI* (Badajoz, 1956), 51–138.

17. Compare Morales's *St Jerome* and Sturmio's predella of *St Sebastian, St John, and St Jerome*. An *Ecce Homo* owned by Dr Alejandro E. Shaw at Buenos Aires, and a *Christ carrying the Cross* in the Louvre are attributed to Morales, but seem to be by Sturmio.

18. E. du Gué Trapier, *Luis de Morales and Leonardesque influences in Spain* (New York, 1953).

p. 205 19. *Arte de la pintura* (1649), in Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, II, 163.

20. In *Spanien und Portugal, Handbuch für Reisende*, LXXVIII (Karl Baedeker, Leipzig, 1920), and in *Diego Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert*, I, 3rd ed. (Bonn, 1922), 54, Justi speaks of Morales's 'entsetzliche Vampyrgestalten'.

p. 206 21. M. Jenkins, *The State Portrait. Its origin and evolution* (New York, 1947).

22. G. Lohmann Villena, *A.E.A.*, no. 91 (1950), 159.

23. F. de B. de San Román, *Alonso Sánchez Coello* (Lisbon, 1938); J. Moreno Villa, *A.E.A.*, XII (1936), 261–2, 265–6.

24. Princess Juana, *c.* 1552–4; Archduke Rudolph (later Emperor Rudolph II), signed and dated 1567; his brother Archduke Ernest, aged 15, thus 1567 or 1568; and a double portrait of the Infantas Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela, 1571. Isabella lived from 1566 to 1633 and Catalina from 1567 to 1597. The year 1571 is inscribed on the canvas and corresponds to the ages (5 and 4) of the sitters. (A later inscription on the picture gives their ages as 11 and 10.) Sánchez Coello's version at the Prado differs in every detail, except for the general placement. The girls' ages, perhaps 7 and 6, date the Prado picture about 1573. The Prado catalogue errs in calling the Buckingham Palace picture (which is of 1571) a repetition. The different technique may be explained by a change in Sánchez Coello's style, rather than by attributing the Buckingham Palace painting to Mor. Excellent replicas of the portraits of the two Archdukes, together with portraits of their preceptor, the Austrian Ambassador at Madrid, Adam von Dietrichstein (1527–90), and of his wife Margarita de Cardona, all probably painted in 1585, were acquired for his museum at the Princess Dietrichstein sale (1948 in Buenos Aires) by Don Luis I. Aquino, Director of the Museo de Arte Hispano Americano, Buenos Aires. These four paintings, almost good enough to be by Sánchez Coello, seem to be by Pantoja de la Cruz.

25. So are Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, 1579, and Queen Anne of Austria, *c.* 1575–80 (Prado, nos 1137 and 1284), both also by Sánchez Coello, as are nos 1140 and 1142. Coello's religious paintings, especially the *St Vincent* (*c.* 1581, Escorial), make it certain that the master painted Antonio Pérez (Barcelona, Reig). I attribute to him four hitherto anonymous portraits: A Gentleman (Madrid, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, no. 49), 'Diego Hurtado de Mendoza', A Man aged 54 (Prado, nos 295 and 528) and a Gentleman (The Hague, Bredius Museum, published in *B.M.*, September 1927). Also by Sánchez Coello are Princess Juana (Brussels), an Unknown Young Lady (Prado, no. 1140; another, Seville, Dowager Duchess of Infantado), a Princess (Sale at R. Lepke, Berlin, 7 February 1911, lot 86) and Miniature of Elizabeth of Valois (Paris, Fleurville). One of his best femine portraits, the Infanta Catalina Micaela (Prado, no. 1040), was listed in 1920 as a school piece and is deposited in the Escorial Monastery, while no. 1139 (inexplicably said to be by an 'Italian hand') is only partly by the master, partly by his studio, and partly restored. The so-called Self Portrait (Prado, no. 2511) has nothing to do with Coello.

p. 207 26. The date reads to the naked eye '1539', which is stylistically impossible. An X-ray shadowgraph revealed the '3' to be written over a '7' or '8'. If it were a '7', thus reading '1579', the painting could be by Sánchez Coello, whose style it approximates. The features seem to rule out the possibility that the sitter is Catalina Micaela, aged twelve in 1579.

27. On Pantoja, see (G. Martínez Sierra) *Juan Pantoja de la Cruz* (Madrid, n.d., 1921(?)); R. de Aguirre, *B.S.E.E.*, XXX (1922), 17–22, 270–4; J. Agapito Revilla, *ibid.*, 81–7.

28. The best versions are at Vienna (*c.* 1592–4); Hampton Court Palace (1605; appraised at 1600 ducats when sent to the English king in 1606); a

replica (Prado, no. 2562) of 1606; Escorial; Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Museum, erroneously as 'Circle of Pourbus'.

29. Other versions, signed and dated: Prado, no. 2563 (1606); Prado, no. 1032 (1607).

30. Documented as Pantoja in *Memoria de los retratos que se han hecho para la casa real del Pardo*, nos 28, 24, and 121 (published by R. de Aguirre, *B.S.E.E.*, xxxi (1923), 201–5) are these works: Archduke Ernest (New York, Hispanic Society, as Rudolph II); Philibert of Savoy as Grand Prior of the Order of St John (London, private collection, as Archduke Wenceslas); Queen Anne, fourth wife of Philip II (London, private collection). By Pantoja, copying Frans Pourbus the younger, I believe to be the portrait of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia with her Dwarf (Madrid, Descalzas Reales, *c.* 1600). An autograph replica at Hampton Court Palace was attributed to Holbein, Van Dyck, Pourbus, and Otto van Veen. A documented work by Pantoja is the little Infanta Maria in her coffin wearing the habit of the Conceptionist Order (Madrid, Descalzas Reales). She died in 1603, one month old. Three paintings by Pantoja of Infanta Ana Mauricia (1601–66, later queen of Louis XIII of France), are at the Descalzas Reales (1602); Vienna (1604); and Baltimore (*c.* 1606; there as Infanta Isabella by Sánchez Coello).

p. 208 31. Post, lecture notes.

32. J. Zarco Cuevas, *Pintores españoles en San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1931), 40.

33. J. Zarco Cuevas, *Pintores italianos en San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1932).

34. By Cincinnato is the *St Joseph and the Christ Child* at Barnard Castle (no. 836).

35. Compare Tibaldi's *Crucifixion* and Carducho's *Descent from the Cross* (Prado).

p. 209 36. See J. Hernández Diaz, in Thieme-Becker, xxvi (1932), 400.

37. Post, *Norfolk Museum Papers, Number One* (1953).

38. Mayer, *Pintura española*, 250. On Blas del Prado, identified with Blas de Ledesma as still-life painter, see Cavestany, *A.E.*, xiv (1943), 16; Charles Sterling, *La nature morte* (Paris, 1952).

39. As quoted in V. Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura* (Madrid, 1633), ed. 1866, 375.

p. 210 40. In later versions the soldier at the right on Plate 105A became a page and the Negro Magus an assistant to Balthasar. The composition, the main figures, column, camels, horses, trees, and clouds are typical of Mois. Among his unpublished works are an *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Pédrola, Duke of Villahermosa); *St John the Baptist* (Barcelona, art market); a sketch for the Tafalla *Assumption* (Madrid, Valls); and the *Epiphany* (Barbastro Cathedral). The Nativity Altar at Saragossa Cathedral seems to come from Mois's workshop.

41. H. Soehner 'Der Stand der Greco Forschung', *Z.f.K.*, xix, no. 1 (1956), 47–65; *idem*, 'Greco Bibliographie 1939–1955', *ibid.*, 65–71.

42. *Art Studies*, viii, part 1 (1930).

43. R. Pallucchini, *Un polittico del Greco nella R. Galleria Estense*, R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte (Rome, 1937). p. 211

44. A foundation of a noble Portuguese lady who had accompanied her princess Doña Isabel, wife of Charles V, to Spain and who had died in 1575. The money came from her estate and from her executor Don Diego de Castilla, Dean of Toledo. p. 212

45. M. B. Cossío, *El Greco* (Madrid, 1908), 129, still a basic study.

46. *Trattato dell' arte della pittura* (Milan, 1584).

47. Fray F. de los Santos, *Descripción de San Lorenzo del Escorial* (Madrid, 1657), Discurso VII, fol. 141; A. Blunt, *Warburg Journal*, iii (1939/40), 58 ff. These two panels are first listed in the collection of the heirs of Philip IV's minister the Count-Duke Olivares and were from 1688 until the early nineteenth century owned by the Dukes of Alba. Greco derived the *Adoration* in part from his *Last Judgement* (Modena; another version in a private collection at München-Gladbach, Rhineland). p. 213

48. Ch. Zervos, *Les œuvres du Greco en Espagne* (Paris, 1939), 39.

49. *Annunciation* (now Villanueva y Geltrú, near Barcelona); *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Rumanian State Collections); *Baptism of Christ* (Prado). p. 217

50. The great commissions of his later years are for the Hospital of Charity at Illescas (1603–4), *The Virgin of Charity* with a portrait of Greco's son Jorge Manuel, *St Ildefons at his Desk*, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, *The Nativity*, and *The Annunciation*, all recently cleaned); a series of small size, about 1606, in Greco's possession when he died (*Annunciation*, Lugano, Thyssen Collection; *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Baptism of Christ*, both Rome, Palazzo Barberini; *Immaculate Conception*, formerly Cudillero, Asturias, Selgas Collection);

Crucifixion (1606, for the chapel of the Úbedas in the church of San Ginés at Toledo, now in the Prado); another series for the Colegio de Doña María of Aragón (1608–10, *Resurrection*, *Pentecost*, both Prado); the altar for the chapel of Doña Isabel de Oballe, at San Vicente in Toledo (1608–10, *Immaculate Conception*).

p. 217 51. See Note 46 above.

p. 218 52. Soria, *A.B.*, xxx (1948), 251. Blocklandt, neglected by scholarship, was a pupil of Frans Floris in Antwerp and a student of Parmigianino's work in Italy. He established the Late Mannerist style in Catholic Utrecht and became the teacher of Bloemaert, Wtewael, Miereveld, and others.

CHAPTER 12

p. 220 1. Their key role was noted by R. Longhi in a basic paper, in *Vita artistica*, ii (January 1927), Spanish translation by J. Milicua, *A.B.B.*, ix (1951), 105–29.

p. 221 2. One published by Sra. M. L. Caturla, *U.V.*, x (1943–4), 99–102. Five pictures by Borgianni were in the Angel Custodio at Granada (lost in 1810). A copy of his *St Christopher* is at San Vicente, Seville.

3. J. Ainaud, *A.B.B.*, v, nos 3–4 (1947), 364–96; *idem.*, *Goya*, no. 20 (1957). See Longhi (Note 1, above) for the ways in which the Italian Baroque reached Spain.

4. *F.B.*, 70, 134–8; Soria, *A.Q.* (Summer 1945), 225–30; Angulo, *A.E.A.*, no. 78 (1947), 146–7; E. Orozco Díaz, *Goya*, no. 1 (July–August 1954), 19–28.

p. 222 5. Five typical scenes from Genesis at Lisbon, one falsely signed Bassano, were at the author's suggestion returned to Orrente. On Orrente, see E. Lafuente Ferrari, *A.E.A.*, no. 48 (1941), 503–16.

p. 223 6. *National Gallery Catalogues, The Spanish School* (1952), 51.

p. 224 7. See Note 1 above. Numerous other paintings by Tristán survive, favourite subjects being the Nativity, Epiphany, and Crucifixion. See D. F. Darby in Thieme-Becker, xxxiii (1938), 410; Angulo, *A.E.A.*, no. 116 (1956), 265–73.

8. A. Palomino, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*, (Madrid, 1715–24), edition Aguilar (Madrid, 1947), 867 and 894.

p. 225 9. Toledo, cathedral and Museo de Santa Cruz; Prado, no. 1276; Museo Cerralbo; and *Gregorio Fernández de Liebana*, President of the Council of Castile (Salamanca, Old Cathedral, as anonymous). Also probably *Diego Messía de Ovando* (Madrid, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, no. 27).

10. Among Mayno's most important works, besides his frescoes there, are four paintings of 1612 for the main altar of the Dominican convent of San Pedro Mártir at Toledo (*The Epiphany*, now in the Prado; *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Resurrection*, at Villanueva y Geltrú; *Pentecost*, in the Toledo Museum). See E. Harris, *R.E.A.*, xii (December 1935), 333 ff.

11. To González I also attribute *Christ embracing St Bernard*, in the Sacramento Church at Madrid.

12. Of these documented portraits (see *Memoria* in *A.E.A.*, xiii (1937)), at least the following exist: no. 15, Infanta Margarita (1616, Nürnberg, Germanisches Museum); no. 16, Queen Margarita (1609, Prado, no. 716); 39–41, 43–44, 46–50, all representing Austrian Archdukes and Archduchesses (Prado); 56–7, Philip III and Queen Margarita (1615, Madrid, Encarnación); 58, Isabel of Bourbon (Brussels); 62 or 71, Philip IV as Prince (New York, Hispanic Society); 64 or 73, Infante Carlos (Madrid, dealer in 1923); 65 or 74, Infante Ferdinand (New York, French and Co.); 66 or 75, Infanta Margarita (New York, French and Co.); 68 or 69, Infanta Margarita in her Coffin (1617, Madrid, Descalzas Reales); 79–80, Philip III and Queen (1621, Madrid, Palace); 84, Infante Carlos (Madrid, Encarnación); 86–7, Cardinal Ferdinand and Infanta Margarita (posthumous; 1621, Madrid, Count de Viana); 88, Infante Alonso (1621, London, Earl of Clarendon). p. 226

13. By comparison with González's renderings of Queen Margarita (Prado, no. 716, signed in 1609; Burgos, Hospital del Rey), it seems evident that he, not Pantoja, portrayed the queen at Chicago (*c.* 1609). González also painted Infanta Ana Mauricia (*c.* 1613, in Spanish costume, Toledo, Duchess of Lerma; signed and dated 1621, in French costume, Madrid, Count de la Oliva de Gaytán). The latter picture is described in the *Memoria*, no. 85: 'Ana Mauricia, dress of white cloth, embroidered edges with diamonds, cross at neck, pearl string, French style dress, one hand at neck, the other at skirt, crimson velvet curtain, landscape, tiled floor, jasper tiles, dog on floor, 2½ × 1½ varas', i.e. 210 by 126 cm. Ana Mauricia was from 1615 in France. The style is that of Pourbus, active at Paris since 1610. González copied here a (lost) picture sent from Paris. Manifestly of

the same sitter, Ana Mauricia, and with the same dog, is Pourbus's painting in the Prado, no. 1625, wrongly as 'Isabel of Bourbon'. It had been correctly identified until 1919. The Queen of France is shown in mourning over the death of her father, Philip III, on 31 March 1621.

14. By Villandrando is *An Elderly Knight* (Madrid, Duke of Montellano Collection; see Sentenach, *La pintura en Madrid* (Madrid, 1907), 50. I attribute to him Infante Carlos and Infante Ferdinand (both Madrid, Encarnación); Philip IV and his Queen (both Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, nos 14 and 15); Diego de Portugal y Silva, 1626, and a Court Lady (both Madrid, Duke of Almazán).

p. 227 15. Excellent are his later paintings at the Bernardas, Jaén, 1634; two in the altar at Getafe near Madrid, 1639; *Angels with St Diego of Alcalá*, 1640, at the Archivo of Alcalá.

16. Nardi's *Martyrdom of St Lawrence* (Alcalá, Bernardas) is influenced by the versions painted by Titian *c.* 1565 (Escorial) and Cambiaso, before 1581. Nardi increases the *tenebroso* contrast and emphasizes the foreground. Thus he is more Baroque.

17. To Zambrano I tentatively attribute *Lamentation over a Saint* (Seville, Cathedral, Sacristía de Cálices, as anonymous); two Martyrdoms (Jerez, Pérez de Asensio Collection, as by Navarrete); *Chaste Susan* (Villandry, Carvallo Collection, as anonymous); and Martyrdoms of Apostles (Madrid, Academy). His contemporary at Cordova, Juan de Peñalosa (*c.* 1580–*c.* 1636), was a Late Mannerist follower of Céspedes, as seen in his *Assumption* (1612, Cordova), *St Barbara* (Cordova Cathedral), and Martyrdoms of Apostles (Cemetery Chapel).

18. Compare Nardi's *Conception* of 1620 at the Bernardas in Alcalá, and Pereda's of the 1630s.

19. Note 10 to Chapter 11. From 1580 on, Juan Zariñena, a contemporary of Pacheco but a better painter, headed the Valencian school, a rank he deservedly enjoyed until *c.* 1610. See his Triptych (Valencia, Diputación).

20. C. G. Espresati's *Ribalta* (Barcelona, 1948) contains among 130 attributed works a bare 30 that may be authentic. See J. M. Madurell Marimón, *A.B.B.*. v (1947), 9–31; J. Ainaud, *ibid.*, 345–55; *idem*, *Goya*, no. 20 (1957).

21. The Algemesí *Last Supper* derives types and a certain largeness from Carducho's painting (Prado); the *Vision of St Francis* recalls the order and humility of Carducho.

22. Ribalta's *St John* and *St Matthew* of *c.* 1620 in the Prado, his other paintings there, and his *Evangelists* of *c.* 1627 at Valencia seem influenced by Greco.

23. F. Ribalta's other pupils, including Gregorio p. 228
Castañeda, V. Castello, G. Bauzá, and P. Porta, have been sorted out (not always convincingly especially as concerns Bauzá) by Mrs Darby (Note 10 to Chapter 11). It is more than doubtful that Ribera was among them. He had left for Italy before Ribalta developed a fully Baroque style.

24. See the list in Thieme-Becker, XXIV (1940), 146–7; M. Ferrand Bonilla, 'Alonso Vázquez', *Anales de la Universidad Hispalense*, XII, no. 1 (1951). By Vázquez are the *Virgen del Pozo* (Seville Cathedral, Sacristía de los Cálices) and a *Purísima* (Seville, no. 267), both as anonymous.

25. Gestoso, *Catálogo, pinturas y esculturas, Museo Provincial de Sevilla* (1912), no. 120, illustrated on p. 49 erroneously as by Pacheco. Vázquez painted ten scenes and Pacheco four (Alcázar, 1810). Only five survive.

26. Gestoso, no. 143, illustrated on p. 53, erroneously as by Roelas.

27. Angulo, 319.

28. On Pacheco, see A. L. Mayer, *Sevillaner Malerschule* (Leipzig, 1911), 90–101, noting however that the artist did not study in Flanders and that the *Annunciation* at Seville University Chapel is documented as by Mohedano. Miss Anita Martin is preparing a monograph on Pacheco.

29. Pacheco's text should be used in the manuscript version, finished in 1638 and published by F. J. Sánchez Cantón (2 vols, Madrid, 1956).

30. See Angulo, *A.E.Z.*, no. 92 (1952), 354, for a p. 229
contrary instance.

31. This predella painting recalls the Venetians in p. 231
format. In mood it might be compared to Veronese's *Pietà with St Mark, St James, and St Jerome*, of about 1584 (Venice, S. Giuliano). One of his best works, never reproduced, is the main altar of San Isidro at Seville (1613), a Baroque creation anticipating Zurbarán. See J. Hernández Díaz, Thieme-Becker, XXIX (1935), 169.

32. To Giuseppe Cesari, the Cavaliere d'Arpino, are now given several *Conceptions* (Dresden; Seville; Madrid, Academy) formerly attributed to Roelas. The *Moses* (Prado, no. 1134, as anonymous) was recognized by Longhi years ago as a work by Assereto. By a follower of Zurbarán, about 1640, are the four miserable scenes from the life of the

Virgin at the Colegiata of Olivares, which Ceán attributed to Roelas. The *St Francis Borgia* (Seville) is by Roelas, not Zurbarán.

p. 231 33. *A.B.*, XIX (1937), 325–80.

34. For Herrera's drawings, see F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Dibujos españoles*, III (1930), nos CCIII–CCX; E. du Gué Trapier, *N.H.*, I (1941), 16, 17, 19–21; *ibid.*, II (1942), 3–7.

35. The nude recalls Zurbarán's Hercules series, done one year earlier.

p. 232 36. Mentioned by Ponz, IX, letter IV, 7 (ed. 1947, p. 793) at Santa Inés, Seville, as a Holy Family with much accompaniment and above God the Father. Thacher seems to be right in connecting the Bilbao painting with a receipt of payment, dated 1637, by Herrera for a St Anne at Santa Inés. However, attention should be called to a hitherto unknown St Anne and the Virgin of about 1637 (Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi, as anonymous). By Herrera is a *St Catherine freeing a Spanish Family from Prison* (New York, J. Weitzner) and *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (Madrid, Academy), as by Cabezalero.

37. A preliminary drawing is in the Biblioteca Nacional, no. 345. The picture is not identical with the painting from the Soult Collection (no. 87), destroyed in 1918 at Amiens by a bomb.

38. Although Herrera was famous for his kitchen still-lifes, none have come to light, and no *bodegón* or genre painting attributed to him is even of his school.

p. 233 39. See the drawing (Sánchez Cantón, *Dibujos*, II, no. CLXXX) one of several, in pencil or Chinese ink, proving careful study from nature.

40. *Pentecost* (1613), Madrid, San Jerónimo; *Nicholas V visiting the Tomb of St Francis* (about 1613–20; lost, but a drawing at the Albertina); *Crucifixion of St Peter* (1615, Toledo Cathedral); *Death of St Francis* (1615, Madrid, Capilla del Obispo); *Assumption*, *Resurrection*, and *Pentecost* (1615–18, Guadelupe, main altar); *Assumption* (1617, Toledo, Santa Leocadia); *Assumption* (*c.* 1615–20, Madrid, Cerralbo Museum); *Holy Family* (1619, Los Angeles, private collection), signed, on copper; *Holy Trinity* (Madrid, Santo Domingo el Real) with a preparatory drawing in the Academy as by Pereda; *St Peter baptizing* (Villanueva y Geltrú, as by J. Leonardo).

41. According to Sra Caturla, *Pinturas, frondas y fuentes del Buen Retiro* (Madrid, 1947), 29–31; *eadem*, *Antonio Puga* (Madrid, 1952), 9–10, Puga was paid 436 reales for work on these pictures in Caxés's house, and Luis Fernández received 800 reales five months after Caxés's death for having finished one of the Battle paintings Caxés had begun. No. 653 shows some of Caxés's style but no. 654 almost none. Not by Caxés but by Zurbarán is the *Defence of Cadiz* (no. 656). Pupils of Caxés were Antonio Lanchares (1586–1658), Luis Fernández (1596–1654), and probably Jusepe Leonardo, who was even more influenced by Velázquez and Vincencio Carducho.

42. Second edition, Madrid (1865 by G. Cruzada Villaamil), partly reprinted with comments and introduction in Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, II, 59–115. See M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, IV, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1901), 74–81. For excerpts in English translation see Soria, in E. G. Holt, *Literary Sources of Art History* (Princeton, 1947), 437–41.

p. 234 43. Sánchez Cantón, *Dibujos*, II (1930), nos CXLIX, CL, CLXVIII–CLXXVII; III (1930), no. CCXL; also an anonymous *Equestrian Battle*, Madrid, Academy, photo Mas 94591. Carducho may have painted a *St Francis*, formerly in the Cook Collection, Richmond, as by Herrera. On Carducho, see *U.V.*, XVI (1949–50), 111–18; *Boletín Real Academia de Historia*, CXXV–CXXVIII (1950–1).

p. 235 44. E. Harris, *R.E.A.*, XII (March 1935), 259. The best guide to Spanish still-lifes and flower paintings is J. Cavestany, *Floreros y Bodegones* (Madrid, 1936 and 1940).

45. A. Méndez Casal, *R.E.A.*, XII (December 1934), 187–202; J. Cavestany, *A.E.A.*, no. 50 (1942), 97–102.

46. H. von Spielberg, *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte*, XXV (October 1910), 316–19; Lafuente Ferrari, *A.E.A.*, no. 62 (1944), 91–2.

p. 236 47. X. de Salas, *A.E.A.A.*, XI (1935), 275–7.

CHAPTER 13

p. 237 1. Byron, *Don Juan*, XIII, 71.

2. *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XXIX (1949–50), 55–6.

p. 238 3. *The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, XXV (January 1938), 21.

4. J. Milicua, *A.E.A.*, no. 100 (1952), 309–22.

p. 239 5. Goya's canvas is based on Ribera's etching *Meditating Poet* (Bartsch 10).

6. E. du Gué Trapier, *Ribera* (New York, 1952). See J. Milicua, *A.E.A.*, no. 99 (1952), 296–9, whose observations I share, though I attribute the *Ecstasy of St Mary Magdalen* (New York, Hispanic Society) to Ribera. He also did, in my opinion, the *Apollo flaying Marsyas* (Brussels), and the so-called *Daughter of Ribera* (formerly Naples, Museo Filangieri).

7. Differences between the second and the third period may be studied in the *St Roch* of 1631 (Prado, no. 1109) and *St James Major*, 1651 (Prado, no. 1083).

8. *Das Museum* (1895), 53–6.

p. 240 9. *Martyrdom of St Andrew*, 1628, Budapest; *Martyrdom of St Bartholomew*, 1630, Prado; *Crowning of Christ*, c. 1629–30, Cogolludo.

10. This painting belongs to an *Apostolado*, a series of twelve Apostles and Christ, altogether thirteen pictures, of *c.* 1631–2, acquired by Charles IV for the Casino del Príncipe at the Escorial, now all except four in the Prado: Christ, no. 1067; Peter, no. 1071; Paul, no. 1074; Andrew, no. 1076 at La Coruña or 1081 at Tenerife; James Major, no. 1082; Thaddeus, no. 1084; inscribed S. TAD, catalogued erroneously as St Matthew; Thomas, no. 1086, at Cordova; Matthew, no. 1088; James Minor, no. 1089; Simon, no. 1090; Philip (?), no. 1092, catalogued as St Jude Thaddeus; Mathias, Santa Barbara, California, Arthur Sachs Collection (a copy, Prado no. 1093, is at Játiva); Bartholomew, no. 1099. There is no St John (Prado, no. 1080, is at Malaga and does not seem to belong to this series).

11. See Note 3 above.

p. 241 12. Trapier, *op. cit.*, 77–81, suggested the title *Touch*. The picture measures 125 by 98 cm., while *Sight* (Wolf Collection) is 127 by 101 cm. Mrs Darby's interpretation (*A.B.*, XXXIX (1957), 195–217) as *Carneades* and *Socrates* does not exclude a concurrent reading as two of the *Senses*.

13. Of *c.* 1641 are four companion pieces in the Prado, nos 1100, 1103, 1106, and 1108. No. 1108, *St John*, could be withdrawn from exhibition, since almost nothing of Ribera's brush-work remains in the figure, except for very small sections in the face and a few parts of the beige fur. The background on the right is by the artist.

p. 242 14. Ribera's chief pupils and assistants at Naples were Giovanni Do (Játiva 1604–Naples 1656); Cesare Fracanzano (Bisciegla *c.* 1605–Barletta *c.* 1652); Bartolommeo Passante (Brindisi *c.* 1614–?); and last but not least, Luca Giordano (Naples, 1634–1705). Ribera's compositions or types were used in Spain by E. March, Pereda, Cano, Zurbarán, Velázquez, and Murillo, to mention only the most obvious.

15. M. S. Soria, *Zurbarán*, 2nd ed. (London, 1955).

16. They are by or after S. à Bolswert, Th. Galle, R. Sadeler, A. Bloemaert, G. Seghers, F. Floris, M. Heemskerck, M. de Vos, Jer. Wierix, G. Salmon, Callot, B. Passeri, Ribera, the Master E.S., Dürer, H. S. Beham, and Schongauer. p. 244

17. A gifted imitator of Zurbarán's still-lifes was Pedro de Camprobín Pasano (Almagro 1605–Seville 1674, or later), a pupil of Tristán at Toledo in 1619 and from 1630 at Seville. To Camprobín, not Zurbarán, I attribute now the beautiful *Pears and Flowers* in Chicago. On Camprobín, see *F.B.*, 79. p. 246

18. See Note 41 to Chapter 12. p. 247

19. The author's defence of their authenticity was confirmed by discovery of the signed receipt. Soria, *G.B.A.*, XXV (January 1944), 48; M. L. Caturla, *A.E.A.*, no. 71 (1945), 292–300; Soria, *A.B.*, XXXI (1949), 75.

20. M. de Molinos, *Guía espiritual* (Rome, 1675, and Madrid, 1676); see also P. Dudon, *Le quiétiste espagnol Michel Molinos (1628–1696)* (Paris, 1921); M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, II (Madrid, 1881), 530 ff.; B. Lorca, *Die spanische Inquisition und die Alumbrados* (Munich, 1934); K. Vossler, *Die Poesie der Einsamkeit in Spanien*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1941), chapter 'Der Quietismus'.

21. See Note 15 above. p. 248

22. The artist's will and an inventory of his possessions at the time of his death, found a decade ago, have not as yet been published. p. 249

CHAPTER 14

1. E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Velázquez* (Oxford, 1943). See E. du G. Trapier, *Velázquez* (New York, 1948); H. Soehner, *Z.f.K.*, XIV (1951). p. 250

2. Nagler, *Künstlerlexikon* (1850), sub 'Velazquez'.

3. C. Justi, *Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert* (1888), still one of the best books on Spanish art. The second edition (Bonn, 1903) was used in the Zürich reprint (1933). p. 251

p. 252 4. Except for some of Velázquez's portraits of Olivares because the sitter so demanded.

5. A. L. Mayer, *Diego Velazquez* (Berlin, 1924), 191.

6. Palomino, *El museo pictórico*, 892–5.

7. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 126–30, on Velázquez's relations with Pacheco.

p. 253 8. See Note 6 above.

9. See Chapter 12, pp. 226–7.

10. Paintings by Cavarozzi are at Madrid, in the Prado (no. 146, as by Orazio Gentileschi), the Academy, and Duke of Infantado Collection; Alcalá, Bernardas; Toledo Cathedral; Valencia; Saragossa, Pilar.

11. One may compare Velázquez's evening skies, *Vintager* (Havana, Cintas Foundation) and *Epiphany*; his draperies, *Epiphany* and *Immaculate Conception*; the types and modelling of his bearded men, *Breakfast* (Budapest) and *Water Carrier*; the hands, *Vintager*; and other features.

12. A *St John on Patmos* (Barcelona, private collection), published by Angulo, *A.E.A.*, no. 61 (1944), 1–6, may perhaps be a very early work by Velázquez, about 1617, related to the *St Peter* (formerly Madrid, Beruete Collection) which might be a workshop copy, possibly in portions by Velázquez.

p. 254 13. In 1619 or 1620, besides the pictures mentioned in the text or footnotes, Velázquez painted *Two Young Men at Table* (London, Apsley House); *A Servant* (Chicago); *St Paul* (Barcelona); *St Thomas* (Orleans); *Head of an Old Man*, probably an Apostle (Madrid, Marquis of Casa Torres); Profile Head (not of Juana Pacheco; Madrid, Museo Lázaro). The pictures at Apsley House and at Chicago were described by Palomino when in the royal collection at Madrid.

14. Such openings were painted not only by Sánchez Cotán and Pacheco but by Velázquez himself in the posthumous *Cristóbal Suárez* (Seville, San Hermenegildo, signed and dated 1620).

p. 255 15. In motifs, colouring, style, and brushwork, this picture links the previous paintings (*Vintager, St John on Patmos, Epiphany, Christ at Emmaus*) to the *Topers* and the *Forge of Vulcan*.

16. Justi, *op. cit.*, 171–210 and 216–23, characterizes seventeenth-century Madrid, the royal palace, Philip IV, and Olivares. See G. Marañón, *El Conde-duque de Olivares* (*La pasión de mandar*) (Madrid, 1945).

17. The portrait of a Courtier (Detroit), a not too well preserved fragment of *c.* 1623–4, shows the transition from Velázquez's Sevillian manner to his early style at Madrid. Massive in appearance, it exhibits in the face the moist, liquid feeling produced by highlights which distinguishes Velázquez's court portraits until his first Italian trip. At Seville he had used similar glossy modelling, resembling the surface of moist clay, for the hands of his figures but less for their faces.

18. An autograph replica (London, private collection) is on loan to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. p. 256

19. Between 1624 and 1629 Velázquez also painted at Madrid two portraits of unidentified young men (Prado and Munich).

20. The face shows the unfused zigzag strokes which Velázquez had used in the hand of Olivares, of 1625 (Hispanic Society), while the hands are more finished and outlined in brown, as in the *Philip IV* of about 1626 (Prado, no. 1182). The picture has many pentimenti; the stance originally approximated that of the São Paulo Olivares and the Infante Carlos, both of 1624, that is the left leg was closer to the right one, and vertically below the left hand. The pattern of the sleeve conforms to that of the royal portraits of the 1620s. As Mayer, *Velazquez, a Catalogue Raisonné* (London, 1936), 105, no. 449, suggested, Velázquez may have altered this picture in the early 1630s to give Pablo a more High Baroque stance.

p. 257 21. D. Angulo, *Velázquez* (Seville, 1947), 95–100.

22. Soria, *A.E.A.*, no. 104 (1953), 278–83.

23. A copy, perhaps by Mazo, in a private collection (reproduced in A. L. Mayer, *Velazquez* (1936), plate 77, no. 196) shows that Rubens (besides Stradanus) was Velázquez's chief inspiration for the equestrian portraits of 1634. On Rubens in Madrid, see Justi, *op. cit.*, 242–54.

24. Velázquez received a studio in the royal palace in 1626. His salary of 240 ducats (about £285 or $800) a year, fixed in 1623 but frequently not paid at all, was never augmented until his death. Occasionally there were increases for additional appointments and chores, e.g. from 1628 on he enjoyed, like the court barbers, a daily allowance of 12 reales (about £1 5*s.* or $3.50), in payment of all he had so far painted for the king, and in consideration of all future original portraits. In 1627 he had become Gentleman Usher (slightly more than a valet) in daily attendance on the king.

p. 258 25. *The Bloody Coat of Joseph*; *Forge of Vulcan*; *Fight before the Spanish Embassy*; *Self Portrait* (Rome, Capitoline Museum); and (painted at Naples) the *Infanta Maria*, sister of Philip IV and soon Queen of Hungary. The *Head of the Archangel Gabriel* (New York, Knoedler & Co.) and *Christ contemplated by the Christian Soul* (National Gallery) were done during or immediately after the Italian sojourn.

26. Soria, *A.B.*, XXX (1949), 251–2; *idem*, *A.E.A.*, no. 110 (1955), 142–5.

27. *Paragone*, no. 1 (1950).

p. 259 28. If Francisco de Lezcano, listed in the court records from 1634, is the sitter for Prado no. 1204, then, because of the facial similarity, he must also be the dwarf of the Boston picture, and his presence at court must be assumed as early as 1631. Velázquez repeated the Prince, without the dwarf, in 1632 (London, Wallace Collection). In 1631 and 1632 he painted his wife Juana Pacheco as an Allegory of Painting, the so-called Sibyl; Antonia Ipeñarrieta and her husband; the small *Crucifixion*, signed, dated 1631, and strongly reminiscent of Titian in landscape and sky; the large *Crucifixion*, calling to mind Martínez Montañés's *Christ of Clemency* (Plate 81A). All these pictures are in the Prado.

29. I believe that Velázquez painted the picture in its entirety over an earlier portrait looking like the Copenhagen no. 460 version and by a less eminent artist, possibly Diriksen. Diriksen would have done the Copenhagen portrait and begun the Huth picture while Velázquez was in Italy. In 1634 Velázquez similarly re-painted an equestrian portrait of Queen Isabella (Prado), begun by another hand. There he developed the head from his own (Huth) portrait of Isabella, not from life. Few likenesses of the queen by Velázquez exist. He was a protegé of the queen's enemy Olivares and, as the king's painter, did not belong to the household of the queen, who had her own painter, probably Diriksen.

30. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 368–86.

31. L. Zahn, 'Callot und Velazquez', *Die graphischen Künste*, Neue Folge, I (1936), 141–4.

32. Justi, *op. cit.*, 329–51.

p. 260 33. Justi, *op. cit.*, 351–65.

34. Soria, *A.E.A.*, no. 107 (1954).

35. A. Borelius, *Études sur Velázquez* (Linkoeping, 1949).

p. 261 36. Stradanus's series had been engraved about 1600 by Crispijn de Passe (*c.* 1565–1637), who also engraved equestrian series of eleven German Emperors (1604) and the Emperor Ferdinand and seven Electors (about 1620). Equestrian portraits of royalty and nobility were popular in England, France, and Flanders during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Velázquez's representations, by far the best, are no iconographic innovation.

37. A replica with variations formerly belonged to Lord Elgin and is now in the Metropolitan Museum. In both versions the battle scene in the background is symbolic, was suggested by the Stradanus print, and has no topographical resemblance to Fuenterrabia, site of a Spanish victory in 1638. Olivares had been 'General of the Cavalry of Spain' since the repulse of the English at Cadiz in 1625. He was surely portrayed not in 1638, as has been claimed, but at the same time as the other equestrian portraits, in 1634. In that year Jusepe Leonardo copied the pose of the Olivares.

38. Other portraits of the 1630s include that of a Man (about 1632–4, London, Apsley House); three court fools, Don Juan de Austria, Francisco de Lezcano (known as Niño de Vallecas), and Juan de Calabazas (about 1634–6 according to their style and the data of their lives); the sculptor Martínez Montañés (1635; all in the Prado). In 1638 Velázquez painted a miniature of Philip IV for the Duke of Modena, which is lost, like all other miniatures by Velázquez.

39. See Note 21.

40. *La Vita di S. Antonio* (1598), plate 217. Instead of the dead St Anthony of the print, Velázquez posed St Paul.

41. See Note 21.

42. See Note 22.

43. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 368, 387, 395–8 on the Torre de la Parada, greatly enlarged in 1636. In that year twenty-five paintings by Rubens's workshop were received for it from Antwerp. In December 1637 Rubens sent forty paintings by himself and his assistants, most of them newly painted and showing scenes from Ovid. Subsequently eighteen small and four large paintings were ordered for the Torre de la Parada. Rubens died during their execution. p. 262

44. Between January 1643 and December 1645 Velázquez made a drawing (Madrid, Academy) for a bust portrait of Cardinal Borja (probably surviving in Frankfort, Staedel Institute; the enlarged version in the Metropolitan Museum is a later school-piece). It anticipates in conception Velázquez's Roman portraits of 1650. p. 263

p. 263 45. Angulo, *op. cit.*, 85–8. The unfinished *Cristóbal de Castañeda y Pernia*, called Barbarroja (Prado), dressed in Turkish fashion, may be dated between 1645 and 1649, when the sitter ceased to be paid by the royal treasury. Thin brush-work, long and broad strokes, and a dream-like setting tend towards Velázquez's paintings of the 1650s. The cloak was added by another hand. Of similar date may be an *Unknown Dwarf with Dog* (Prado, no. 1203).

p. 264 46. Mazo's style in small figures is seen also in the Hunt (Prado, no. 2571), two sketches owned by Sir William Stirling-Maxwell's heirs (Edinburgh Festival, nos 38–9, as by Velázquez), and the Buen Retiro Pond (Prado, no. 1215).

47. Similar in pose and stiff-backed classical serenity is the portrait of the Count of Benavente (Prado), painted between April and November 1648. While the baldric, helmet, lower section of armour, and the arms are convincing, much repainting is seen in the armour next to the baldric and below the collar, in the beard, neck, mouth, and ear. The armour was made by D. Colman in Augsburg in 1548 for Philip II. Probably before leaving for Italy in November 1648, Velázquez painted the portrait of an Elderly Man (formerly Lugano, Thyssen Collection), and that of the Infanta Maria Teresa, daughter of Philip IV (New York, Philip Isles), in the same pose as his granddaughter (New York, Hispanic Society) but with deeper shadows and more airily.

48. Family similarities may be perceived to the sitters in Velázquez's portrait of his wife Juana Pacheco (Prado) and his *Young Girl* (New York, Hispanic Society), which must be Francisca Velázquez del Mazo's daughter, aged about three or four. This grand-daughter of Velázquez one sees again ten or eleven years later in a picture Mazo painted of his Family (Vienna; Plate 155). The *Needlewoman* and the *Young Girl* can be identified with two pictures in Velázquez's death inventory: 'No. 169 Otra cabeza de mujer haciendo labor; No. 178 Otro retrato de una Niña'. It has been argued that Mazo, who made the inventory, would have identified his wife and daughter by name had they been the sitters. However, he may have omitted the names on purpose to protect Velázquez's estate from the accusation that the artist portrayed members of his family while in the king's pay. The identification here proposed is buttressed by the family resemblance and by the fact that the two pictures were the only feminine portraits in Velázquez's quarters, and were hanging, together with likenesses of a few friends, in a room next to the bedchamber where he and his wife died.

49. Astalli's portrait was identified and dated by E. du G. Trapier, *N.H.*, IV (1944), the Massimi one p. 265 by E. Harris, *B.M.*, C (1958), while the so-called *Barber* has not been properly published.

50. Justi, *op. cit.*, 543–96. – Velázquez, with characteristic pride, refused money for his papal portrait. He asked the pope instead to recommend him to Philip IV for a Spanish knighthood, but achieved this honour only nine years later. The letter supporting Velázquez's request, from the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Spanish Nuncio (17 December 1650), has never been mentioned in the Velázquez literature and can be found in L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, XXX, translated by E. Graf (St Louis, 1940), 415.

51. Soria, *A.E.A.*, no. 104 (1953), 269–77. p. 266

52. See Note 1 above.

53. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 598–624. p. 267

54. Eschewing hurry and mass-production, Velázquez reserved for himself only the most important portraits of the royal family. He did not begrudge other painters a large share of royal commissions and had Cano, Arias and Camilo paint the royal apartments. Of twelve battle paintings for the Buen Retiro he painted only one himself.

55. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Las Meninas y sus* p. 268 *personajes* (Madrid, 1943); Ch. de Tolnay, *G.B.A.*, XXXV (January 1949), 32–8.

56. D. Angulo, *A.E.A.*, no. 81 (1948), 1–19; p. 269 *ibid.*, no. 97 (1952), 67; de Tolnay, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER 15

1. See H. E. Wethey, *Alonso Cano* (Princeton, p. 271 1955), an excellent monograph.

2. According to Palomino, but Wethey is probably right in doubting it.

3. A pupil of the elder Herrera but more strongly affected by Murillo, Llano Valdés was a weak, unoriginal painter of poor craftsmanship.

4. See N. Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (Cambridge, 1940), for similar struggles in other countries between painting as a craft and painting as a liberal art. p. 272

5. *A.B.*, XXXIV (1952), 217–34.

6. Soria, *A.B.*, XXX (1948), 249–59; *idem*, *A.E.A.*, p. 273 nos 104, 106, and 110 (1953–5).

7. Juan Niño de Guevara (Malaga, 1632–96), who had earlier been influenced by the Rubens follower Miguel Manrique, studied with Cano before 1652 at Madrid. At Granada, Cano's chief pupils among the painters were Pedro Atanasio Bocanegra (1638–89), Juan de Sevilla Romero (1643–95), and Miguel Jerónimo de Cieza (*c.* 1614–85). See Wethey, *A.E.A.*, no. 105 (1954), 25–34; also the good monograph by Emilio Orozco Díaz, *Pedro Atanasio Bocanegra* (Granada, 1937). Bocanegra's follower José Risueño (1665–1732) led the Granadine school back to naturalism. Orozco Díaz recognized his reliance on Flemish art.

8. S. Montoto, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo* (Seville, 1923), a documented account of Murillo's life.

9. J. Ortega y Gasset, *The Dehumanization of the Arts* (Princeton, 1948), first published in Madrid (1925).

10. C. Justi, *Murillo* (Leipzig, 1904), 93. This critical appreciation has lost none of its actuality and deserves to be translated into English.

p. 274 11. At his wedding in 1645, Murillo and several witnesses swore he had never left Seville.

12. A. L. Mayer, *Murillo* (Klassiker der Kunst; Stuttgart and New York, 1913); 2nd ed., 1922; the last known locations of the pictures, with the numbers of Ch. Curtis's excellent catalogue, *Velazquez and Murillo* (London and New York, 1883), are: 268 Dresden; 269 Louvre; 270 and 287 Madrid Academy; 271 Toulouse; 272 Duke of Pozzo di Borgo in Paris; 273 Sale at Parke-Bernett Galleries, New York, 22 January 1942; 400 Ottawa; 401 Charles Baudet at Le Havre (1881); 309 Raleigh, North Carolina; 383 de Guitaut in Paris (1852).

13. 30 Louvre; 229–30 Prado; 231 London, Agnew's (1934).

14. 98, 112, 241, 277, 333, 341, 362, 366 Seville; 233 Seville Cathedral; 285 Cologne; 204(?) London, Lord Wantage; 373 lost(?).

To these were added between 1668 and 1670: 18, 19, 61, 118, 225, 240, 276, 288, 395 Seville; *Portrait of Father Francisco Jerez*, lost.

15. 113 Budapest; 29 Prado; 376 Soult sale, 1852; 470 Bowood House, Lady Nairn.

p. 275 16. In the figures at the left, Pacheco was influenced by Velázquez's *Water Carrier* at Apsley House.

17. Together with 176 London, W. W. Burdon (1862); 177 London, Agnew's; 178c Christie's, 9 June 1827; 334 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

18. Soria, *A.B.*, XXX (1948), 255.

19. Justi, *op. cit.*, 27–8. The picture was cleaned in 1957 by Manuel López Gil.

20. Justi, *op. cit.*, 21, gives an excellent appreciation. p. 276

21. Partly as a result of Philip IV's art purchases, Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese greatly influenced Spanish painting after 1650, e.g. in the pictures painted at Madrid by Pareja, Carreño, Claudio Coello, Escalante, Francisco Rizi, and the younger Herrera. At Seville, Valdés Leal followed the same trend. On the other hand, Callot's etchings influenced Murillo's series of the Prodigal Son, in the Beit Collection in London (see B. Dorival, *Revue des Arts* (1951) and the art of A. del Castillo.

22. The first four are *in situ*, the fifth at the Washington National Gallery, the sixth at Ottawa, and the eighth in Leningrad. In the *Pool of Bethesda* Murillo's achievement as a Baroque painter is made evident by comparison with L. Carracci's version at S. Giorgio, Bologna.

23. 'Murillo und seine italienischen Barockvorbilder', *Critica d'arte*, III, no. 15 (June 1938), 120. Titian's painting also influenced the Child Christ in Greco's *Vision of St Hyacinth* (Merion, Pennsylvania, and Rochester, New York), which in the main is based on Johan Sadeler's engraving after Lodovico Carracci, see Soria, *A.B.*, XXX (1948), 250; D. Mahon, *A.B.*, XXXI (1949), 74. p. 277

24. For the best discussion see Curtis (Note 12, above) 331–52. The best collection is in the Seville Museum. p. 279

25. Prado and Seville Cathedral. These landscapes frequently appear in pairs or in series, and are often attributed to Murillo (e.g. *Rachel and Jacob*, Detroit; *Isaac blessing Esau*, Apsley House).

26. Two small signed paintings are now exhibited in the Louvre.

27. An excellent signed *Portrait of a Man* by Tovar (1711) from the collection of Frances Countess Warwick was owned in 1951 by De Boer, Amsterdam.

CHAPTER 16

1. Soria, *A.Q.* (Autumn 1950), 279–80. To the brief checklist published there should be added six excellent, previously unattributed canvases: *Marriage of the Virgin* and *Visitation* (both Madrid, Royal Palace), and the four Evangelists (Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum, nos 919, 920, 922, 923). p. 281

p. 281 2. To this period belong a number of pictures not mentioned in the literature: *Immaculate Conception*, signed and dated 1637 (Alcalá de Henares, San Felipe); another in Lyon as Nuvolone; *Porciuncula* (Madrid, San Jerónimo); *St Francis*, about 1637 (Madrid, Bustos Collection, as anonymous); *Annunciation*, signed and dated 1639 (London, Thomas Agnew & Sons); Pereda's famous earliest picture (lost) was a *Conception*, done in 1626–7 and sent to Cardinal Crescenzi in Rome.

3. *St Angelo* and *St Albert of Sicily* (both Madrid, Consejo de Estado); *St Dominic in Soriano* (Madrid, Museo Cerralbo), all of about 1655 or slightly later. *The Vision of St Francis* (Valladolid) is dated 1664. On Pereda, see E. Tormo, *Boletín Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones*, IV (1909/10), 469, 507; VI (1913/14), 505, 532; VII (1916/17), 89, 103, 129, 162, 173.

p. 282 4. *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (about 1655–60, Marseilles); *Vision of St Felix Cantalice* (1662, Prado); however *St William penitent* of 1671 (Madrid, Academy), though late, is carried off successfully.

5. Pereda's influence was felt in J. Antolínez, Escalante, and other important artists of the school of Madrid; also in his deaf assistant Alonso del Arco (1625–1707) and in Antonio van de Pere (*fl.* 1659–73 in Madrid). By van de Pere are the signed *Mystic Marriage of St Mary of Pazzi* (1659, Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum, no. 18) and *Enoch receives Elias in Paradise* (*c.* 1660, Cadiz, as 'Pereda?', because attributed to him by Palomino and Ceán when the picture was in the Shod Carmelites at Madrid). Influenced by Pereda and the elder Caxés was Francisco Camilo (*c.* 1614–73), who equals Francisco Rizi in quality and is confusingly similar. The son of a Florentine painter of the Escorial, he shows a gentle, affable talent in his *Christ and the Virgin crowning St John of God with Thorns* (1650, Barnard Castle), a *Birth of Christ* (Escorial Sacristy, as by Valdés Leal), the *Christ of Injuries* (Villanueva y Geltrú), *Christ at Emmaus* and a *Christ with St Peter* (both Murcia), and many other works, often large in size. An *Annunciation* (Madrid, San Ginés) was copied from Titian (Naples, S. Domenico Maggiore). Camilo's scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were too sweetly devout to please Philip IV, who said that Juno looked like the Virgin and Jupiter like Christ. Paintings by Camilo, erroneously attributed to Risueño, are the *Double Trinity* (Madrid, Veterinary School), *St Joseph and the Child Christ*, and *St Peter investing a Bishop*, while his *St Bruno* (Alcalá, San Felipe) was hitherto attributed to Carreño.

6. See E. Tormo, C. Gusi, and E. Lafuente, *La vida y obra de Fray Juan Ricci*, 2 vols (Madrid, 1930). p. 283 Not by Ricci but Italian is the *St Lawrence*, Loga, *Malerei*, figure 183.

7. J. Gaya Nuño, *Goya*, no. 10 (January–February 1956), 222–8. From Gaya Nuño's useful catalogue one might delete nos 11 and 13.

8. Iriarte's signed *Landscape with Goats and Sheep* p. 284 (1665, Prado, no. 2970), his *Landscape with Hunters* (Prado, no. 836), and his *Landscape with Villagers* (Bilbao) permit one confidently to assign to him two landscapes (Prado, nos 1105 and 1106, as by Murillo), the *Landscape with Hunter* (The Hague, no. 299, as anonymous), and the *Dream of Jacob* and *Jacob with Laban* (both Paris, Aguado Collection, 1843, as by Murillo). Except for the foreground figures (by Murillo, or possibly by F. Antolínez), Iriarte painted the upright *Mountain Landscape*, recently bought by the Prado as a work by Murillo.

9. Including three interesting genre scenes probably by Puga; *Scissors Grinder* (Hermitage); *Tavern* (Paris, E. Lucas Moreno, 1935); *Feeding the Infirm* (New York, J. Weitzner). See Caturla, *Puga*.

10. By Mazo are the *Queen-Mother Mariana* and *Admiral Pulido Pareja* (both National Gallery); *Balthasar Carlos in the Riding School* (London, Wallace Collection; another version Grosvenor House); *Infanta Maria Teresa* (Metropolitan Museum); *Lady* (Madrid, J. Payá); *Balthasar Carlos in Armour* (Buckingham Palace); *Queen Mariana* (Lugano, Thyssen, as Velázquez); *Young Man* (Washington, as Velázquez); various portraits in the Prado.

11. H. E. Wethey, *A.Q.*, XVII (Winter 1954), p. 285 335–42; *B.M.*, XCVIII (1956), 40–6; *B.S.E.E.*, LX (1956).

12. D. Berjano Escobar's *El pintor Don Juan de Carreño* (Madrid, 1924), is out of print and insufficient.

13. Little known are Carreño's *Duke of Pastrana*, aged seventeen (1666, São Paulo); *Don Juan of Austria* (*c.* 1674, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Graham Collection, from the Infante Sebastián Gabriel); *Charles II* (*c.* 1673, San Francisco, Legion of Honour); and *Ecce Homo* (Madrid, Marquis of Chiloeches).

p. 286 14. On the basis of the *St Thomas of Villanueva giving Alms* (*c.* 1675, Louvre), the *Baptism of Christ* (1682, Caracas, formerly New York), and other works, one may attribute to Carreño also the *Holy Family* (Madrid, Museo Cerralbo, as by Pedro de Moya). These paintings share the method of composing, lighting, modelling, poses, and colours.

p. 287 15. Apparently the model for Gilarte's version at Murcia Cathedral and for Palomino's (inverted) at San Jerónimo, Madrid.

16. Some pictures by Cerezo resemble Antolínez and anticipate Coello: *Marriage of St Catherine* (Prado); *Conception* (San Sebastián, Town Hall); *St Francis's Vision of the Virgin in a Tree* (Madrid, Marquis de Martorell, another version in the Museo Lázaro). By Cerezo, not Antolínez, are a *Conception* (Madrid, Benavides) and a *Magdalen* (Cordova Cathedral). See *U.V.*, v (1935), 331–50; Tormo, *A.E.A.*, III (1927), 113 ff., 233 ff.

p. 288 17. *St Jerome* of 1666 in the Cook Collection at Richmond; four scenes from the Passion (1667–8) at Madrid, Third Order, including the *Coup de Lance* after Rubens's picture in Antwerp; *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* at Madrid, Hospital of the Third Order; *Miracle of St Anthony*, Madrid, San Antonio; *Apostolate* and *St Isidro*, Madrid, Academy; *St Jerome*, Madrid, Borbón; *Nun and Franciscan Saint*, Madrid, Latina; probably also the *St Agabus* at Barnard Castle, as by Juan Ricci. See L. Alonso, *B.S.E.E.* (1915); E. Tormo, *ibid.*

18. *Príncipe de Viana*, II (September 1941), 8–23; *A.E.*, XV (1944), 29–37. To Lafuente's *œuvre* catalogue one may add: *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* (Socuéllamos); *Christ carrying the Cross* (Madrid, Academy, signed and excellent); *St Joseph and the Child Christ in the Carpenter's Shop* (Madrid, Adanero); *Pietà* (Mainz); *Holy Family* (formerly Vienna, Esterhazy); perhaps *St Anthony holding the Child* (Madrid, V. Nieto Linker, as by Goya, a fine painting). *The Marriage of St Catherine* (Lafuente no. 38, from the Salamanca sale, 1867, lot 7), badly burned, is in a private collection in Connecticut.

19. His favourite themes, see Angulo, *A.E.A.*, no. 107 (1954), 213–32; Soria, *ibid.*, no. 113 (1956), 1–8. At least seventy works survive, and a third of these are of the Conception. His *Child Christ with St John Baptist* (Murcia) is unpublished.

p. 289 20. Coello may be the author of the charming double portrait of two noble girls (Madrid, Marquise de Perinat), of the head of a Monk (Providence, Rhode Island), and of *Queen Maria Luisa of Orleans* (Barnard Castle, no. 925).

21. Portrait studies for some, in red and black pencil, are in the Louvre and in a collection at Madrid. His portraits, e.g. of *Father Cabanillas* (Prado), have breadth and largeness. Coello, not Carreño, in my opinion portrayed the Queen-Mother Mariana (Munich). Research in Spanish portrait-painting of the seventeenth century should reveal the unknown authors of many pictures. The last great seventeenth-century portrait done at Madrid represents the Hon. Alexander Stanhope (1698, Chevening, Earl of Stanhope). It is by the German J. B. Clostermann (see E. K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530–1790* (London, 1953), 101 and plate 88).

22. Preparatory drawings for the figure of Religion and for some of the portrait heads are in the Boix Collection at Madrid.

23. *Breve Historia*, 371. J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Claudio Coello* (Madrid, 1957).

24. The *Sagrada Forma* was anticipated in composition by Carreño (Plate 156) and in general scheme by Pedro Ruiz González's *Charles II at the Procession of the Holy Sacrament* (1683, Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute) which Palomino saw over a side door in the church of San Luis at Madrid. St Louis is shown above a painted tabernacle. The picture is influenced by the styles of Carreño, Francisco Rizi, and Coello in the 1660s, as is his *Christ Mocked* of 1673 (Prado). Ruiz González (1640–1706) was reportedly a pupil of Escalante and later of Carreño.

25. *Vision of St Anthony* (Rennes, from the p. 290
Aguado Collection); *Vision of St Dominic* (Chicago); *Dream of Joachim* (Madrid, Town Hall); *Dream of St Joseph* (Madrid, San Jerónimo, still influenced by the Champaigne composition which Montero de Rojas had used), and *Marriage of the Virgin* (Valladolid). See A. L. Mayer, Thieme-Becker, XXVI (1932), 185–6; J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Goya*, no. 5 March–April 1955), 265–73.

26. R. Aguilar Prieto, *Boletín R. Academia de* p. 291
Ciencias Bellas Letras y Artes de Córdoba, XX, no. 62 (1949), 19–22.

27. Related are three drawings of St John Baptist (Madrid, Academy, Mas 94.607; Biblioteca Nacional, nos. 298 and 297).

28. Both pictures were commissioned by Luis Gómez Bernardo Fernández de Córdoba y Figueroa.

29. Sánchez Cantón, *Dibujos*, III, plate CCLXXXIII, p. 292
and E. du G. Trapier, *N.H.*, I and II (1941–2).

30. *Z.f.b.K.*, N.F. XXIX (1920), 116.

31. The preparatory drawing was published by Sánchez Cantón, *Dibujos*, III.

p. 292 32. In the Witt Collection of the Courtauld Institute, London, are two drawings by Castillo of about the same date: an allegory of Venus(?) holding aloft a heart and standing with a Cupid on a sea shell (1664) and the *Virgin giving the Chasuble to St Ildefons*, inscribed 'Tovar'. It is for a painting by Castillo in the Cordova Museum. Contemporary may be the *St Raphael and Tobias* there. Drawings by Castillo wrongly attributed to Juan del Castillo were in the Babra Collection, Barcelona, sheets 13–14. Castillo was one of the few outstanding fresco-painters in seventeenth-century Spain (Cordova Cathedral and Jesús Nazareno), working on a monumental scale. He also painted *Balaam's Donkey* (Madrid, Marquise of Heredia, as anonymous) and dainty scenes of children at play before the Christ Child and the Baptist (both in private collections, Madrid, the latter as by Guido Reni).

33. Castillo's assistant, Antonio García Reinoso (*c.* 1623–77), ably continued his style.

34. E. du G. Trapier's *Valdés Leal* (New York, 1956), too late for the present book, brings valuable new material. It passes over Valdés Leal's derivation from Castillo.

35. Composition and details recall the style of Castillo. St Giles's head resembles St Peter's in a Castillo drawing of 1652 (London, Courtauld Institute, Witt Collection). Similar putti and ornamental decorations appear in signed drawings by Castillo.

p. 293 36. *Ohrmuschelstil* (auricle style), a Baroque mode of decorative ornament – sensuous, sculptural, and curving – called after the form of the ear conch. The style, represented in the work of the Dutch silversmith Jan Lutma, invaded all plastic arts.

p. 294 37. Unpublished are the *Virgin adored by Four Saints* (New York, Kleinberger & Co.) and the signed *Virgin giving the Chasuble to St Ildefons* (1655–65) at Madrid, Duke of Santo Mauro, of Tintorettesque dynamism, extravagant perspective, and quite unlike Valdés's picture of the theme at Seville Cathedral.

38. By Arteaga are a *Birth* and a *Marriage of the Virgin* (Prado, no. 711–12, as García de Miranda); a *Wedding at Cana* and a *Birth of St John Baptist* (Madrid, Museo Lázaro, as Antolínez).

p. 295 39. L. Tramoyeres Blasco, *Archivo de arte valenciano*, I (1915), 127–41; II (1916), 3–15; C. González Carbonell, *U.V.*, XI (1931), 130–86.

40. Typical are the *Meeting at the Golden Gate* (Escorial, as Gilarte); an *Apparition of Christ to St Ignatius* (Valencia, no. 461, related to A. Bloemaert's painting at the Jesuits in Utrecht, engraved by his son Cornelis); a *Conception* and a *Mass of St Gregory* (both New York, Lambert sale, American Art Association, 21–4 February 1916, lots 316 and 363, as by Carreño and F. Ribalta); a *St Bernard* (New York, Kleinberger & Co.).

41. Soria, *A.B.*, XXVII (1945), 109–23.

42. On Giner, see A. Méndez Casal, *R.E.A.*, XII (June 1936); L. Pérez Bueno, *A.E.A.*, no. 78 (1947), 155–7; F. M. Garín, *A.E.*, XVIII (1951), 135–41; on Coccorante, see W. Wells, *Leeds Art Calendar*, IV (Autumn and Winter 1950–1), 29–32. Coccorante painted four *vedute* (Madrid, Museo de Arte Moderno, Sánchez Toca Bequest, as by Giner). On *vedute* painting, see L. Ozzola, *L'Arte*, XVI (1913), 1–17, 112–30.

43. E. Brunetti, *Paragone*, no. 79 (1956), 48–64; *eadem*, *B.M.*, C (1958), 311–12.

44. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, III, 87–90; Orellana, *Biographía pictórica valentina*, ed. X. de Salas (Madrid, 1930), 855. p. 296

45. E. Tormo, *Levante* (Madrid, 1930), p. CL.

46. *Pintores de cámara*, 113. p. 297

47. J. Guerrero Lovillo, *Archivo hispalense*, XXII (1955), 15–52 (38–40).

48. Madrid, Bárcenas Collection, signed; another at Christie's, 23 March 1923, lot 26, as by F. A. Meléndez; a variant, without gun, Madrid, Museo Cerralbo, as anonymous. p. 298

49. Madrid, Museo Lázaro; M. Carderera; Museo Cerralbo, with hat and gun; Marquis de Casa Torres Collection; New York, Hearst Collection, as by Mazo (who died twenty-one years before the queen was born). M. J. Meléndez also painted the portrait of Isabella Farnese with Philip V and that of María Luisa Gabriela holding orange blossoms (both at Buckingham Palace, from the Louis Philip sale, the latter as by F. A. Meléndez), Luis I (Madrid, Palace; and Infantado Collection, as Mengs), and two sketches of *St Augustine conjuring a Locust Plague* (Prado, no. 958; Barnard Castle, no. 805). Meléndez's brother Francisco Antonio (born at Oviedo, died before 1752) was royal miniaturist, though never appointed court painter. He helped to found the Royal Academy in Madrid.

50. When García de Miranda became 'chamber painter' in 1735 with the splendid salary of 2000 ducats, he had served thirty years without pay. His

scene from the life of St Diego (1731) is at Barnard Castle (no. 825).

51. Ardemáns was a pupil of Pereda, but two overdoors allegorical of the Battle of Lepanto (1721, Madrid, Bishop's Palace) and a *St Barbara* (1723, Museo Lázaro) reveal him as a talented master in the manner of Francisco Rizi.

52. Sánchez Cantón, *Retratos*, 163.

p. 299 53. Andrés de la Calleja (Rioja 1705–Madrid 1785) became Director of the Academy at its opening in 1752. He painted the Prime Minister José de Carvajal y Lancaster (1698–1754) as an art patron and founder of the Academy. Calleja's rival, and First Court Painter since 1756, was Antonio González Ruiz (1712–85), whose well-done, broadly painted portraits are in the Academies of Madrid, Mexico City, and Puebla. The most ambitious represents Ferdinand VI (1754, Madrid, Academy). Juan García de Miranda's son Juan de Miranda (1729–?) painted himself, sharp and alert, in an Algerian prison (1760, Madrid Academy).

54. Amigoni (in Madrid, 1747–52), after a lifetime of travel in Flanders, England, and Germany, spent his last five years in Spain as Painter to the King. He portrayed the royal couple in a likeness of the singer Farinelli (Bologna, Museo Musicale).

55. The Italian Antonio Joli (at Madrid 1750–4) gave in his views of palaces and streets of Madrid no more than the topographical truth, accented by tiny figures. Throughout the middle of the century, the influence of Claudio Coello and Luca Giordano lingered on in the works of Pedro Rodríguez de Miranda (1696–1766), nephew of Juan García de Miranda and court painter from 1744, who painted landscapes (Prado), genre scenes, and also carriages. His religious 'histories' are weak (Villanueva y Geltrú; Madrid, San José).

56. Soria, *A.E.A.*, XXI (1948), 215–17.

57. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *J.B. Tiepolo en España* (Madrid, 1953).

p. 300 58. Sánchez Cantón, *Pintores de cámara*, 162.

59. V. de Sambricio, *Tapices de Goya* (Madrid, 1946).

60. V. de Sambricio, *A.E.A.*, no. 92 (1950), 273–302; *idem*, *José del Castillo* (Madrid, 1957).

p. 301 61. Lafuente Ferrari, *Breve Historia*, 394; V. de Sambricio, *Francisco Bayeu* (Madrid, 1955).

62. J. A. Gaya Nuño, *B.S.E.E.*, LVI (1952), 87–154; *idem.*, *Goya*, no. 22 (1958); also O. Delgado, *Luis Paret y Alcázar* (Madrid, 1957).

63. Paler, spindle-legged, a little stiff and without great variety are the views by Antonio Carnicero (Salamanca 1748–Madrid 1814), who painted majos and majas on the shore, dancing, smoking, or watching a balloon ascent (Prado). Perhaps his best genre scenes are four in the Cooper Union at New York. p. 302

CHAPTER 17

1. Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, 203. p. 303

2. B. de Valbuena, *Grandeza Mexicana* (Mexico, 1603).

3. Father J. M. Vargas, O.P., *El Arte quiteño en los siglos XVI–XVIII* (Quito, 1949), 90.

4. J. de Mariana, S.J., *Historia de España* (1595); XXIV (Madrid, 1850), 17: 'Children paid for the crimes of their fathers; the accuser was not known, nor confronted with the criminal'. Every ship arriving in the colonies was searched by the Inquisition for offensive images, and many that had passed in Flanders or Spain were seized as unorthodox by petty local censors. See A. Carrillo y Gariel, *La técnica de la pintura de Nueva España* (Mexico, 1946), 115 ff.

5. Carrillo, *op. cit.*, 132 ff.

6. In 1799, the Mexican Academy complained to the Viceroy that unlicensed Indians, Spaniards, and Negroes produced art 'deceiving the public and corrupting youth'. The Academy urged that the example of peninsular bishops be followed who had ordered such art burned (Carrillo, 122 ff.). p. 304

7. About sixty pictures of the 1500s are known in all South America, half of them in Bolivia, especially Sucre, the others divided between Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Much more was destroyed through earthquakes, neglect, and remodelling. Soria, *La pintura del siglo XVI en Sudamérica* (Buenos Aires, 1956).

8. In the Quito Academy of History, quoted by Eliecer Enríquez, *Quito a través de los siglos* (Quito, 1938), 52–5.

9. On the importance of Antwerp prints, especially those by the Plantin press, see Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, 200–3; Soria, *op. cit.*, 25, 86–95.

10. F. Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1914), ch. 18, on altar frontals, chasubles, mitres, and paintings of saints, all made of feathers. p. 305

p. 305 11. The Franciscan Motolinía said: 'Great [Indian] painters have appeared after the models and images from Flanders and Italy came, brought by the Spaniards. Among these [art objects] come hither [are] very rich pieces, because everything goes where there is gold and silver. The [European] painters, especially, [are going] to Mexico [City], because everything of quality that comes over ends up there. Formerly, they [the Indians] only knew how to paint flowers, birds or scroll-work and when they painted a man or knight it was badly designed; now they do good images' (*c.* 1540, *Colección de Documentos para la historia de México*, I (1858)).

12. Enciso, *A.E.A.*, XI (1935), 69–70; A. Carrillo y Gariel, *op. cit.*, 50–4, 67–73. The medium (*fresco a secco* on lime) often looks like true fresco because copious sizing makes colours look transparent. The lime was polished like marble. The preservation of the frescoes was favoured accidentally by bats, whose dung greased the surface.

13. Kubler, *op. cit.*, 366–7.

14. W. Jiménez Moreno and S. Mateos Higuera, *El Códice de Yanhuitlán* (Mexico, 1940), plates VIII, XIV, XVI, XIX.

15. Kubler, *op. cit.*, 374, note 49, quoting Motolinía.

16. D. Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579) and other books have engravings showing this method of teaching the Indians (see Weismann, *op. cit.*, 190). Pictures similar in form (not content) are used even to-day by travelling story-tellers at remote fairs not touched by the cinema.

17. Kubler, *op. cit.*, 363, 377. See Soria, *Studies in the Renaissance*, VI (1959), for a list of these convents and suggestions for dating the main frescoes.

p. 306 18. Kubler, *op. cit.*, 378 ff., discusses the typography.

19. Soria, *Studies*, *loc. cit.*, 236–42.

20. Angulo, *Historia*, I, 157–64.

21. So rightly, Enciso, *loc. cit.*, 70. Weismann, *op. cit.*, 197, gives references to Motolinía, Las Casas, Mendieta, and Torquemada, all writing in the sixteenth century. A table given in Soria, *Studies*, may partly dispel doubts raised by Kubler, *op. cit.*, 373, about the European derivation of Mexican work.

22. M. Toussaint, 'Proceso y denuncias contra Simón Pereyns en la Inquisición de México', Supplement to no. 2, *A.I.I.E.* (1938); see J. Domínguez Bordoña, *Proceso inquisitorial contra el escultor Esteban Jamete* (Madrid, 1933).

23. D. Angulo, 'Pereyns y Marten de Vos: El retablo de Huejotzingo', *A.I.I.E.*, II (1949), 25–7. The *Presentation in the Temple* and the *Magdalen* are also copied from M. de Vos. Not by Pereyns, to judge by style, is the side altar of San Diego de Alcalá, at Cuauhtinchán.

24. He was under contract for two years to Gonzalo de las Casas, the *encomendero* of Yanhuitlán. The information on Concha and on Franco was generously given me by Don Celestino López Martínez from unpublished documents he found in the Archivo de Protocolos of Seville.

25. Unless otherwise stated, all Mexican paintings are in Mexico City, Academy. p. 307

26. See Vázquez's angel floating above St Catherine at Seville Cathedral, Ascension Altar, 1593–4.

27. It has been assumed that his teacher at Mexico was Francisco de Gamboa (or Ibía, also of Zumaya) whose daughter he married in 1582. Gamboa, a Basque who arrived in Mexico by 1565, aged 33, could have taught Echave little. In 1607, Echave published at Mexico a book on the Basque language, containing a woodcut self portrait.

28. A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiano*, IX, part VI (Milan, 1933), 395 ff., part VII (1934), 426 ff., 573 ff.

29. By Echave Orio are a *St John Evangelist* p. 308 (Academy; in M. Toussaint, *Arte Colonial en Mexico* (Mexico, 1948), figure 153, incomprehensibly as by Echave Ibía) and a *St Anthony with the Christ Child* (Davenport, Iowa). A *Birth of the Virgin* (Davenport) is by Echave or his studio. A contemporary Spaniard, Gaspar de Angulo, painted *c.* 1610 a *Christ with St Peter* (Culhuacan), excellent for its precious modelling of anatomy and spacious vistas; see F. de la Maza, *El Hijo Pródigo*, II (1943), 180.

30. No wonder their works have been confused: a *St Anne* by Juárez has been attributed to Vázquez (Velázquez Chávez, *Tres siglos de pintura colonial Mexicana* (Mexico, 1939), figure 89), while Vázquez's *St Michael casting out the Devil* was reproduced as by Juárez (Angulo, *Historia*, II, figure 360). Velázquez Chávez's book, well illustrated, is a useful guide to Mexican Colonial painting.

31. This picture is in the Academy as by Echave Orio. In addition to Juárez's paintings (Couto, 63–4, Velázquez Chávez, 231–2, and Toussaint, *Arte*

Colonial, 150) one notes a *St Diego of Alcalá* (Puebla, Agustín Gómez Daza). An iconographic novelty, probably from an engraving, is his *Double Trinity* (Taxco, Casa Humboldt) with a seated Holy Family. Angels extend royal crowns over Mary and Joseph, while the dove of the Holy Spirit holds a crown of thorns above the young Christ.

32. G. Danes, 'Baltasar de Echave Ibía', *A.I.I.E.*, III, no. 9 (1945), 15–26.

p. 309 33. M. Romero de Terreros, *El pintor Alonso López de Herrera* (Mexico, 1934).

34. C. López Martínez, *Arquitectos, escultores y pintores vecinos de Sevilla* (Seville, 1928), 19, 42; *Documentos para la historia de arte en Andalucía*, II (1930), 270; X (1946), 84.

35. Despite numerous claims, only one painting demonstrably by Murillo (previously at Lima, now at Sarasota, Florida) reached the colonies prior to Independence. Neither the *Purísima* (Guadalajara Cathedral) nor the *Virgin of Belén* (Mexico Cathedral, since 1773) are certain works by Murillo. I have not found a single indubitable example anywhere in Latin America.

36. Soria, *Zurbarán*, 31.

p. 310 37. Angulo, *Historia*, II, 411–12, brilliantly compared the paintings by Juárez and Roelas.

38. F. Diez Barroso, *El arte en Nueva España* (Mexico, 1921), 265–9, and other scholars recognized the incompatibility of this picture with the signed works by Arteaga.

39. M. Toussaint, *G.B.A.*, XXIV (1943), 168. Toussaint erred in attributing both pictures to Arteaga (also in *A.I.I.E.*, IV, no. 14 (1946), 25, and in *Arte Colonial*, 155). By its style, the *Marriage of the Virgin* dates close to 1660, when Arteaga had been dead for some years.

40. Each figure, in modelling of faces, hands, and draperies, finds its counterpart in works by Juárez. The *St Joseph* is repeated in the signed *Shop at Nazareth* (1667, Mexico, Galería La Granja), the Virgin in the *Holy Family* at Puebla, the little angels throwing flowers (a typical activity in Juárez's paintings) and the standing angels in the signed *Vision of St Francis* (*c.* 1660, Academy). The weighty yet crisp draperies fall in complicated, plastic patterns with prominent V-shapes and, at the hem, sharp omega-like waves, the latter inspired by López de Herrera. A device of Juárez is the careful design of choice jewellery displayed as headband, necklace, brooch, and even at the leggings. As customary in Juárez, the border between heaven and earth is diffuse.

41. To Juárez I attribute the *Apotheosis of St Rosalia* (Mexico, Louis Eychenne, as Echave Orio); the *Virgin of Sorrows* (Velázquez Chávez, plate 46, a picture copied in Echave Rioja's *Entombment of Christ*); and tentatively *St Philip Neri* (Velázquez Chávez, plate 27) and *St Lawrence* (Morelia, both as anonymous).

42. M. Toussaint, *G.B.A.*, XXIV (1943), 172–3, and other writers misread the date of the Academy version as 1665 instead of 1655, thus reaching wrong conclusions regarding the chronological sequence. Though Toussaint stated that the Davenport picture is not signed, it is signed at the lower right in fairly large letters: Joseph Xuarez fat.

43. To Echave Rioja's scant *œuvre* one may add a p. 311 *Martyrdom of St Simon* (*c.* 1660, Mexico, Galería La Granja, attributed by M. Romero de Terreros to Pereyns) and a *Birth of the Virgin* (*c.* 1665, Mexico, Franz Mayer, as anonymous).

44. Ramírez's *Portrait of Bishop Bohórquez* (d. 1633) is apparently not dated. *Christ consoled by Angels* (Mexico, San Miguel) is of 1670 (so Carrillo Gariel, *Técnica*, 164, while Toussaint, in Couto, 75, dated it 1656) and the *Christ at the Column* (Guadalajara) is of 1678, not 1658.

45. After his wife died (*c.* 1713), Nicolás became a priest and henceforth so indicated in his signature. Most of his production is of 1690–1700. His style is uneven. In a *Portrait of Joaquín Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz* (1695), the four-year-old boy is dressed to the hilt. Though the setting suggests Carreño, there is no feeling of space, but a collage effect as of pretty paper cut-outs. An *Epiphany* (1698, Guanajuato, Colegio) reflects the manner of Francisco Rizi. The embroidery looks as if it were sprayed on. This is fluid surface-painting, no longer with pretensions to spatial illusion, as in a *Holy Family with St Anne and St Joachim* (1699, Sarasota, Florida), while a *Virgin of Sorrows* (Davenport) is more three-dimensional. A signed *St Sebastian* was sold at Christie's, 18 March 1913, lot 26, and 7 February 1917, lot 255.

46. Juan is even less substantial. His *Self Portrait* appears thin, as if washed out, of a mannered, nervous fitfulness. His mediocre design and quick, liquid sketching of elongated figures seem derived from Echave Rioja. Juan signed a *St Nympha* (Davenport), an *Immaculate Conception with Twelve Saints and the Trinity* (Aix-en-Provence) and a bust of *Ecce Homo* (Cuzco).

p. 311 47. Correa's *Assumption* (1689, Mexico Cathedral) is indebted to Echave Rioja in types and attempted excitement. It and Correa's pictures at Tepotzotlán are confusingly busy. Realism is forgotten. Two signed paintings by Correa are at Vejer de la Frontera (Cadiz). Like most Mexican painters, Correa copied Flemish Mannerist prints. *Christ taken Captive*, by Correa or his shop (Davenport, as anonymous) follows Ph. Galle's engraving after Stradanus in *Passio Mors Resurrectio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* (Antwerp, s.a.).

48. Angulo, *Historia*, II, 417–19.

p. 312 49. Tinoco's style is exemplified by *St Lucy* (Puebla, Academy), after Guido Reni, and *St Rosalia* (Puebla, San Agustín), signed 'Jů Tinoco f año 1688'.

50. 1702, at San Martín Texmelucan, San Francisco; also a *St Catherine* (Mexico, Galería La Granja). By the homonym may be the *Death of St Francis Xavier* (Mexico, Franz Mayer; Velázquez Chávez, plate 86), signed 'Ju Thngco F T. a. 1685'.

51. Signed 'Antonius de Santander depingebat pridie Kalendas Decembris Anno Domini 1657 Angelopoli'.

52. Toussaint, *Arte Colonial*, 264.

53. Others by Santander at Puebla, San Miguelito (*Purísima*, dated 1701, and a *St Thomas*, after Rubens); Mexico, Pérez Salazar (*St Acasius*, as anonymous); Caracas, Carlos Moeller (*Holy Family with St Anne and St Joachim*).

p. 313 54. Reproduced without indication of signature or date by M. Toussaint, *A.I.I.E.*, v, no. 20 (1952), 5–20, from a photograph lent by the author. One wonders how Toussaint could have questioned the Mexican provenance of the mother-of-pearl paintings.

55. G. Estrada, *Las tablas de la conquista de México en Madrid* (Madrid, 1933). Miguel signed one of another series of twenty-two panels of the Conquest (Buenos Aires, Ethnographic Museum, reproduced in *Contemporaneos*, Mexico (March 1931), 206–29), which is partly taken from a cycle of twenty-four (Madrid, Dukes of Moctezuma), better in quality and probably by Juan Gonzales. Evidently the Spanish aristocracy in Mexico liked the theme. Six unsigned panels by the two Gonzales of a Conquest series telescoping many scenes are in the Archaeological Museum, Madrid, and two at Seville, Duke of Osuna. Two belong to José R. Gomez Acebo, Madrid. Six scenes from the life of the Virgin and six of various saints are in the Archaeological Museum, Madrid (G. Estrada, *El Arte mexicano en España* (Mexico, 1937), 20–7, figures 12–19; *Exposición de la Cultura Española en las Indias* (Madrid, 1930), no. 60, plate VI) and twelve Allegories of the Creed, signed by Miguel Gonzales at the National Museum of History, Mexico. All these paintings are in mother-of-pearl technique. I do not know if this is true of a *St Michael*, signed 1717 by a Juan Gonzales (Mexico, Joaquín Cortina Rincón Gallardo), and whether it is by the Gonzales discussed. Slightly later than the various series by the Gonzales is one of eight paintings (Mexico, British Embassy, on loan from the Hon. Mrs Strickland, Yorkshire). Here conch is used only for bits of decoration worn by the Indians. The artist knew Tempesta's engravings of equestrian battles. Neither he nor the Gonzales seem to have worked from prints of the Conquest. At least three folding screens (without conch inlay) depicting the Conquest are by a later hand, inferior to either Gonzales (one in the National Museum of History, Mexico). Besides Conquest scenes, there are many anonymous paintings of religious subjects with inlay of conch (some in Mexico, Franz Mayer and H. H. Behrens).

56. See Velázquez Chávez; J. Romero Flores, *Iconografía Colonial* (Mexico, 1940); W. Pach, 'Unknown aspects of Mexican painting', *G.B.A.*, XXIV (1943), 209–20; J. Muriel de la Torre and M. Romero de Terreros, *Retratos de monjas en Nueva España* (Mexico, 1952).

57. José María Estrada and Eduardo Villaseñor in Guadalajara, Hermenegildo Bustos in Guanajuato were perhaps the most outstanding, each brilliant in his way.

58. E. van Heurck and J. Boekenoogen, *Histoire de l'image populaire flamand* (Brussels, 1910), 548.

59. Represented is Sor Rita María de San Luis p. 314
Gonzaga (Mexico, Sra. de Martínez del Río), by an anonymous author, perhaps Alzíbar or F. Martínez.

60. Faces seem as if licked by a cat. The effect is of finely shaded drawing rather than of a painting, as in his *Self Portrait* (Academy, as by Cabrera, Velázquez Chávez, plate 106).

61. Ibarra's series of eight small copper plates of p. 315
the life of the Virgin is a tour de force of sensitive shading of light. In the *Virgin of the Apocalypse*, the central group and the distribution of light and shade are borrowed from Rubens's painting (Munich), while the *Resurrection* recalls Italian Mannerism, particularly Siena. Luminous reds and

blues vie with ochre, green, and yellow. Skies are pink or grey. Though little appreciated by present-day Mexican connoisseurs, these pictures are of a refinement almost unmatched in Mexican art.

62. I attribute to Cabrera these portraits: *Marquesa de las Amarillas*, Vicereine (*c.* 1757); *Noble Lady in scarlet, silver, and black, praying before the Guardian Angel* (*c.* 1755–60, both Mexico, private collections); *Mother María Antonia de Rivera* (1755, Philadelphia); all three as anonymous.

63. In addition to those listed in the text and by Velázquez Chávez, Barreda painted: María Isabel Antonia Galves y Estrada (1792, Mexico, E. Villaseñor); Juana and María Josefa de la Fora (Mexico, R. Aranda); José Gómez de Cádiz y Lima, aged 37 (Morelia); and probably José Fernández de Uribe (after 1773), José Pereda Chávez and Francisco Antonio de Rabago (1785) (Romero Flores, plates opp. pp. 80, 164, 172). Barreda was never in Oaxaca.

p. 316 64. In a *Calvary* (Chapel of the Monte de Piedad) and a ceiling-painting *Miracle of the Source* (1813, School of Mines; the sketches, less important, in the Academy), Planes derives his style from his Valencian compatriot Maella and from F. Bayeu. He also may have seen Goya's tapestry cartoons. J. Fernández, *G.B.A.*, XXIII (1943), 353; M. Romero de Terreros, *A.I.I.E.*, III, no. 10 (1943), 80–1.

65. The picture measures 31·5 by 22·5 cm., and is inscribed on the back: 'Hubo premio en la Academia. José Ignacio Guerrero / de Edad de 6as menos 17 dias en 14 de Julio de 1798 / por su padre Jose Guerrero. Caro dos onzas.' A companion piece of the older brother José Manuel, aged eight, was painted three days later.

p. 317 66. Soria, *op. cit.*, 15–43; E. W. Palm, *G.B.A.*, XLIX (November 1956), 65–74.

67. Angulo, *La mitología en el arte español del Renacimiento* (Madrid, 1952).

p. 318 68. Soria, *op. cit.*, 89–90.

69. This drawing is in a book listing the members of the Brotherhood of the Rosary in 1588, including Indian, Spanish, Greek, and Flemish painters.

p. 319 70. The paintings on glass at San Francisco, Lima, cannot be found. Two, also on glass, at Santo Domingo in Lima, I have not seen. The choir books, signed AP and APB, of 1621 at Santo Domingo in Quito are not by Bedón.

71. Through woodcuts and Italo-Byzantine icons of the sixteenth century.

72. Among paintings in Tunja which deserve publication are an Italianate Cinquecento *St Sebastian* (Santa Bárbara), *The Assumption of the Virgin* (*c.* 1600, Las Nieves, preceding by twenty years a similar theme in the cathedral, Clerics' Altar), *The Four Evangelists* (San Ignacio, spandrels, oil on canvas), *Ecce Homo* by Salvador del Corte Castellanos (1648, San Laureano), and statues of St Anthony with the Christ Child (Santo Domingo) and St Francis (San Francisco). For the interesting altars and pulpits at Santo Domingo and San Francisco, see Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, plates 23–4. Important paintings and altars are at Chivata, near Tunja.

73. At San Diego in Bogotá, 1641; others at San Francisco and elsewhere.

74. Acero's *St Dominic at the Battle of Montfort* (1651, Museo de Arte Colonial) copies a print, and the *Rape of Dejaneira* (London, Baron R. L. van Meerbeke) follows Tempesta's etching in *Metamorphoseon sive Transformationum Ovidianarum* (Antwerp, 1606), plate 83. Other paintings by Acero are at Santa Bárbara, Hospital of St John of God, Las Aguas (1646, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, model of Pimentel's statue; also a *Virgin with Christ Child*), and Las Nieves (1657, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, a characteristic work by Acero).

75. P. Kelemen, 'Breves líneas sobre el retrato de Gaspar de Figueroa en el Colegio del Rosario', *Revista del Colegio Mayor del Rosario*, XL (1945), 217–18.

76. It is characteristic of the organization of colonial workshops that Baltasar left at his death 1,800 prints and six books of lives of saints adorned with engravings which he had used as models. Many paintings by Baltasar, his father Gaspar, and his pupil Vázquez follow prints, usually after Rubens and Van Dyck. On Vázquez, see R. Pizano, *Gregorio Vázquez de Arce* (Paris, 1926).

77. The co-operation of the Rev. Mother Su- p. 320 perior and of Sr Nicolás Delgado is gratefully acknowledged. In spite of urging, no exploration has taken place in other Quito convents.

78. The sources of this unusual style, probably prints, are not known.

79. On the basis of a *St Francis and the Third Order*, signed in 1615, Mexía was the author of an *Annunciation* (both San Francisco), a *Christ venerated by Saints* (Jijón y Caamaño Collection), and perhaps a *St Thomas Aquinas* (Santo Domingo, cloister).

p. 320 80. A series of scenes from Genesis set in the ceiling below the choir at San Francisco is taken from engravings by Jan Sadeler after Crispijn van den Broek, in G. de Jode, *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum* (Antwerp, 1579). *St Gabriel* (San Francisco, sacristy) comes from the same Antwerp engravings as a series at the Concepción in Lima.

81. Zurbarán had used the same series more inventively.

82. Of 1675 are eleven paintings of the Ave Maria (Bogotá, San Francisco) and of 1683 the Altar of Angels including an *Immaculate Conception with Philip IV* (Guápulo). At San Agustín is a huge *Allegory of the Order* and at the cathedral a moving *Death of the Virgin*.

83. At Guápulo are amazingly progressive, almost Goyesque landscapes, a subject unparalleled in Colonial Art. These scenes incidentally represent miraculous interventions. Another theme almost unique in the Colonies is the Four Seasons, from prints, at the Museum.

84. Miguel's daughter Isabel, the only Colonial woman painter of note, followed him closely but less sensitively. To her one may attribute the series of the *Sacraments* (combined in each picture with the Virtues, Sins, Commandments, Paternoster, and Works of Mercy!) and possibly the double scenes of Franciscan saints (both at San Francisco).

85. Goríbar signed a huge *Assumption of the Virgin* (Guápulo) 'Fecit Goribar Feliciter Vivat', and an engraving of Luis, Prince of Asturias, with the Seven Virtues (1718, Díaz Collection, Buenos Aires). These works assure the attribution to Goríbar of the paintings mentioned in the text.

86. J. de Mesa–T. G. de Mesa, 'Influencia de un grabado italiano en la obra de Goríbar', *A.E.A.*, XXIV (1951), 73–5.

87. This fact and the late-seventeenth-century style of the landscapes militate against an attribution of the Prophets to the Jesuit painter Hernando de la Cruz (d. 1646). It would be well if Ecuadorian authorities remedied the poor condition of these paintings and protected them from layers of dust.

88. By Goríbar is a *St Vincent Ferrer* in the Quito Museum, but not a fine, early-nineteenth-century portrait of a member of the Order of San Camilo Lelis in a private collection there. The author reached no conclusion regarding the authorship of a series of Kings of Judah at Santo Domingo, probably derived from Vignon engravings.

p. 321 89. The preponderance of the Quito school of painting is a myth. In many Bolivian and Argentinian museums local paintings are labelled School of Puebla, Quito, or Cuzco, and often dated fifty or one hundred years too early. Several excellent Cuzco paintings of the seventeenth century are in Quito.

90. Soria, *op. cit.*, 45–78. For the documents see his p. 113, note 3 and Father R. Vargas Ugarte, *Apéndice* (1955), 19.

91. See p. 209 and Soria, *op. cit.*, 74, 117–19. p. 322

92. Soria, *op. cit.*, 74–6, 119–20; Vargas Ugarte, *Apéndice* (1955), 21.

93. Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, plates 131, 191, p. 323 text 197–203. For documents on Cuzco painters see J. Cornejo Bouroncle, *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco*, no. 3 (1952), and later.

94. Soria, *op. cit.*, 102–3, 125.

95. To Gamarra, always influenced by Bitti, one might attribute a *St Joseph with the Christ Child and St Catherine* in the Recoleta of Cuzco. Two Marriages of the Virgin there are slightly later. Of this general manner are the panels of the *Marriage of the Virgin*, *Nativity*, and *Adoration of the Magi* at the Almudena, and a *Holy Family in the Carpenter's Shop*, next to the stairway at San Francisco, all at Cuzco. See Soria, 'La pintura en el Cuzco y en el Alto Perú 1550–1700', *A.I.A.A.*, no. 12 (1959).

96. Diego Quispe Ttito was a major painter of the Cuzco school. Two works of his, one signed in 1667, are at Potosí (see J. de Mesa and T. Gisbert, 'La pintura boliviana del siglo XVII', *Revista de Estudios Americanos*, no. 52 (1956), 26–7). See also Kelemen, 212, plate 138a, b, from photographs taken by the author.

97. Signed works by Montúfar are the *Vision of the Cross* in the Jijón y Caamaño Collection at Quito and the *Martyrdoms of Apostles* at Sucre Cathedral and Museum. *The Vision of the Cross* derives from a print after a painting by Marten de Vos, owned by Prince Hohenlohe, at Quexigal near Madrid (burnt 1956).

98. After the fall of Constantinople, small p. 324 colonies of Greeks had established themselves in many Spanish cities. Beginning with Peter of Candia, a member of Pizarro's small band, Greek merchants, artisans, and artists settled in most South American towns, along with Italians, Flemings, and Germans. For instance, at Sucre were, among others, the carpenters Juan Griego (1560), Jácome Griego (1571), and Juan de Candia

(1587), according to a generous communication from Dr Gunnar Mendoza, Director of the Biblioteca Nacional.

99. Soria, *A.I.A.A.*, no. 5 (1953).

100. R. de Mariátegui Oliva, *Pintura cuzqueña del siglo XVII* (Lima, 1951). A few portraits of the seventeenth century are known, usually of donors or benefactors, such as *Usenda de Loaiza* (*c.* 1624, destroyed in 1950) at the Merced in Cuzco; *Bishop Mollinedo with the Virgin of Belen* (*c.* 1673–99) at p. 322 the cathedral; and at Potosí, *Miguel de la Cruz Guaman and wife*, both in Indian costume (1671), in the Jerusalén church, and four portraits in Santa p. 323 Teresa (*c.* 1685–90).

101. Birds, often shown over the heads of Indian personalities, may have special, possibly magic, meaning. See above, p. 392, Note 11.

p. 325 102. The Spanish kings considered themselves legitimate successors to the Incas. Eighteenth-century Lima paintings represent royal portraits in an unbroken line from the earliest Incas to Ferdinand VI.

103. J. de Mesa and T. Gisbert, *Revista de Estudios Americanos*, no. 52 (1956), 34. This article, though scantily illustrated, gives valuable information on Bolivian seventeenth-century painting. Few pictures of the early 1600s survive in Bolivia. The best painter was Montúfar at Sucre (p. 323). Anonymous are a *Bestowal of the Chasuble upon St Ildefons*, with donor's portrait, also a *St Gertrude* (both at Potosí, Casa de Moneda), and a *Virgen de los Desamparados* in which the Christ Child wears a peaked cap of the time of Philip II (at Potosí, Santa Teresa). A version of the latter image, given to Cuzco Cathedral in 1646, is called there 'Virgen de los Remedios'. See Soria, *A.I.A.A.*, no. 12 (1959).

104. See the excellent study by J. de Mesa and T. Gisbert, 'Un pintor colonial boliviano: Melchor Pérez Holguín', *Arte en América y Filipinas*, II, no. 4 (1952), 149–216; see J. de Mesa and T. Gisbert, *Holguín y la pintura altoperuana del Virreinato* (La Paz, p. 324 1956).

105. It is more than doubtful that a *Martyrdom of St Bartholomew* at Sucre Cathedral, copied from Ribera's etching, is by Holguín. It is neither signed by him nor in his style.

p. 326 106. Lord Methuen's ancestor, British envoy at Madrid, brought it there about five years after the picture was painted.

107. By a follower of Lázaro Pardo de Lagos is a *Vision of St Francis* of 1713 at the Recoleta in Cuzco, from the engraving R. Sadeler made after Cosmo Piazza at Venice.

CHAPTER 18

1. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Dr p. 328 João Couto, Director of the Museu de Arte Antiga at Lisbon, and the curators Fernando Mardel, Abel de Moura, and Maria José de Mendonça. Without their enthusiastic aid this chapter could not have been written. The unequalled research facilities of the Museum were put at the author's disposal, including the manuscript catalogue by M. J. Mendonça of the Lisbon Exhibition of 1940, most useful for investigations of Portuguese painting from 1450 to 1550. The scholarly contributions by Reinaldo dos Santos, João Couto, and Luís Reis Santos have done much to clarify the tangle of Portuguese painting. As this chapter suggests, much remains to be done.

2. L. Reis Santos, *Obras-primas da pintura flamenga dos séculos XV e XVI em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1953); M. C. de A. C. Zagallo, *A pintura dos séculos XV e XVI da Ilha da Madeira* (Lisbon, 1943).

3. R. dos Santos, *Os primitivos Portugueses* (Lisbon, p. 329 1940), 19, 24, suggested that the Master of the Charola of Tomar was Jorge Afonso. L. Reis Santos, in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, XVII, proposed the name Master of 1515 for the painter of the Madre de Deus panels, recognizing in him the teacher of Gregório Lopes, and XXI (1950?), 875, suggested that the Charola Master was the Master of 1515 at an earlier date.

4. The Lisbon panels, all of 1515 – *Epiphany, Ascension, Annunciation, Pentecost, Christ appearing to the Virgin, Assumption, Adoration of the Shepherds*, and *St Clare receiving the Rule of her Order* – are being returned to the Madre de Deus after the removal of alterations of *c.* 1560. For the grotesque ornament of columns in these alterations, see engravings by Cornelis Floris of Antwerp of *c.* 1557, R. Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter*, plate 161^1.

5. Compare *St John Baptist, Adam and Abraham* (Plate 181B), and the Apostles in the *Resurrection of Lazarus* and *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* at Tomar.

6. Assistants gave minor aid in both altars. An X-ray shadowgraph suggests that Lopes painted the angels in the Tomar *Ascension*, probably the angels and Madonna in the Madre de Deus

Assumption, and in the *Epiphany* some of the background architecture and vegetation.

p. 329 7. J. Couto, *B.M.N.A.A.*, I (1940), no. 3, 129. The *Angel holding a Shield* inscribed 1515 and the *St John the Baptist with Companions* are integral parts – stylistically, iconographically, and structurally – of the *Christ appearing to the Virgin* (Plate 181B). See J. D. Breckenridge, *A.B.*, XXXIX (1957), 29–30.

p. 330 8. See A. Vieira Santos, *Primitivos portugueses do Museu de Setúbal* (Lisbon, 1955). Dr Couto observed Queen Leonor's shrimp-net in one panel, which would date the altar before 1525. By Jorge Afonso are in my opinion essentially the four panels of saints, also the five panels of the Virgin. However, in the *Nativity*, the angels could be by Gregório Lopes, who may have helped to paint the angels of the Madre de Deus *Nativity*. In the *Epiphany*, one suspects slight aid by Lopes (who copied the picture in his Paradise altar), while background figures may be by Figueiredo. In the *Presentation in the Temple*, the woman standing in the centre is by Figueiredo, or was copied by him in the Lisbon *Entombment*. In the *Assumption*, the Virgin and angels might be by Lopes, whose style is softer than that of Afonso. Presumably Afonso painted the *Resurrection*, *Nailing to the Cross*, and, in the *Calvary*, the group on the right, St John, the woman above him, the Virgin's hands, and perhaps Christ's feet. The rest of the picture seems to be by Figueiredo, who based his Coimbra version on it. See J. Couto, *B.A.N.B.A.*, VII (1940), 1–7. The *Descent from the Cross* may be by Figueiredo, also all the *Via Crucis*, except three heads on the right which resemble the work of Afonso. L. Reis Santos, *Enciclopedia*, XVII (1947), 63, rightly concluded that the Setúbal altar was painted by the Master of 1515 (that is Afonso) with the collaboration of his pupils Lopes, Figueiredo, and Garcia Fernandes. R. dos Santos, *Os Primitivos*, 29, 33, saw the affinities to the Master of 1515, Figueiredo, and G. Lopes.

9. R. dos Santos, *B.A.N.B.A.*, IV (1938), 5–38; *idem*, *Os Primitivos*, 17–18.

p. 331 10. L. Reis Santos, *Estudos de pintura antiga* (Lisbon, 1943), 189–96; *idem*, *Enciclopédia*, XVII, 61, 63; XXI, 875.

p. 332 11. L. Reis Santos, *Estudos*, 3–8, 265–8; J. Couto, *B.A.N.B.A.*, V (1939), 39–44; R. dos Santos, *Os Primitivos*, 16–17.

12. See the admirable monograph by L. Reis Santos, *Vasco Fernandes* (Lisbon, 1946). His results have been fully accepted here, except see Note 14 below.

p. 333 13. Vasco Fernandes's triptych of the Pietà (*c.* 1520) from the collection of Sir Herbert Cook entered the Lisbon Museum in 1945. This capital piece is signed 'VASCO FRZ'. A triptych in Castelo Branco (Reis Santos, plate lxxvi) could be by Fernandes, also perhaps an *Assumption* in Bucelas near Lisbon.

p. 334 14. Dr Couto ascribes all eight panels solely to Gaspar Vaz, influenced by Fernandes; so also R. dos Santos, *Os Primitivos*, 21–2. Reis Santos, *Vasco Fernandes*, 27–9, believes that Vaz executed the *St Peter* and the *St Michael*, but that Fernandes designed them. Gaspar Vaz was born *c.* 1490 and in 1514–15 was an assistant of Jorge Afonso in Lisbon. He resided in Viseu at least from 1522 to 1568, the probable year of his death.

15. L. Reis Santos, *Obras-primas*, 67–72, plates V–XX.

16. J. Couto, *A pintura flamenga em Évora no século XVI, Variedade de estilos e de técnicas na obra atribuida a Frei Carlos* (Évora, 1943); *idem*, *A oficina de Frei Carlos* (Lisbon, 1955). Dr Couto's study, based on the X-ray shadowgraphs and detail photographs of the magnificent Research and Restoration Institute at the Lisbon Museum, unequalled in the peninsula, is a model of discrimination and caution. He succeeded in freeing Frei Carlos's *œuvre* from a mass of doubtful attributions and credited many of these pictures to his workshop.

p. 335 17. These include a *Virgin with Child Christ and two Angels*, *Christ blessing*, both perhaps about 1529, *The Good Shepherd*, a *Virgin of Humility* (all in Lisbon), and a *Virgin with Child Christ* (Oporto), the last three perhaps after 1529.

18. By L. Reis Santos.

19. One would credit Frei Carlos with the *Veronica* (about 1529) and *St Anthony with the Child Christ* (after 1529(?)); while the *Stigmatization of St Francis*, inferior in execution, seems painted by assistants (all in Lisbon, the first from Espinheiro).

20. Lopes was Afonso's son-in-law. Fernandes's wife was a daughter of Henriques and of Afonso's sister. The cousin of Fernandes's wife married Figueiredo.

21. L. Reis Santos, *Gregório Lopes* (Lisbon, 1954), a basic monograph on the artist. However, over thirty of the hundred paintings there given to him are by the San Quintino Master. My attributions, except for six new ones of paintings in the Lisbon

Museum, were previously made by Reis Santos, and most of them earlier by R. dos Santos, *Os Primitivos*, 32–4. Gregório Lopes is known to have p. 333 painted 'in his house' an altar of Martyrdoms of St Quentin for the church of Nossa Senhora de Monte Agraço. These paintings are lost.

22. L. Reis Santos, *Estudos*, 19–22; *idem*, *Lopes*, 8; *idem*, *Painéis dos Mestres de Ferreirim* (Évora, 1950), 13. By Lopes and similar in style are the *Presentation in the Temple* at Santa Iria da Azoia, and the *Creation* p. 334 *of Adam* at Setúbal, São Julião.

23. *Epiphany*, *Presentation in the Temple*, *Marriage*, and *Death of the Virgin*. In the *Flight into Egypt*, the head of the Virgin, and in the *Visitation* and *Nativity* the draperies of the main figures, resemble those at Setúbal and may be by Jorge Afonso, while the garments of the angels look forward to Lopes's customary style.

24. Another altar at Lisbon, the Santiago altar, allegedly came from the Order's church at nearby Palmela. It resembles the Paradise altar in composition, and in certain details of draperies, architecture, landscape, and trees. Both altars were painted during the 1520s by followers of Jorge Afonso, but in the Santiago altar Lopes seems to have had only a minor part. See L. Reis Santos, *Enciclopedia*, XVII, 63; R. dos Santos, *Os Primitivos*, 28. *The Martyrdom of St Hyppolitus* and *The Martyrdom of St Andrew*, both at Lisbon from Coimbra University, are in colour and modelling of flesh and of draperies, as well as expression, closer to the p. 335 Paradise altar than to any other group. They seem by Lopes *c.* 1523–5, as is the *Miracle of the Resurrection of the Young Man* from the main altar of Santa Cruz at Coimbra, all three hitherto attributed to Figueiredo.

p. 336 25. This panel and four others attributed to the so-called Master of the Arches seem clearly by Lopes. Also by Lopes are the related three panels at Runa and the *Visitation* at the Espírito Santo church at Évora.

26. Though documented as from the same series and by Lopes, the *St Anthony and St Bernard* in the Charola at Tomar seem even in their intact middle section so weak that the execution may have been largely by an assistant. A *St Michael* (Lisbon Inv. no. 195) must be given to Lopes at this moment, *c.* 1535. The face, draperies, and hand are typical, with their dark outlines. The whole picture, especially Satan, has the complicated, brittle fussiness of Lopes.

27. An immediate source for the picture was Jan Gossaert's early *Holy Family with Angels* (*c.* 1505) at Lisbon, from the Madre de Deus; see Reis Santos, *Obras-primas*, 96.

28. Another magnificent bit of painting, looking p. 337 forward to Rubens, is the scene of Three Crosses, in the *Entombment of Christ*. Contemporary is Lopes's *Epiphany* at Bourg-Saint-Andéol, France.

29. They are by the same hand as the Santos-o-Novo altar, the panels by the Arches Master and those from the Tomar Charola at Lisbon. Raking light photographs taken by Dr Couto prove identity in modelling and brushwork. Colours are identical too. Lopes uses primarily ultramarine, rose, yellow, vermilion, and russet, all heavily mixed with white. Also by Lopes are a *St Peter*, *St Paul*, and two panels of the *Holy Cross*, all at Évora Cathedral.

30. Partly copying Lopes's architecture, a less inspired follower A.V. monogrammed in 1549 an *Annunciation* at Lisbon.

31. The *Adoration* forms a series with a *Calvary* and a *Resurrection*. The *Descent from the Cross* in the Funchal Museum seems as Zagallo, *op. cit.*, 61, recognized by the author of the Abrantes altar, i.e. Lopes. It comes from São Bras, at Arco de Calheta, where paintings in similar style remain; see Zagallo, 76–8, plates 31–2.

32. For instance, in an *Ascension of Christ* (*c.* 1520, Lisbon, Inv. no. 46) Figueiredo may have painted the flesh and Garcia Fernandes the draperies. On Figueiredo, see R. dos Santos, *Os Primitivos*, 25–7. Of the paintings there attributed to Figueiredo, I give the Caldas da Rainha triptych to the Lourinhã Master, the *Martyrdoms of St Hyppolitus* and *Andrew* to Gregório Lopes, and the Vila Viçosa panels to Garcia Fernandes.

33. Figueiredo painted the *Holy Trinity* at p. 338 Oporto and the majestic *God the Father* at Lisbon, both stylistically coeval with the *Entombment* but much more damaged than the artist's *Evangelists* which form the wings of the latter picture. He may have done the *Triumph of the Cross* at Coimbra, but it is impossible to recognize his hand in a companion piece, the *Recovery of the Cross by St Helen*, both *in situ* in the apse of Santa Cruz at Coimbra by 1541. A third picture is by Lopes (Note 24). See *Enciclopedia*, XII (1945?), 303–4.

34. Four more unattributed, excellent panels at the Lisbon Museum, *St Peter Martyr*, *St Bartholomew*, *St Matthew*, and *St Philip* (Inv. nos 300, 186,

854, and 856), belong in my opinion to this moment in Figueiredo's career.

p. 339 35. The reconstruction of Fernandes's *œuvre* here attempted is based on his directly or indirectly documented works as well as observation of his brushwork, way of modelling, colours, and other peculiarities. Among his earliest paintings may be three from one altar, *c.* 1515: *Death of the Virgin, Ascension of Christ, Christ appearing to the Virgin,* all Lisbon (Inv. nos 42, 40, and 290). In the first two, the faces may be by Figueiredo.

36. Again and again one sees in his *œuvre* the right hand of St Auta embarking at Cologne or her left hand in the Arrival at Lisbon. The small, miniature-like figures in the background are also typical. Four panels of the Martyrs of Lisbon (Bensaúde Collection at Lisbon) seem contemporary with the St Auta altar.

37. Man at the left and perhaps Christ's parents, unless Fernandes here imitated Afonso with particular ability. A *Christ among the Doctors* (Lisbon Inv. no. 1575) modifies the São Bento version, while the *Epiphany* (Inv. no. 33) repeats that at São Bento, and belongs to an altar with an *Annunciation, Nativity,* and *Circumcision* (Inv. nos. 36, 37, and 32) all by Fernandes. Of about 1525–30 are two predellas of virgin saints at Lisbon, Remédios (L. Reis Santos, *Estudos,* 10–15).

38. There are many specific resemblances in types, poses, modelling of heads, hands, draperies, and in the colours.

39. In the *Birth of the Virgin,* Fernandes introduces again a helmet with wings and a Negro servant.

40. The *Immaculate Conception* belonging to this altar is in Lisbon; see L. Reis Santos, *Painéis dos mestres de Ferreirim,* 16, 18, 25. Of about the same date are a *Christ appearing to the Apostles* and a *Creation of Adam,* both at Lisbon. The Évora altar, the Coimbra triptych, and five other paintings were rightly attributed to Fernandes by R. dos Santos, *Os Primitivos,* 31.

41. The same assistant seems to have painted the *Assumption of the Virgin* at Sardoura. Two panels of St Martin at São Martinho do Mouros are far better and appear to be by Fernandes *c.* 1534–5.

p. 340 42. Published by J. de Figueiredo, *Revista Portuguesa,* no. 1 (January 1928). The *Via Crucis,* similar in design to the one at Ferreirim, is executed by Fernandes himself while his participation in the Ferreirim version is questionable. One of the soldiers in the *Resurrection* has ear wings.

43. Lopes's influence in the treatment of landscape foreground and background is seen in Fernandes's *Descent from the Cross* (Lisbon, Falcão Collection), his *Entombment of Christ* (Castelo Branco, both *c.* 1536–8), and his *St Catherine carried up to Heaven* (*c.* 1538–40, Goa Cathedral). In 1537 Fernandes dated a *Pentecost* (Lisbon Inv. no. 705). To the same altar belong a *Nativity, Resurrection, Baptism,* and *Presentation in the Temple* (Lisbon Inv. nos 39, 35, 38, and 43).

44. Both from the Burnay Collection, together with a *Pentecost,* now in the Portuguese Embassy at the Vatican, and a *Meeting of St John Baptist and the High Priest,* at the Oporto Museum. Contemporary are a *Prayer of Joachim and Anne,* owned by Dr Abel de Lacerda at Caramulo, and a *Pentecost* at the Viseu Museum.

45. Attributed to Garcia Fernandes by J. de Figueiredo and R. dos Santos, by interpreting a document of Fernandes's pupil Manuel André of 1574. See Sousa Viterbo, *Notícias de alguns pintores portuguezes,* 1 (Lisbon, 1903), 32.

46. Soria, *B.M.N.A.A.* (1957), re-assembled thirty-five paintings by the São Quintino Master, including the triptych at Ega (1543).

47. Soria, *B.A.,* no. 10 (1957). Campos's signed work, dated in 1578, is the three ceilings in the Palace of the Counts of Basto at Évora. p. 341

48. Gregório Lopes's son Cristóvão (1516(?)–94) became court painter to John III at his father's death in 1561 and in the following year Examiner of Paintings. Though Palomino alleges that he was a pupil of Sánchez Coello, who was fifteen years younger, Cristóvão's heavy-handed, unsubtle portraits of John III and Queen Catarina (Lisbon Museum, replicas at São Roque and Madre de Deus) follow Mor's (Madrid, Museo Lázaro and Prado, no. 2109).

49. A half-length copy at Windsor Castle, bought by Queen Victoria, is there labelled Infante Carlos.

50. Second edition, by J. de Vasconcelos, Oporto, 1930. Spanish translation (1563) ed. by E. Tormo and F. J. Sánchez Cantón (Madrid, 1921). *Quatro Dialogos da pintura antiga,* ed. J. de Vasconcelos (Oporto, 1896). See R. J. Clements, *P.M.L.A.,* LXI, no. 4 (December 1946), 1018–28. *Os Desenhos das antigualhas que vio Francisco d'Ollanda Pintor Portugues,* at the Escorial Library, ed. E. Tormo (Madrid, 1940); for *De Aetatis Mundi Imagine* (1545–73), at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, see F. Cordeiro Blanco, *A.E.A.,* no. 109 (1955), 1–37. The Escorial

manuscript proves that Holanda painted the small *Our Lady of Mercy protecting the Royal Family* (*c.* 1553) at Lisbon.

51. On these and other painters from 1550 to 1650, see Luis Felix da Costa, 1696, in *B.A.N.B.A.*, *Documentos*, II (1936), 62–4; R. dos Santos, in *Arte Portuguesa*, ed. J. Barreira (Lisbon, n.d.), 267–79.

p. 342 52. Thieme-Becker, XII (1916), 614, errs in suggesting that Venegas might be F. de Holanda and in believing that Venegas's name derives from van den Egas.

53. His ceiling project, Lisbon Museum, drawing no. 666, may be compared with Becerra's contemporary work at the Pardo Palace.

54. A. de Gusmão, *Diogo Teixeira e seus colaboradores* (Lisbon, 1955).

55. An *Annunciation* by Gomes is at Belem, and a *Resurrection* in Madeira. Gomes was born Hernán Gómez Román at Albuquerque, Spain. See A. Rodríguez Moñino, *Los pintores badajoceños*, 18–19.

56. A. de Gusmão, 'O Retábulo Quinhentista da igreja do Carmo de Coimbra', *Diário de Notícias*, Lisbon, 7 July 1955. Rodrigues's preparatory drawing for the *Presentation in the Temple* at the Carmo of Coimbra is in the Lisbon Museum (no. 378) inscribed 'CAMPELO' in an ink different from the rest of the drawing. This delicate design is unlike Campelo's massive style (Lisbon drawings, nos 380, 381, 382).

p. 343 57. Academia Nacional de Belas Artes, *Personagens portuguesas do século XVII*, *Exposicão* (Lisbon, 1942).

58. L. Reis Santos, *Josefa d'Óbidos* (Lisbon, 1955).

59. Josefa copied Zurbarán's *Agnus Dei*, surrounding it with a wreath of flowers in a roll-work cartouche (Évora Museum; Estoril, private collection; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery).

p. 344 60. J. Ferrão, *Vieira Lusitano* (Lisbon, 1956).

61. Thieme-Becker, XVII (1933), 522–3.

p. 345 62. C. de Passos, *Vieira Portuense* (Oporto, 1953); see Thieme-Becker, XXXIV (1940), 336, for Vieira's paintings at Parma and Berlin.

63. J. Couto, *B.M.N.A.A.*, II, no. 4 (1953), 21–45, on Vieira's sketchbooks.

64. A. de Moura, *B.M.N.A.A.*, II, no. 2 (1951), 49–54, shows the various sketches preceding the final version.

65. V. Correia, *Sequeira em Roma* (Coimbra, 1923); R. dos Santos, *Sequeira y Goya* (Madrid, 1929), a brilliantly perceptive study; L. X. da Costa, *Domingos António de Sequeira, Noticia Biográfica* (Lisbon, 1939); D. de Macedo, *Sequeira* (Lisbon, 1956).

66. R. dos Santos, *Sequeira*, 10.

67. Lisbon Museum, drawing no. 1601, charcoal heightened with white. p. 346

68. *Allegory to John VI* (1810, Lisbon, formerly J. Kughel); *Vision of the Return of John VI and the Royal Family* (*c.* 1811, Lisbon, Duke of Palmela), Goyesque in theme, composition, and style.

69. This and the next quote from R. dos Santos, *Sequeira*, 19, whose book has been invaluable in the preparation of my text. p. 347

70. The *Holy Trinity* (*c.* 1828–32, Lisbon), an oil sketch in cream, orange, and blue, becomes a mystic harmony of celestial spheres, the vision of heavenly choirs. It is a typical Portuguese quality of Sequeira's that most of his greatest works are sketches rather than finished products. The Portuguese have a talent for the 'inspired' first idea and tend to tire over finished execution. p. 348

71. R. C. Smith, *A.Q.*, V, no. 4 (1930), 239–68; M. Benisovich, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 7 (1943), 35–56; *Maurits de Braziliaan tentoenstelling, Mauritshuis* (The Hague, 1953), Catalogue.

72. See the basic general paper on aspects of Colonial painting in Rio de Janeiro, H. Levy, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 6 (1942), 7–80; also *eadem*, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 8 (1944), 7–66, on European models of Brazilian Colonial painting, a theme previously touched upon by L. Jardim, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 3 (1939), 63–102.

73. H. Levy, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 9 (1945), 251–90.

74. J. Cardoso, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 3 (1939), 145–62.

75. L. Jardim, see above, Note 72. For other ceiling-paintings, see N. Batista, *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 5 (1941), 129–54. Ataíde was born at Mariana, Minas Gerais, in 1762 and died there in 1837. Araujo, from Braga, died at Diamantina in 1799.

The
For
gra
con
usu
T
Lat
div
T

I.

II.

III

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bibliography includes many of the principal books and articles useful as further bibliographical guides. For some artists only the most recent work containing full bibliography is cited. The Notes and the Bibliography supplement each other: many references given in the Notes are excluded from the Bibliography; conversely, many important studies appear only in the Bibliography. Works cited in sections I or II are usually omitted in sections III and IV.

The best-up-to-date bibliographies are found in the *Archivo español de arte* (*A.E.A.*) and in *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (*H.A.H.R.*). In sections I and II the stress is on simple and large geographical divisions. Sections III and IV are arranged more in regard to regions and artists.

The bibliographical material is arranged under the following headings:

- I. *General Works*
  - A. Spain
  - B. Spanish America
  - C. Portugal and Brazil
- II. *Architecture*
  - A. Spain
  - B. Spanish America
    - 1. Middle America
    - 2. South America
  - C. Portugal and Brazil
- III. *Sculpture*
  - A. Spain
    - 1. General
    - 2. Andalusia
    - 3. Castile
    - 4. Navarre
    - 5. Valencia
    - 6. Individual Sculptors
  - B. Middle America
    - 1. The Caribbean
    - 2. Mexico
    - 3. Guatemala
  - C. South America
    - 1. Northern Andes
    - 2. Central Andes
    - 3. Southern Andes and Pampas
  - D. Portugal
  - E. Brazil
- IV. *Painting*
  - A. Spain
    - 1. General
    - 2. Sources
    - 3. Museums and Collections
    - 4. Regional Schools (Catalonia; Seville)
    - 5. Subjects of Painting (Portraits; Still Life)
    - 6. Drawings
    - 7. Individual Painters
  - B. Middle America
    - 1. The Caribbean
    - 2. Mexico
      - Special Schools or Locations
      - Special Subjects or Media
      - Individual Painters
  - C. South America
    - 1. General
    - 2. Northern Andes
    - 3. Central Andes
    - 4. Southern Andes and Pampas
  - D. Portugal
  - E. Brazil

I. GENERAL WORKS

A. SPAIN

AINAUD DE LASARTE, J., GUDIOL, J., and VERRIÉ, F. P. *La ciudad de Barcelona* (*Catálogo monumental de España*). 2 vols. Madrid, 1947.

ALCAHALÍ, J. M. R., Barón de. *Diccionario biográfico de artistas valencianos*. Valencia, 1897.

ALVAREZ DE COLMENAR, J. *Annales d'Espagne et de Portugal*. Amsterdam, 1741.

ANGULO IÑIGUEZ, D. *La mitología y el arte español del Renacimiento*. Madrid, 1952.

BARCIA PAVÓN, A. M. de. *Catálogo de la colección de dibujos originales de la Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid, 1906.

BERMEJO, E. *Archivo español de arte, Indice de los tomos I–XXV* (*1925–1952*). Madrid, 1955.

Catálogo ... Sevilla, see HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, J., *et al.*

CATURLA, M. L. *Pinturas, frondas y fuentes del Buen Retiro*. Madrid, 1947.

CEÁN BERMÚDEZ, J. A. *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*. 6 vols. Madrid, 1800.

COUSELO BOUZAS, J. *Galicia artística en el siglo XVIII*. Santiago de Compostela, 1933.

Documentos para la Historia del Arte en Andalucía (Laboratorio de Arte, Universidad de Sevilla). 10 vols. Seville, 1927–46.

FURIÓ, A. *Diccionario histórico de los ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en Mallorca*. Palma, 1839.

GARCÍA CHICO, E. *Documentos para el estudio del arte en Castilla*. 3 vols. Valladolid, 1940–6.

GAYA NUÑO, J. A. *Historia y guía de los museos de España*. Madrid, 1955.

GESTOSO Y PÉREZ, J. *Sevilla monumental y artística*. 3 vols. Seville, 1889–92.

GESTOSO Y PÉREZ, J. *Ensayo de un diccionario de los artífices que florecieron en Sevilla desde el siglo XIII al XVIII inclusive*. 2 vols. Seville, 1899–1900.

GÓMEZ-MORENO, M. *Las águilas del renacimiento español*. Madrid, 1941.

GÓMEZ-MORENO, M. *Provincia de León* (*Catálogo monumental de España*). Madrid, 1925–6.

HAGEN, O. *Patterns and Principles of Spanish Art*. Madison, Wis., 1936.

HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, J., SANCHO CORBACHO, A., and COLLANTES DE TERÁN, F. *Catálogo arqueológico y artístico de la provincia de Sevilla*. 4 vols. Seville, 1939–55.

JUSTI, C. *Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1908.

LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, O. *Arquitectos, escultores y pintores vecinos de Sevilla*. Seville, 1928.

LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, C. *Desde Jerónimo Hernández hasta Martínez Montañés*. Seville, 1929.

LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, C. *Desde Martínez Montañés hasta Pedro Roldán*. Seville, 1932.

LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, C. *Retablos y esculturas de traza sevillana*. Seville, 1928.

LÓPEZ SERRANO, M. *Bibliografía de arte español y americano, 1936–40*. Madrid, 1942.

LOZOYA, MARQUÉS DE (J. DE CONTRERAS). *Historia del arte hispánico*. 5 vols. Barcelona, 1931–49.

MÉLIDA Y ALINARI, J. R. *Provincia de Badajoz* (*Catálogo monumental de España*). 3 vols. Madrid, 1925–6.

MÉLIDA Y ALINARI, J. R. *Provincia de Cáceres* (*Catálogo monumental de España*). 3 vols. Madrid, 1924.

ORELLANA, M. A. DE (ed. Xavier de Salas). *Biografía pictórica valentina*. Madrid, 1930.

OTERO PEDRAYO, R. *Guía de Galicia*. 3rd ed. Vigo, 1954.

PÉREZ COSTANTI, P. *Diccionario de los artistas que florecieron en Galicia durante los siglos XVI y XVII*. Santiago, 1930.

PÉREZ SEDANO, F. (ed. E. Tormo). *Datos documentales inéditos para la historia del arte español*. Madrid, 1914.

PONZ, A. *Viaje de España* (*1772–94*) (ed. Aguilar). Madrid, 1947.

RÁFOLS, J. F. *Diccionario biográfico de artistas de Cataluña*. 3 vols. Barcelona, 1951–4.

RAMÍREZ DE ARELLANO, R. *Catálogo de artífices que figuraron en Toledo*. Toledo, 1920.

ROMERO DE TORRES, E. *Provincia de Cádiz* (*Catálogo Monumental de España*). Madrid, 1934.

SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, F. J. *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*. 5 vols. Madrid, 1923–41.

TORMO Y MONZÓ, E. *Las iglesias del antiguo Madrid*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1927.

TORMO Y MONZÓ, E., GUSI, C., and LAFUENTE FERRARI, E. *La vida y la obra de Fray Juan Ricci*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1930.

TORMO Y MONZÓ, E. *Monumentos de españoles en Roma y de portugueses e hispano-americanos*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1942.

Tormo y Monzó, E. *Levante* (*Guías Regionales Calpe, Núm. III*). Madrid, 1923.

Tormo y Monzó, E. *Pintura, escultura y arquitectura en España*. Madrid, 1949.

Torre Farfán, F. de la. *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia … de Sevilla*. Seville, 1671.

Viñaza, Conde de la. *Adiciones al diccionario histórico de … Ceán Bermúdez*. 4 vols. Madrid, 1889–94.

Weisbach, W. *Spanish Baroque Art*. Cambridge, 1941.

Zarco del Valle, M. R. *Documentos de la catedral de Toledo* (*datos documentales para la historia del arte español*, II). 2 vols. Madrid, 1916.

B. SPANISH AMERICA

Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes. *Documentos de arte argentino*. Buenos Aires, 1939 et seq.

Angulo Iñiguez, D., Marco Dorta, E., and Buschiazzo, M. J. *Historia del arte hispano-americano*. 3 vols. Barcelona, 1945–56.

Buschiazzo, Mario J. *Bibliografía de arte colonial argentino*. Buenos Aires, 1947.

Documentos de arte colonial sudamericano. 8 vols. Buenos Aires, 1943–52.

Giraldo Jaramillo, G. *Notas y documentos sobre el arte en Colombia*. Bogotá, 1954.

Harth-Terré, E. *Artífices en el virreinato del Perú*. Lima, 1945.

Hernández de Alba, G. *Teatro del Arte Colonial*. Bogotá, 1938.

Kelemen, P. *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*. New York, 1951.

Kubler, G. *Mexican Architecture in the Sixteenth Century*. 2 vols. New Haven, 1948.

Lohmann Villena, G. 'Noticias inéditas para ilustrar la historia de las bellas artes en Lima durante los siglos XVI y XVII', *Revista histórica de Lima*, XIII (1940).

Marco Dorta, E. *Fuentes para la historia del arte hispanoamericano*. Seville, 1951.

Neumeyer, A. 'The Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration in Spanish Colonial America', *A.B.*, XXX (1948).

Newcomb, R. *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in the United States*. New York, 1937.

New World Guides to the Latin American Republics (ed. E. P. Hanson). 3 vols. 3rd ed. New York, 1950.

Pagano, J. L. *El arte de los argentinos*, I. Buenos Aires, 1937.

Palm, E. W. *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española*. 2 vols. Ciudad Trujillo, 1955.

Smith, R. C., and Wilder, E. *A Guide to the Art of Latin America*. Washington, 1948. (See also *Handbook of Latin American Studies*.)

Solá, M. *Historia del arte hispano-americano*. Barcelona, 1935.

Torre Revello, J. 'Datos relacionados con las artes plásticas en América durante la dominación española', *A.I.A.A.*, VII (1954).

Toussaint, M. *Arte colonial en México*. Mexico, 1948.

Toussaint, M. *Arte mudéjar en América*. Mexico, 1946.

Universidad de Buenos Aires. *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas*. Buenos Aires, 1948 *et seq.*

Vargas, J. M. *El arte quiteño en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*. Quito, 1949.

Vargas Ugarte, R., S.J. *Ensayo de un diccionario de artífices coloniales de la América meridional*. Lima, 1947; with *Apéndice*, Lima, 1955.

Villegas, V. M. *El gran signo formal del barroco*. Mexico, 1956.

Wethey, H. E. *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*. Cambridge, Mass., 1949.

Wethey, H. E. *Spanish American Art Bibliography for 1948–52* (*Handbook of Latin-American Studies*, XII, XIV–XX). Cambridge, Mass., 1949, 1951–8. (*See also* Smith and Wilder, *A Guide to the Art of Latin America*.)

C. PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

Academia Nacional de Belas Artes. *Inventário artístico de Portugal*. 5 vols. Lisbon, 1943–55.

Bazin, G. *L'architecture religieuse baroque au Brésil*. 2 vols. Paris, 1956–8.

Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa. *Guia de Portugal*. 3 vols. Lisbon, 1924–44.

Bury, J. 'The Aleijadinho', *Cornhill Magazine*, no. 979 (Summer, 1949).

Espanca, T. *Évora, Guia histórico-artístico*. Évora, 1949.

Falcão, E. de Cerqueira. *Relíquias de Bahia*. São Paulo, 1940.

História de arte em Portugal, Oporto, 1942–53: I, A. de Lacerda, 1942; II, M. Chicó, M. J. Mendonça, F. de Pamplona, D. Peres, 1948; III, R. dos Santos, 1953.

Keil, L. *Inventário artístico de Portugal: Distrito de Portalegre.* Lisbon, 1943.

Lavagnino, E. *Gli artisti in Portogallo.* Rome, 1940.

Passos, C. de. *Guia histórica e artística do Porto.* Oporto, 1935.

Marianno, J. (Filho). *Estudos de arte brasileira.* Rio, 1942.

Mattos, A. *História de arte brasileira.* 2 vols. Belo Horizonte, 1937.

Santos, R. dos. *L'art portugais.* Paris, 1953.

II. ARCHITECTURE

A. SPAIN

Agapito y Revilla, J. 'Un laborioso arquitecto castellano del siglo 16: Rodrigo Gil', *A.*, v (1923).

Alvarez de Quindos y Baena, J. A. *Descripción histórica del real bosque y casa de Aranjuez.* Madrid, 1804.

Azcárate, J. M. de. 'El cilindro, motivo típico del barroco compostelano', *A.E.A.*, xxiv (1951).

Azcárate, J. M. de. *Monumentos españoles. Catálogo de los declarados histórico-artísticos.* 3 vols. Madrid, 1953–4.

Bernia, J. *Historia del palacio de Santa Cruz, 1629–1950.* Madrid, 1949.

Bolea Sintas, M. *Descripción histórica de la Catedral de Málaga.* Malaga, 1894.

Braun, J. *Spaniens alte Jesuitenkirchen.* Freiburg i/Br., 1913.

Breñosa, R., and Castellarnau, J. M. de. *Guía y descripción del Real Sitio de San Ildefonso.* Madrid, 1884.

Calandre, L. *El Palacio del Pardo.* Madrid, 1953.

Calzada, A. *Historia de la arquitectura española.* Barcelona, 1933.

Camacho Baños, A. *El templo de San Luis de Sevilla.* Seville, 1935.

Camón Aznar, J. *La arquitectura plateresca.* 2 vols. Madrid, 1945.

Camón Aznar, J. 'La intervención de Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón en el manuscrito de Simón García', *A.E.A.*, xiv (1940–1).

Carré Aldao, E. *Provincia de la Coruña* (*Geografía general del reino de Galicia*, i and ii, ed. F. Carreras y Canili). Barcelona, 1929.

Castillo, A. del. 'Arquitectura en Galicia', in *Reino de Galicia* (*Geografía general del reino de Galicia*, vi, ed. F. Carreras y Canili). Barcelona [1931?].

Cervera Vera, L. *Las estampas y el sumario de el Escorial por Juan de Herrera.* Madrid, 1954.

Chamoso Lamas, M. *La arquitectura barroca en Galicia.* Madrid, 1955.

Chamoso Lamas, M. 'La capilla del Pilar en la catedral de Santiago', *A.E.A.*, xiv (1940–1).

Chueca Goitia, F. *Arquitectura del siglo XVI* (*Ars Hispaniae*, xi). Madrid, 1953.

Chueca Goitia, F. *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española.* Madrid, 1947.

Chueca Goitia, F. *La catedral nueva de Salamanca* (*Acta Salmaticencie*, iv). Salamanca, 1951.

Chueca Goitia, F. *La catedral de Valladolid.* Madrid, 1947.

Chueca Goitia, F., and Miguel, C. de. *La vida y las obras del arquitecto Juan de Villanueva.* Madrid, 1949.

Cuevas Alcober, L. *Un ejemplar español de arquitectura industrial del siglo XVIII* (*Fábrica de Tabacos*). Madrid, 1946.

Durán, M. 'Del antiguo Madrid; la construcción del palacio real', *A.*, ix (1927).

Echegaray, C. de. *Monumentos civiles de Guipúzcoa.* Barcelona, 1921.

Exposición del antiguo Madrid (Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte). Madrid, 1926.

Florensa y Ferrer, A. 'Juan Caramuel y su arquitectura oblicua', *Discursos de la Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias.* Madrid, 1929.

Gallego y Burín, A. *El barroco granadino.* Madrid, 1956.

García, S. (ed. J. Camón). *Compendio de arquitectura y simetría de los templos conforme a la medida del cuerpo humano* (1681). Salamanca, 1941.

García y Bellido, A. 'Estudios del barroco español. Avances para una monografía de los Churrigueras', *A.E.A.A.*, v–vi (1929–30).

Gómez-Moreno, M. 'Estudios sobre el renacimiento en Castilla', *A.E.A.A.*, i–ii (1925–6).

Gutiérrez Moreno, P. 'La ermita de Ntra. Sra. del Puerto y su arquitecto Pedro de Ribera', *A.E.*, viii (1927).

Iñiguez Almech, F. *Casas reales y jardines de Felipe II* (*Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Delegación de Roma*). Madrid, 1952.

Iñiguez Almech, F. 'La formación de don Ventura Rodríguez', *A.E.A.*, XXII (1949).

Iñiguez Almech, F. Número dedicado a D. Ventura Rodríguez en el 150 aniversario de su muerte, *A.*, XVII, no. 3 (1935).

Jürgens, O. *Spanische Städte*. Hamburg, 1926.

King, G. G. *Mudejar*. Bryn Mawr, 1927.

Kubler, G. *Arquitectura española 1600–1800* (*Ars Hispaniae*, XIV). Madrid, 1957.

Lampérez y Romea, V. *Arquitectura civil española de los siglos I al XVIII*. Madrid, 1922.

Lampérez y Romea, V. *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*. 2 vols. Barcelona, 1904.

Leu-Llorens, C. *Les éléments médiévaux de l'architecture baroque*. Lausanne, 1944.

Llaguno y Amirola, E. *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España, desde su restauración acrecentadas con notas, adiciones y documentos por D. Juan Agustín Ceán-Bermúdez*. 4 vols. Madrid, 1829.

Llorca Dié, F. *La escuela valenciana de arquitectos*. Valencia, 1933.

López Martinez, C. *El arquitecto Hernán Ruiz en Sevilla*. Seville, 1949.

López del Vallado, F., S.J. 'Arqueología', in *Geografía general del pais vasco-navarro* (ed. F. Carreras y Canili). Barcelona [n.d.].

Lorente Junquera, M. 'Sobre la cúpula del Escorial y sus precedentes italianos', *A.E.A.*, XIV (1940–1).

Lozano Guirao, C. 'Arquitectura barroca en Murcia', *A.E.A.*, XXVI (1953).

Martín González, J. J. *La arquitectura doméstica del renacimiento en Valladolid*. Valladolid, 1948.

Moreno Villa, J. 'Tres dibujos de Pedro de Ribera', *A.*, X (1928).

Niemeier, G. *Siedlungsgeographische Untersuchungen in Niederandalusien*. Hamburg, 1935.

Otero Túñez, R. 'Las primeras columnas salomónicas de España', *Boletín de la Universidad Compostelana*, 63 (1955).

Pereda de la Reguera, M. *Bartolomé de Bustamante*. Santander, 1950.

Pereda de la Reguera, M. *Juan de Nates, selección y estudio*. Santander, 1953.

Pereda de la Reguera, M. *Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón*. Santander, 1951.

Púlido López, L., and Díaz Galdós, T. *Biografía de Don Ventura Rodríguez Tizón, como arquitecto y restaurador del arte clásico en España en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid, 1898.

Ráfols, J. F. *Pere Blay i l'arquitectura del Renaixement a Catalunya*. Barcelona, 1934.

Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España, *see* Torres Balbas, L.

Ricard, R. 'La plaza mayor en España y en América Española', *Estudios geográficos*, XI, 39 (1950).

Ríos, T. 'Algúnos datos para la historia ... del Pilar', *Boletín del museo provincial de Bellas Artes*, IX (1925).

Rosenthal, E. *Granada Cathedral* (MS dissertation). New York University, 1951.

Ruiz de Arcaute, A. *Juan de Herrera, arquitecto de Felipe II*. Madrid, 1936.

San Nicolás, Fr. L. de. *Arte y Uso de arquitectura*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1736.

Sánchez Moreno, J. *Maestros de arquitectura en Murcia*. Madrid, 1942.

Sancho Corbacho, A. *Arquitectura barroca sevillana del siglo XVIII*. Madrid, 1952.

Sancho Corbacho, A. *Dibujos arquitectónicos del siglo XVII. Una colección inédita de 1663*. Seville, 1947.

Sancho Corbacho, A. *Jerez y los puertos*. Madrid, 1947.

Santos, F. de los. *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial ...* Madrid, 1698.

Schubert, O. *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien*. Esslingen, 1908.

Tamayo, A. *Las iglesias barrocas madrileñas*. Madrid, 1946.

Taylor, R. C. 'Francisco Hurtado and His School', *A.B.*, XXXII (1950).

Taylor, R. C. 'El padre Villalpando y sus ideas estéticas', *Academia, Anales y Boletín de la Real Academia de San Fernando*, I (1952).

Tormo y Monzó, E. *Las iglesias del antiguo Madrid*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1927.

Tormo y Monzó, E. 'El brote del renacimiento en los monumentos españoles y los Mendozas del siglo XV', *B.S.E.E.*, XXV–XXVI (1917–18).

Torres Balbás, L. *Monasterios cistercienses de Galicia*. Santiago, 1954.

Torres Balbás, L., Cervera, L., Chueca, F., and Bigador, P. *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España*. Madrid, 1954.

Tosca, T. V. *Compendio matemático* (tomo 5, 'Arquitectura civil'). Madrid, 1727.

Verrié, F. P. *Los barceloneses Xuriguera* (*Divulgación histórica*, VII). Barcelona, 1949.

Weise, G. *Studien zur spanischen Architektur der Spätgotik*. Reutlingen, 1933.

Weise, G. *Die spanischen Hallenkirchen der Spätgotik und der Renaissance*. Tübingen, 1953.

Yrizar, J. de. *Las casas vascas*. San Sebastián, 1929.

Zuazo Ugalde, S. de. *Los orígenes arquitectónicos del real monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial.* Madrid, 1948.

Zamora Lucas, F., and Ponce de León, E. *Bibliografía española de arquitectura (1526–1850).* Madrid, 1947.

B. SPANISH AMERICA

1. *Middle America*

Almela y Vives, F., and Igual Ubeda, A. *El arquitecto y escultor valenciano Manuel Tolsá (1757–1816).* Valencia, 1950.

Alvarez Cortina, M., and Le Duc, A. 'Sagrario de México', *A.E.A.A.*, xi (1935).

Angulo Iñiguez, D. 'La capilla de indios de Teposcolula', *A.E.A.*, xxv (1952).

Angulo Iñiguez, D. *Planos de monumentos arquitectónicos de América y Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias.* 3 vols plates, 4 vols text. Seville, 1933–9.

Atl, Dr (G. Murillo), and Toussaint, M. *Iglesias de México.* 6 vols. Mexico, 1924–7.

Benítez, J. R. *Las catedrales de Oaxaca, Morelia y Zacatecas.* Mexico, 1934.

Berlin, H. 'Three Master Architects in New Spain', *H.A.H.R.*, xxvii (1947).

Buschiazzo, M. J. *Estudios de arquitectura colonial hispano-americana.* Buenos Aires, 1944.

Catálogo de construcciones religiosas del Estado de Hidalgo (ed. Justino Fernández). *Mexico, Dirección general de bienes nacionales, Comisión de inventarios de la primera zona.* 2 vols. 1940–2.

Catálogo de construcciones religiosas del Estado de Yucatán (ed. Justino Fernández). *Mexico, Dirección general de bienes nacionales, Comisión de inventarios de la cuarta zona.* 2 vols. 1945.

García Granados, R. 'Capillas de indios en Nueva España (1530–1605)', *A.E.A.A.*, xi (1935).

García Granados, R., and MacGregor, L. *Huejotzingo. La ciudad y el convento franciscano.* Mexico, 1934.

García Preciat, J. 'La catedral de Mérida', *A.E.A.A.*, xi (1935).

Kubler, G. *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico.* Colorado Springs, 1940.

Le Duc, A. *Una casa habitación del siglo XVIII en la ciudad de México.* Mexico, Instituto Nacional de antropología e historia, 1939.

Liaño Pacheco, A. M. 'La catedral de Morelia', *A.A.F.*, ii (1936).

Louchheim, A. B. *The Church Façades of Lorenzo Rodríguez* (unpublished M.A. thesis). New York University, 1941.

MacGregor, L. *Actopan.* Mexico, 1955.

Marco Dorta, E. 'Arquitectura colonial; Francisco Becerra', *A.E.A.*, xvi (1943).

Maza, F. de la. *Arquitectura de los coros de monjas en México.* Mexico, 1956.

Maza, F. de la. 'La decoración simbólica de la Capilla del Rosario de Puebla', *A.I.I.E.*, 23 (1955).

Palacio, L. del R. de. *La catedral de Guadalajara.* Guadalajara, 1948.

Prat Puig, F. *El pre-barroco en Cuba. Una escuela criolla de arquitectura morisca.* Havana, 1947.

Rojas, P. *Tonantzintla.* Mexico, 1956.

Rubio Mañé, J. I. *La Casa de Montejo en Mérida de Yucatán.* Mexico, 1941.

Toscano, S. 'Chiapas: su arte y su historia coloniales', *A.I.I.E.*, ii, 8 (1942).

Toussaint, M. 'Fray Andrés de San Miguel, arquitecto de la Nueva España', *A.I.I.E.*, iv, 13 (1945).

Toussaint, M. *La catedral de México y el Sagrario Metropolitano. Su historia. Su tesoro. Su arte.* Mexico, 1948.

Toussaint, M. *Paseos coloniales.* Mexico, 1939.

Toussaint, M. 'Supervivencias góticas en la arquitectura mexicana del siglo XVI', *A.E.A.A.* xi (1935).

Toussaint, M. *Tasco.* Mexico, 1931.

Weiss y Sánchez, J. E. *Arquitectura cubana colonial.* Havana, 1936.

Wuthenau, A. von. *Tepotzotlán.* Mexico, 1941.

2. *South America*

Benavides Rodríguez, A. *La arquitectura en el virreinato del Perú y en la capitanía general de Chile.* Santiago de Chile, 1941.

Cuadros, M. E., and Boyer, A. L. *Restauración española de la catedral de Cuzco.* Lima, 1953.

Buschiazzo, M. 'La arquitectura de las misiones de Mojos y Chiquitos', *A.I.A.A.*, 5 (1952).

Dony, P. 'Orlas laterales en las portadas andinas', *A.I.A.A.*, 9 (1956).

Gento Sanz, B. *Historia de la obra constructiva de San Francisco de Quito ... 1535–1942.* Quito, 1942.

Gento Sanz, B. *San Francisco de Lima.* Lima, 1945.

Giuria, J. 'Apuntes de arquitectura colonial argentina', *Revista de la Sociedad Amigos de la Arqueología* (Montevideo), ix (1938–41).

Giuria, J. *La arquitectura en el Paraguay.* Buenos Aires, 1950.

Giuria, J. 'Organización estructural de las iglesias coloniales de La Paz, Sucre y Potosí', *A.I.A.A.*, 2 (1949).

Hernández de Alba, G. *La iglesia de San Ignacio de Bogotá.* Seville, 1948.

Hernández de Alba, G. *Teatro del arte colonial.* Bogotá, 1938.

Kubler, G. *Cuzco.* Paris, 1952.

Lascano González, A. *Monumentos religiosos de Córdoba colonial.* Buenos Aires, 1941.

Marco Dorta, E. *Cartagena de Indias. La ciudad y sus monumentos.* Seville, 1951.

Mariátegui Oliva, R. *Una joya de arquitectura peruana de los siglos XVII y XVIII.* Lima, 1942.

Medina, P. M. *Monumentos coloniales de Huamanga (Ayacucho).* Ayacucho, 1942.

Möller, C. M. 'La catedral de Caracas', *Arte en América y Filipinas*, 3 (1949).

Navarro, J. G. *La iglesia de la Compañia en Quito.* Madrid, 1930.

Navarro, J. G. *Religious Architecture in Quito.* New York, 1945.

Noel, M. S. 'Las iglesias de Potosí', *Documentos de arte colonial sudamericano, Cuaderno* 3 (1945).

Noel, M. S. *Teoría histórica de la arquitectura virreinal.* Buenos Aires, 1932.

Wethey, H. E. *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru.* Cambridge, Mass., 1949.

Wethey, H. E. 'Hispanic Colonial Architecture in Bolivia', *G.B.A.*, xxxix (1952).

Wethey, H. E. 'La última fase de la arquitectura colonial en Cochabamba, Sucre y Potosí', *A.A.F.*, ii, 4 (1952).

C. PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

Basto, A. de Magalhães. *Nasoni e la igreja dos Clérigos.* Oporto, 1950.

Battelli, G. 'Filippo Terzi, architetto e ingegnere militare in Portogallo, 1577–97', *Revista storica del Genio* (Rome, 1935).

Bazin, G. *L'Architecture religieuse baroque au Brésil.* 2 vols. Paris, 1956–8.

Bazin, G. 'Reflexions sur l'origine et l'évolution du baroque dans le nord du Portugal', *B.A.*, 2nd Series, no. 3 (1950).

Boletim da Direcçao Geral dos Edificios e Monumentos Nacionais. Oporto, 1935.

Bury, J. B. 'The "Borrominesque" Churches of Colonial Brazil', *A.B.*, xxxvii (1955).

Bury, J. B. 'Estilo Aleijadinho and the Churches of Eighteenth Century Brazil', *Architectural Review*, cxi (1952).

Bury, J. B. 'Late Baroque and Rococo in North Portugal', *J.S.A.H.*, xv (1956).

Chicó, M. 'A arquitectura em Portugal na época de D. Manuel e nos principios do reinado de D. João III: o gótico final portugues, o estilo manuelino e a introdução da arte do renascimento', *História da Arte em Portugal*, ii, Chapter V. Oporto, 1948.

Cortés, A., and Correia, V. 'Da fabrica que falece á cidade de Lisboa', *A.E.A.A.*, v (1929).

Costa, L. 'A Arquitectura Jesuitica no Brasil', *Revista S.P.H.A.N.*, v (1941).

Dony, P. 'Kirchliche Barockarchitektur in Portugal, Bayern und Brasilien', *Das Münster*, x (1957).

Feio, A. *Bom Jesus do Monte.* Braga, 1930.

Goodwin, P. L. *Brazil Builds.* New York, 1943.

Haupt, A. *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Portugal.* 2 vols. Frankfurt, 1890–5.

Passos, C. de. *Nicolas Nasoni e Luis Chiari artistas italianos que trabalharon em Portugal no século XVIII.* Oporto, 1931.

Pereira, L. G. *Monumentos sacros de Lisboa em 1833.* Lisbon, 1927.

Pérez Embid, F. *El Mudejarismo en la arquitectura portuguesa de la época manuelina.* Seville, 1944.

Reis Santos, L., and Chicó, M. *Arquitetura religiosa do alto Alentejo* (mimeograph). Washington, 1950.

Santos, P. F. *A Arquitetura religiosa em Ouro Preto.* Rio, 1951.

Santos, P. F. *O barroco e o jesuitico na arquitetura do Brasil.* Rio, 1951.

Santos, R. dos. *O estilo manuelino.* Lisbon, 1952.

Santos, R. dos. 'Plantas e desenhos barrocos', *B.A.*, 2nd series, no. 2 (1950).

Smith, R. C. 'Baroque Architecture in Brazil', in *Portugal and Brazil, an Introduction* (ed. H. V. Livermore). Oxford, 1953.

Smith, R. C. 'The Colonial Architecture of Minas Gerais in Brazil', *A.B.*, xxi (1939).

Smith, R. C. 'Jesuit Buildings in Brazil', *A.B.*, xxx (1948).

Smith, R. C. 'João Frederico Ludovice, an Eighteenth Century Architect in Portugal', *A.B.*, xviii (1936).

Smith, R. C. 'Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia and the Joanine style in Brazil', *J.S.A.H.*, xv (1956).

Sousa Viterbo, Francisco Marques de. *Dicionário histórico e documental dos arquitectos,* *engenheiros, e constructores portugueses.* 3 vols. Lisbon, 1899–1922.

Tormo, E. *Os desenhos das antigualhas que vió Francisco de Ollanda pintor portugués (1539–1540).* Madrid, 1940.

Trindade, R. *São Francisco de Assis de Ouro Preto.* Rio, 1951.

Watson, W. C. *Portuguese Architecture.* London, 1908.

III. SCULPTURE

A. SPAIN

1. *General*

Araújo Gómez, F. *Historia de la escultura en España desde principios del siglo XVI hasta fines del XVIII.* Madrid, 1885.

Azcárate, J. M. *Escultura del siglo XVI* (*Ars Hispaniae*, XIII). Madrid, 1958 (too late for use).

Dieulafoy, M. *L'estatuaire polychrome en Espagne.* Paris, 1908.

Gómez-Moreno, M. *La escultura del Renacimiento en España.* Florence and Barcelona, 1931.

Gómez-Moreno, M. *Breve historia de la escultura española.* 2nd ed. Madrid, 1951.

Lozoya, Marqués de (J. de Contreras). *Escultores genoveses en España.* Madrid, 1957.

Orduña Viguera, E. *La talla ornamental en madera.* Madrid, 1930.

Orueta, R. de. *La escultura funeraria en España.* Madrid, 1919.

Quintero, P. *Sillerías de coro en las iglesias españolas.* Madrid, 1908; 2nd ed. Cadiz, 1928.

Weise, G. *Die Spanische Plastik der Renaissance und des Frühbarock.* Tübingen, 1956.

Weise, G. *Spanische Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten.* 4 vols in 6. Reutlingen, 1925–39.

2. *Andalusia*

Angulo Iñiguez, D. *La escultura en Andalucía.* 3 vols. Seville, 1927–36.

Hernández Díaz, J. *Imaginería hispalense del bajo renacimiento.* Seville, 1951.

Orozco Díaz, E. *La escultura en barro en Granada.* Granada, 1939–41.

3. *Castile*

Agapito y Revilla, J. *Catálogos del Museo de Bellas Artes de Valladolid.* Valladolid, 1930.

Proske, B. G. *Castilian Sculpture, Gothic to Renaissance.* New York, 1951.

Serrano Fatigati, E. *La escultura en Madrid.* Madrid, 1912 (also *B.S.E.E.*, Madrid, 1909–11).

4. *Navarre*

Uranga, J. E. *Retablos navarros del Renacimiento.* Pamplona, 1947.

5. *Valencia*

Igual Ubeda, A., and Morote Chapa, F. *Diccionario biográfico de escultores valencianos del siglo XVIII.* Castellón de la Plana, 1933.

Igual Ubeda, A., and Morote Chapa, F. *Obras de escultores valencianos del siglo XVIII.* Castellón de la Plana, 1945.

6. *Individual Sculptors*

Berruguete

Orueta, R. de. *Berruguete y su obra.* Madrid, 1917.

Forment

Abizanda y Broto, M. *Damián Forment.* Barcelona, 1942.

Leoni, P.

Proske, B. G. *Pompeo Leoni.* New York, 1951.

Montañés

Angulo Iñiguez, D. 'Martínez Montañés y su escuela en Honduras y Guatemala', *A.E.A.*, xx (1947).

Hernández Díaz, J. *Juan Martínez Montañés.* Seville, 1949.

Ordóñez

Wethey, H. E. 'The early works of Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe', *A.B.*, xxv (1943).

Siloe. See Ordóñez

B. MIDDLE AMERICA

1. *The Caribbean*

Palm, E. W. *Arte colonial en Santo Domingo siglo XVI–XVIII. Exposición organizada por la Universidad de Santo Domingo y la Secretaría etc.* Ciudad Trujillo, 1950.

2. *Mexico*

BAIRD, J. A. 'Eighteenth Century Retables of the Bajío, Mexico: the Querétaro Style', *A.B.*, XXXV, 3 (1953).

BAIRD, J. A. *The Eighteenth Century Retable in the South of Spain, Portugal and Mexico*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1951.

BERLIN, H. 'Documentos para la historia de la escultura en México', *A.I.I.E.*, no. 17 (1949).

BERLIN, H. 'Salvador de Ocampo, a Mexican Sculptor', *The Americas*, IV (April 1948).

CARREÑO, A. M. *La exposición de arte religioso en Guadalajara*. Guadalajara, 1942.

CARRILLO Y GARIEL, A. *El Cristo de Mexicaltzingo. Técnica de las esculturas en caña*. Mexico, 1949.

CERVANTES, E. A. 'Sillería del coro de la catedral de México', *Universidad, Mexico* (April 1936).

GARCÍA GRANADOS, R. *Sillería del coro de la antigua iglesia de San Agustín*. 2 vols. Mexico, 1941.

MAZA, F. DE LA. *Las piras funerarias en la historia y en el arte de México*. Mexico, 1946.

MAZA, F. DE LA. *Los retablos dorados de Nueva España*. Mexico, 1950.

MAZA, F. DE LA. 'Mexican colonial retablos', *G.B.A.*, series 6, XXV (March 1944).

MORENO VILLA, J. *La escultura colonial mexicana*. Mexico, 1942.

TOUSSAINT, M. 'La escultura funeraria en la Nueva España', *A.I.I.E.*, III, no. 11 (1944).

WEISMANN, E. W. *Mexico in Sculpture*. Cambridge, Mass., 1950.

WUTHENAU, A. VON. *Tepotzotlán*. Mexico, 1940.

3. *Guatemala*

BERLIN, H. *Historia de la imaginería colonial en Guatemala*. Guatemala, 1952.

TOSCANO, S. 'La escultura colonial en Guatemala', *A.I.I.E.*, II, no. 5 (1940).

C. SOUTH AMERICA

1. *Northern Andes*

ACUÑA, L. A. *Ensayo sobre el florecimiento de la escultura en Santa Fé de Bogotá*. Bogota, 1932.

NAVARRO, J. G. *La escultura en el Ecuador* (*siglos XVI al XVIII*). Madrid, 1929.

2. *Central Andes*

HARTH-TERRÉ, E. 'Descubrimiento de un artífice virreinal, Pedro de Noguera', *Arquitecto peruano*, X (July 1946).

HARTH-TERRÉ, E. 'Entalladores del siglo diecisiete', *Arquitectura, Havana*, XII (March 1944).

HARTH-TERRÉ, E. 'Tesoros de la catedral de Lima', *A.I.I.E.*, III, no. 11 (1944).

HARTH-TERRÉ, E. 'Un artífice del siglo 17, Ascensio de Salas, escultor', *Peruanidad*, III, no. 12 (1943).

MARIÁTEGUI OLIVA, R. *Escultura colonial en Trujillo*. Lima, 1946.

WETHEY, H. E. 'Retablos coloniales en Bolivia', *A.I.I.A.*, 3 (1950).

3. *Southern Andes and Pampas*

BENAVIDES RODRÍGUEZ, A. 'En torno a la imaginería española e hispanoamericana', *Boletín de la Academia chilena de historia*, XVI (1949).

Catálogo de la exposición de historia y arte religiosos. Museo Histórico de la iglesia en la Argentina. Buenos Aires, 1948.

RIBERA, A. L., and SCHENONE, H. *El arte de la imaginería en el Río de la Plata*. Buenos Aires, 1948.

D. PORTUGAL

BAZIN, G. 'Morphologie du retable portugais', *B.A.*, 2nd series, no. 5 (1953).

CARVALHO, A. DE. *A escultura em Mafra*. 2nd ed. Mafra, 1956.

CORREIA, V. *Obras*, III: *Estudos de história da arte, Escultura e pintura*. Coimbra, 1953.

FEYO, B. *A escultura de Alcobaça*. Lisbon, 1945.

SANTOS, R. DOS. *A escultura em Portugal*. 2 vols. Lisbon, 1948 and 1950.

SCHENONE, H. 'Tallistas portugueses en el Río de la Plata', *A.I.A.A.*, 8 (1955).

SMITH, R. C. 'The Portuguese Woodcarved Retable, 1600–1750', *B.A.*, 2nd series, no. 2 (1950).

SMITH, R. C. 'The early works of Claude Laprade and the style Louis XIV in Portugal', *G.B.A.*, XLIV (1954).

E. BRAZIL

BAZIN, G. 'Au Brésil; la terrasse des prophètes a Congonhas do Campo', *Vogue* (*Paris*) (July–August 1949).

BURY, J. 'The Aleijadinho', *Cornhill Magazine*, 979 (Summer 1949).

BURY, J. 'The twelve prophets at Congonhas do Campo', *The Month*, new series, II, no. 3 (September 1949).

Hoffmann-Harnisch, Jr, W. 'Arte antiga das missões brasileiras', *Cultura politica*, III (1943).

Levy, H. 'Problemas en torno a la historia del arte brasileño', *Cuadernos americanos, Mexico* (September–October 1947).

Levy, H. 'Velhos santos', *Rio*, 90 (December 1946).

Pedrosa, H. *O Aleijadinho*. São Paulo, 1940.

Sepp, A. *Viagem às missões jesuíticas e trabalhos apostólicos*. São Paulo, 1943.

Smith, R. C. 'The Golden Chapel of Recife', *Brazil*, XXII (April 1948).

Tricentenário de Restauração Pernambucana. Comissão organizadora e executiva. Exposição comemorativa de escultura religiosa. Recife, 1954.

IV. PAINTING

A. SPAIN

1. General

Angulo Iñiguez, D. *Pintura del Renacimiento* (*Ars Hispaniae XII*). Madrid, 1954.

Beruete y Moret, A. de. *Conferencias de arte*. Madrid, 1924.

Gudiol i Ricart, J. *Spanish Painting*. Toledo, Ohio, 1941.

Guinard, P., and Baticle, J. *Histoire de la peinture espagnole*. Paris, 1950.

Harris, E. *Spanish Painting*. London, 1938.

Kehrer, H. *Spanische Kunst von Greco bis Goya*. Munich, 1926.

Lafuente Ferrari, E. *Breve historia de la pintura española*. 4th ed. Madrid, 1953.

Lafuente Ferrari, E., and Friedländer, M. J. *El realismo en la pintura del siglo XVII* (*Historia del Arte Labor XII*). 2nd ed. Barcelona, 1945.

Lafuente Ferrari, E. 'La interpretación del barroco y sus valores españoles', *U.V.*, VII (1940–1).

Lassaigne, J. *La peinture espagnole*. 2 vols. Geneva, 1952.

Loga, V. von. *Die Malerei in Spanien*. Berlin, 1923.

Longhi, R. 'Comprimarj spagnoli della maniera italiana', *Paragone*, no. 43 (1953).

Longhi, R. 'Un San Tomaso del Velazquez e le congiunture italo-spagnole tra il '5 e il '600', *Vita artistica*, II (January 1927).

Malitskaya, K. M. *The Spanish painting of the XVI–XVII centuries* (in Russian). Moscow, 1947.

Mayer, A. L. *Historia de la pintura española*. 2nd ed. Barcelona, 1942.

Mayer, A. L. *La pintura española*. 2nd ed. Barcelona, 1929.

Orozco Díaz, E. *Temas del Barroco*. Granada, 1947.

Post, C. R. *A History of Spanish Painting*. 12 vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1930 et seq.

Sánchez Cantón, F. J. *Los pintores de cámara de los reyes de España*. Madrid, 1916.

Stirling-Maxwell, W. *Annals of the Artists of Spain*. 5 vols. 2nd ed. London, 1891.

2. Sources

Carducho, V. *Diálogos de la pintura (1633)*. Madrid, 1865; and in F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, I (1923).

Herrero García, M. *Contribución de la literatura a la historia del arte*. Madrid, 1943.

Martínez, J. *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura (1675?)* (ed. V. Carderera). Madrid, 1866.

Pacheco, F. *Arte de la pintura*. Seville, 1649, ed. Madrid, 1866. The edition of the manuscript by F. J. Sánchez Cantón, 2 vols, Madrid, 1956, should be used.

Palomino de Castro y Velasco, A. *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*. Madrid, 1715–24; ed. Aguilera, Madrid, 1947.

3. Museums and Collections

Catalogue raisonné des tableaux de la galerie de feu M. le Maréchal Général Soult. Paris, 1852.

Garín y Ortiz de Taranco, F. M. *Catálogo-Guía del Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos*. Valencia, 1955.

Gaya Nuño, J. A. 'El Museo Nacional de la Trinidad', *B.S.E.E.*, LV (1947).

Gaya Nuño, J. A. 'Notas al Catálogo del Museo del Prado (El Prado disperso e inédito)', *B.S.E.E.*, LVIII (1954).

Gestoso y Pérez, J. *Catálogo de las pinturas y esculturas del Museo Provincial de Sevilla*. Seville, 1912.

GÓMEZ IMAZ, M. *Inventario de los cuadros sustraídos por el gobierno intruso en Sevilla el año de 1810.* Seville, 1896; 2nd ed., 1917.

MACLAREN, N. *The Spanish School.* London, National Gallery Catalogues, 1952.

Notice des tableaux de la Galerie Espagnole exposés dans les salles du ... Louvre. Paris, 1838.

PEMÁN Y PEMARTÍN, C. *Museo de Bellas Artes de Cádiz, Catálogo de las pinturas.* Cadiz, 1952.

SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, F. J. *Museo del Prado. Catálogo de los cuadros.* Madrid, 1952.

TORMO, E. *En las Descalzas Reales.* 2 vols. Madrid, 1917 and 1944.

TORMO, E. *Valencia, Los Museos.* Madrid, 1932.

ZARCO CUEVAS, P. *Pintores españoles en San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1566–1613).* Madrid, 1931.

ZARCO CUEVAS, P. *Pintores italianos en San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1575–1613).* Madrid, 1931.

4. *Regional Schools (Catalonia; Seville)*

GUDIOL I RICART, J., with ALCOLEA, S., and CIRLOT, J. E. *Historia de la pintura en Cataluña.* Madrid, 1956.

GONZÁLEZ DE LEÓN, F. *Noticias artísticas de Sevilla.* 2 vols. Seville, 1844.

GUERRERO LOVILLO, J. 'La pintura sevillana en el siglo XVIII', *Archivo hispalense*, no. 69 (1955).

MAYER, A. L. *Die Sevillaner Malerschule.* Leipzig, 1911.

5. *Subjects of Painting (Portraits; Still Life)*

ALLENDE-SALAZAR, J., and SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, F. J. *Retratos del museo del Prado.* Madrid, 1919.

SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, F. J. *Los retratos de los reyes de España.* Madrid, 1948.

CAVESTANY, J. *Floreros y bodegones en la pintura española.* Madrid, 1936–40.

OÑA IRIBARREN, G. *165 firmas de pintores tomadas de cuadros de flores y bodegones.* Madrid, 1944.

6. *Drawings*

ANGULO IÑIGUEZ, D. 'Dibujos españoles en el Museo de los Uffizi', *A.E.A.*, III (1927) and IV (1928).

LAFUENTE FERRARI, E. 'Dibujos de maestros andaluces', *A.E.A.*, XIII (1937).

MAYER, A. L. *Handzeichnungen Spanischer Meister.* 2 vols. Leipzig and New York, 1920.

SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, F. J. *Dibujos españoles.* 5 vols. Madrid, 1930.

7. *Individual Painters*

BOCANEGRA

Orozco Díaz, E. *Pedro Atanasio Bocanegra.* Granada, 1937.

GRECO

Camón Aznar, J. *Dominico Greco.* 2 vols. Madrid, 1950.

Cossío, M. B. *El Greco.* 2 vols. Madrid, 1908.

Dvořák, M. 'Über Greco und den Manierismus', in *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte.* Munich, 1928.

Marañón y Posadillo, G. *El Greco y Toledo.* Madrid, 1956.

Mayer, A. L. *Domenico Theotocopuli El Greco.* Munich, 1926.

Mayer, A. L. *El Greco.* Berlin, 1931.

San Román, F. de B. de. *De la vida del Greco.* Madrid, 1927.

MENGS

Sánchez Cantón, F. J. *Antonio Rafael Mengs, 1728–1779. Noticia de su vida y de sus obras con el catálogo de la Exposición celebrada en mayo de 1929.* Madrid, 1929–30.

MORALES

Trapier, E. du G. *Luis de Morales and Leonardesque Influences in Spain.* New York, 1933.

MURILLO

Curtis, C. B. *Velazquez and Murillo.* London and New York, 1883.

Justi, C. *Murillo.* 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1904.

Mayer, A. L. *Murillo (Klassiker der Kunst).* 2nd ed. Stuttgart, 1923.

Montoto, S. *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.* Seville, 1923.

PANTOJA

Sánchez Cantón, F. J. 'Sobre la vida y las obras de Juan Pantoja de la Cruz', *A.E.A.*, XX (1947).

RIBALTA

Darby, D. F. *Francisco Ribalta and his School.* Cambridge, Mass., 1938.

RIBERA

Trapier, E. du G. *Ribera.* New York, 1952.

ROELAS

Angulo Iñiguez, D. 'Juan de las Ruelas', *A.E.A.*, I (1925).

SÁNCHEZ COELLO

San Román, F. de B. de. *Alonso Sánchez Coello.* Lisbon, 1938.

VALDÉS LEAL

Gestoso y Pérez, J. *Biografía del pintor sevillano Juan de Valdés Leal.* Seville, 1917.

Trapier, E. du G. *Valdés Leal.* New York, 1956.

Velázquez
- Allende-Salazar, J. *Velázquez* (*Klassiker der Kunst*). 4th ed. Stuttgart, 1925.
- Angulo Iñiguez, D. *Velázquez, Cómo compuso sus principales cuadros.* Seville, 1947.
- Beruete, A. de. *Velázquez.* Paris, 1898.
- Curtis, C. B. *Velázquez and Murillo.* London and New York, 1883.
- Gerstenberg, K. *Diego Velázquez.* Munich, 1957 (too late for use).
- Justi, C. *Velázquez y su siglo.* Spanish ed. by J. A. Gaya Nuño. Madrid, 1953.
- Lafuente Ferrari, E. *Velázquez.* Oxford, 1943.
- Mayer, A. L. *Velázquez. A Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures and Drawings.* London, 1936.
- Trapier, E. du G. *Velázquez.* New York, 1948.

Zurbarán
- Soria, M. S. *The Paintings of Zurbarán.* 2nd ed. London and New York, 1955.

B. MIDDLE AMERICA

1. *The Caribbean*

Havana, Instituto Nacional de artes plásticas. *Exposición de arte en la Universidad de la Habana. Trescientos años de arte en Cuba.* Havana, 1940.

2. *Mexico*

GENERAL

- Arias de Villalobos, B. *México en 1623,* ed. Genaro García. Mexico, 1907.
- Carrillo y Gariel, A. *Autógrafos ... de pintores coloniales.* Mexico, 1953.
- Carrillo y Gariel, A. *Imaginería popular novoespañola.* Mexico, 1950.
- Carrillo y Gariel, A. *Técnica de la pintura de Nueva España.* Mexico, 1946.
- Couto, J. B. *Diálogo sobre la historia de la pintura en México (1860–61)* (ed. M. Toussaint). Mexico, 1947.
- Díez Barroso, F. *El arte en Nueva España.* Mexico, 1921.
- Moreno Villa, J. *Lo Mexicano en las artes plásticas.* Mexico, 1948.
- Toussaint, M. *La pintura en México durante el siglo XVI.* Mexico, 1936.
- Velázquez Chávez, A. *Tres siglos de pintura colonial mexicana.* Mexico, 1939.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS OR LOCATIONS

- Bello, J. L., and Ariza, G. *Pinturas poblanas (siglos XVII–XIX).* Mexico, 1943.
- Benítez, J. R. *Algunas noticias inéditas o poco conocidas referentes a pintores y alarifes de la Nueva España.* Guadalajara, 1948.
- Berlin, H. 'Pintura colonial mexicana en Guatemala', *Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, Guatemala,* XXVI (March 1952).
- Estrada, G. *El arte mexicano en España.* Mexico, 1937.
- Orendáin, L. I. *Los pretendidos Murillos del Museo de Guadalajara.* Guadalajara, 1949.
- Pérez Salazar, F. 'Algunos datos sobre la pintura en Puebla en la época colonial', *Memorias y Revistas de la Sociedad Científica 'Antonio Alzate', Mexico,* XLI, nos. 5 and 6 (1923).
- Toussaint, M. 'Las pinturas murales de Atotonilco', *Historia Mexicana. Colegio de México,* I (October–December 1951).
- Toussaint, M. 'Mexican Colonial Paintings in Davenport', *G.B.A.,* series 6, XXIV (September 1943).

SPECIAL SUBJECTS OR MEDIA

- Acosta, J. 'Bodegones mexicanos', *El hijo pródigo,* IV (July 1946).
- Fernández, J. 'Dibujos neoclásicos', *El hijo pródigo,* I (December 1943).
- Marco Dorta, E. 'Un biombo mejicano del siglo dieciocho', *A.E.A.,* XVII (1944).
- Muriel de la Torre, J., and Romero de Terreros, M. *Retratos de monjas en Nueva España.* Mexico, 1952.
- Romero Flores, J. *Iconografía colonial.* Mexico, 1940.
- Romero de Terreros, M. *Grabados y grabadores en la Nueva España.* Mexico, 1948.
- Romero de Terreros, M. *La Plaza Mayor de México en el siglo XVIII.* Mexico, 1946.

INDIVIDUAL PAINTERS

B. Echave Ibía
- Danes, G. 'Baltasar de Echave Ibía. Some critica notes on the stylistic character of his art', *A.I.I.E.,* III, no. 9 (1942).

Miguel and Juan Gonzales
- Estrada, G. '*Las tablas de la conquista de México en las colecciones de Madrid*'. Madrid, 1933.

José Juárez
- Fernández, J. 'Rubens y José Juárez', *A.I.I.E.,* III, no. 10 (1943).

Simón Pereyns *et al.*
- Toussaint, M. *Proceso y denuncias contra Simón Pereyns en la Inquisición de México.* Mexico, 1938.

Toussaint, M. 'Tres pintores del siglo 16. Nuevos datos sobre Andrés de la Concha, Francisco de Zumaya y Simón Pereyns', *A.I.I.E.*, III, no. 9 (1942).

C. SOUTH AMERICA

1. *General*

Soria, M. S. *La pintura del siglo XVI en Sudamérica.* Buenos Aires, 1956.

2. *Northern Andes*

Acosta Ortegón, J. 'El pueblo de Monguí y el pintor Vázquez', *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades. Academia Colombiana de Historia*, XXXII (September–December 1945).

Giraldo Jaramillo, G. *Gregorio Vázquez de Arce.* Bogota, 1944.

Giraldo Jaramillo, G. 'Introducción a la estética colonial', *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades. Academia Colombiana de Historia*, XXX (1943).

Giraldo Jaramillo, G. *La pintura en Colombia.* Mexico, 1948.

Pizano Restrepo, R. *Gregorio Vázquez de Arce y Ceballos.* Paris, 1926.

3. *Central Andes*

Cornejo Bouroncle, J. 'Arte cuzqueño', *Revista del Archivo histórico del Cuzco* (1951 et seq.).

Cossío del Pomar, F. *Pintura colonial; escuela cuzqueña.* Cuzco, 1928.

Flores Araoz, J. 'Iconografía de Santa Rosa de Lima', *Cultura peruana*, IV (November 1944).

Flores Araoz, J. 'La pintura colonial en América, siglo 18', *Cultura peruana*, III (December 1943).

Harth-Terré, E. 'El romanismo en la pintura virreinal del seiscientos', *Arquitectura, Havana*, XII (July 1944).

Harth-Terré, E. 'Los Illescas, pintores de Lima', *Mar del sur, Lima*, II (May–June 1949).

Mariátegui Oliva, R. *Pintura cuzqueña del siglo XVII.* Lima, 1951.

Mariátegui Oliva, R. *Pintura cuzqueña del siglo XVII en Chile.* Lima, 1954.

Mariluz Urquijo, J. M. 'Los doce profetas de la iglesia de Humahuaca', *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones históricas*, XXIX (July 1944–June 1945).

Mesa, J., and Gisbert de Mesa, T., *Holguín y la pintura altoperuana del Virreinato.* La Paz, 1956.

Mesa, J., and Gisbert de Mesa, T. 'La pintura boliviana del siglo XVII', *Revista de Estudios Americanos, Seville*, no. 52 (1956).

Mesa, J., and Gisbert de Mesa, T., 'Nuevas obras y nuevos maestros en la pintura del alto Perú', *A.I.A.A.*, 10 (1957).

Soria, M. S. 'Una nota sobre pintura colonial y estampas europeas', *A.I.A.A.*, 5 (1952).

Soria, M. S. 'La pintura en el Cuzco y en el Alto Perú 1550–1700', *A.I.A.A.*, no. 12 (1959).

Zimmern, N. H. 'The tapestries of colonial Peru', *Brooklyn Museum Journal*, III (1943–4).

4. *Southern Andes and Pampas*

Altamira, L. R. 'Córdoba Sus pintores y sus pinturas (Siglos XVII y XVIII)', *Revista de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba*, XL (1953).

Alvarez Urquieta, L. 'La pintura en Chile durante el período colonial', *Boletín de la Academia chilena de la historia, Santiago de Chile*, I (1933).

Massini Correas, C. 'De la pintura colonial a la romántica en el arte argentino', *Boletín de la Comisión Nacional de Museos y Monumentos históricos, año 4* (1942).

D. PORTUGAL

Academia Nacional de Belas Artes. *Personagens portuguesas do século XVII.* Lisbon, 1942.

Bertaux, E. 'La Renaissance en Espagne et en Portugal', in *L'histoire de l'art*, IV^2, ed. André Michel. Paris, 1911.

Correia, V. *Pintores portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI.* Coimbra, 1920.

Espanca, T. *Notas sobre os pintores em Évora nos séculos XVI e XVII.* Evora, 1947.

Lacerda, A. de, in *Historia de Arte em Portugal*, I. Oporto, 1942.

Machado, E. *Colecção de memorias relativas às vidas dos pintores, e escultores, architetos ...* ed. Coimbra, 1922.

Malkiel-Jirmounsky, M. *Problèmes des primitifs portugais.* Coimbra, 1941.

Malkiel-Jirmounsky, M. *Vers une méthode dans les études des 'primitifs portugais'.* Lisbon, 1942.

Nova colecção de arte portuguesa. 11 vols, ed. Artis. Lisbon, 1954 et seq.

Pinto, A. Cardoso. *Domingos Vieira e não Domingos Barbosa.* Lisbon, 1943.

RACZYŃSKI, A. *Dictionnaire historico-artistique du Portugal.* Paris, 1847.

RACZYŃSKI, A. *Les arts en Portugal.* Paris, 1846.

REIS-SANTOS, L. *Estudos de pintura antiga.* Lisbon, 1943.

REIS-SANTOS, L., in *Grande enciclopedia portuguesa e brasileira.*

REIS-SANTOS, L. *Vasco Fernandes e os pintores de Viseu do século XVI.* Lisbon, 1946.

ROBINSON, J. C. 'The Early Portuguese School of Painting', *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* (1866).

SANTOS, R. DOS. *Os primitivos portugueses (1450–1550).* 2nd ed., Lisbon, 1957.

SANTOS, R. DOS. *Sequeira y Goya.* Madrid, 1929.

SOUSA VITERBO, F. M. DE. *Noticia de alguns pintores portuguezes.* 3 vols. Lisbon, 1903, 1906, Coimbra, 1911.

TABORDA, J. DA CUNHA. *Regras da arte da pintura.* Lisbon, 1815.

ZAGALLO, M. CAYOLA. *A pintura dos séculos XV e XVI na Ilha do Madeira.* Lisbon, 1943.

E. BRAZIL

ANDRADE, M. DE. 'A pintura religiosa em Itú', *O estado de São Paulo* (1 February 1942).

GUIDO, A. 'As artes plasticas no Rio Grande do Sul', *Anais do terceiro congresso sulriograndense hist. geog.*, IV (1940).

LEVY, H. 'A pintura colonial no Rio de Janeiro', *Revista do Serviço do Patrimonio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, 6 (1942).

LEVY, H. 'Modelos europeus na pintura colonial', *Revista do Serviço do Patrimonio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, 8 (1944).

LEVY, H. 'Retratos coloniais', *Revista do Serviço do Patrimonio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, 9 (1945).

Maurits de brazilaan. Tentoonstelling. Mauritshuis. The Hague, 1953.

REIS, J. M. DOS. *História da pintura no Brasil.* São Paulo, 1944.

Revista do Serviço do Patrimonio Histórico e Artístico Nacional. Rio de Janeiro, 1937 et seq.

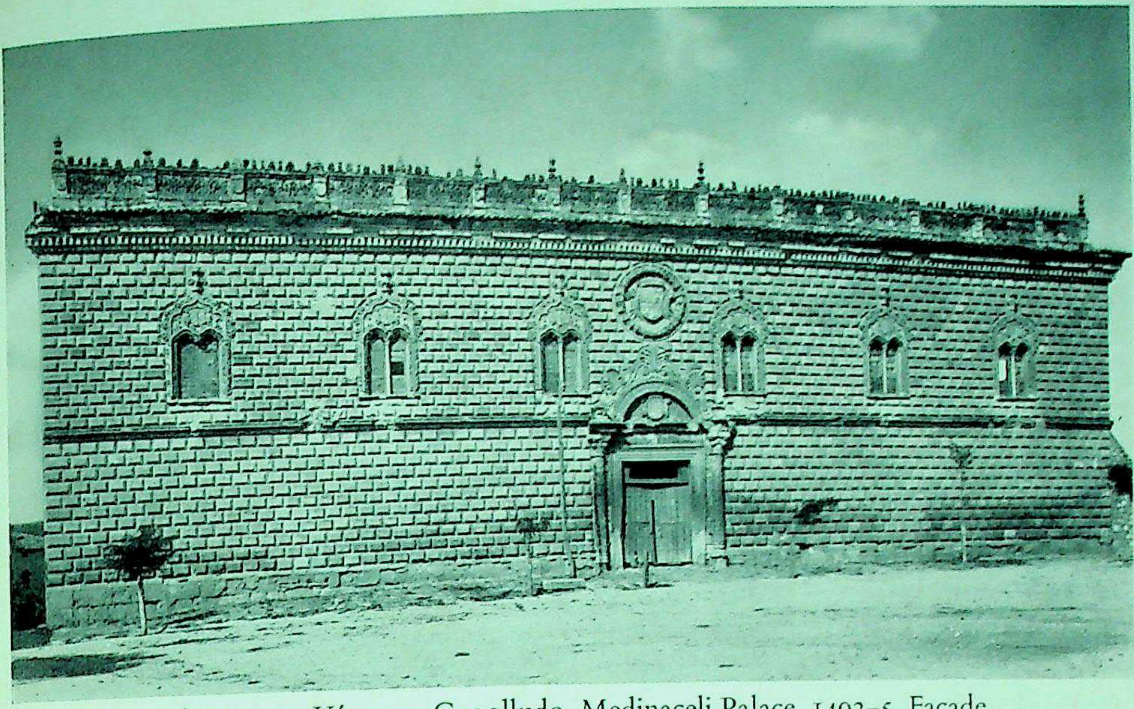
SANTOS, F. M. DOS. 'Artistas do Rio colonial', *Estudos brasileiros*, I (1938).

SOUSA-LEÃO, J. DE. *Frans Post.* São Paulo, 1948.

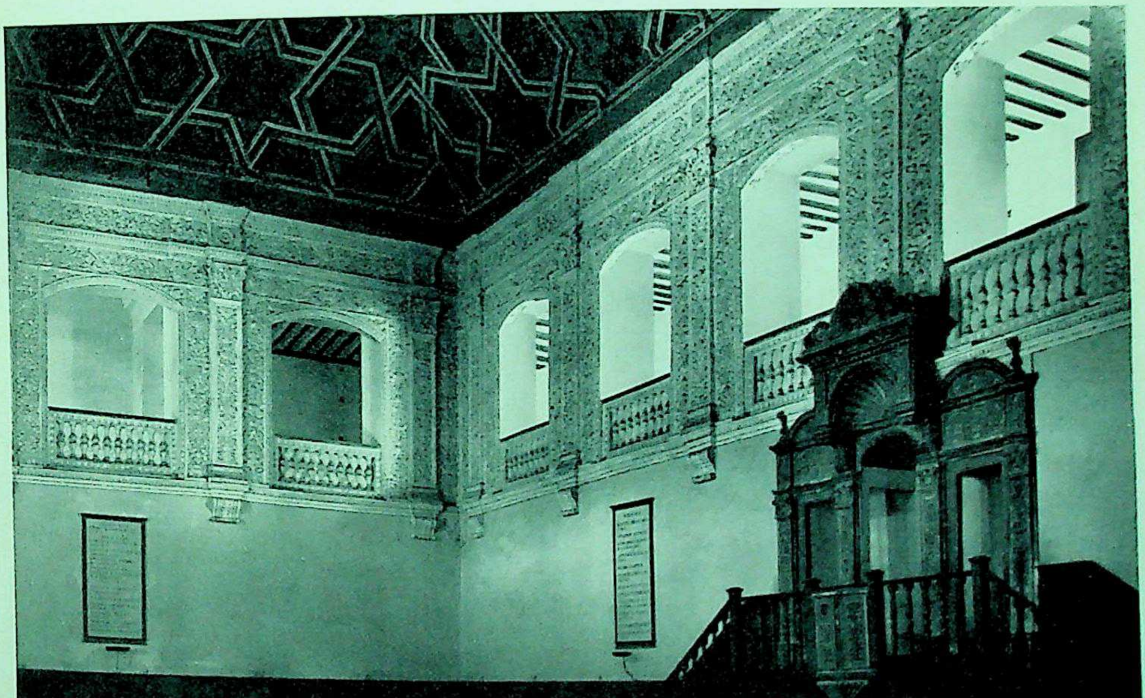
THOMSEN, T. *Albert Eckhout, ein Niederländischer Maler und sein Gönner Moritz der Brasilianer.* Copenhagen, 1938.

VALLADARES, J. *A galleria Abbott. Primeira pinacoteca de Bahia.* Bahia, 1951.

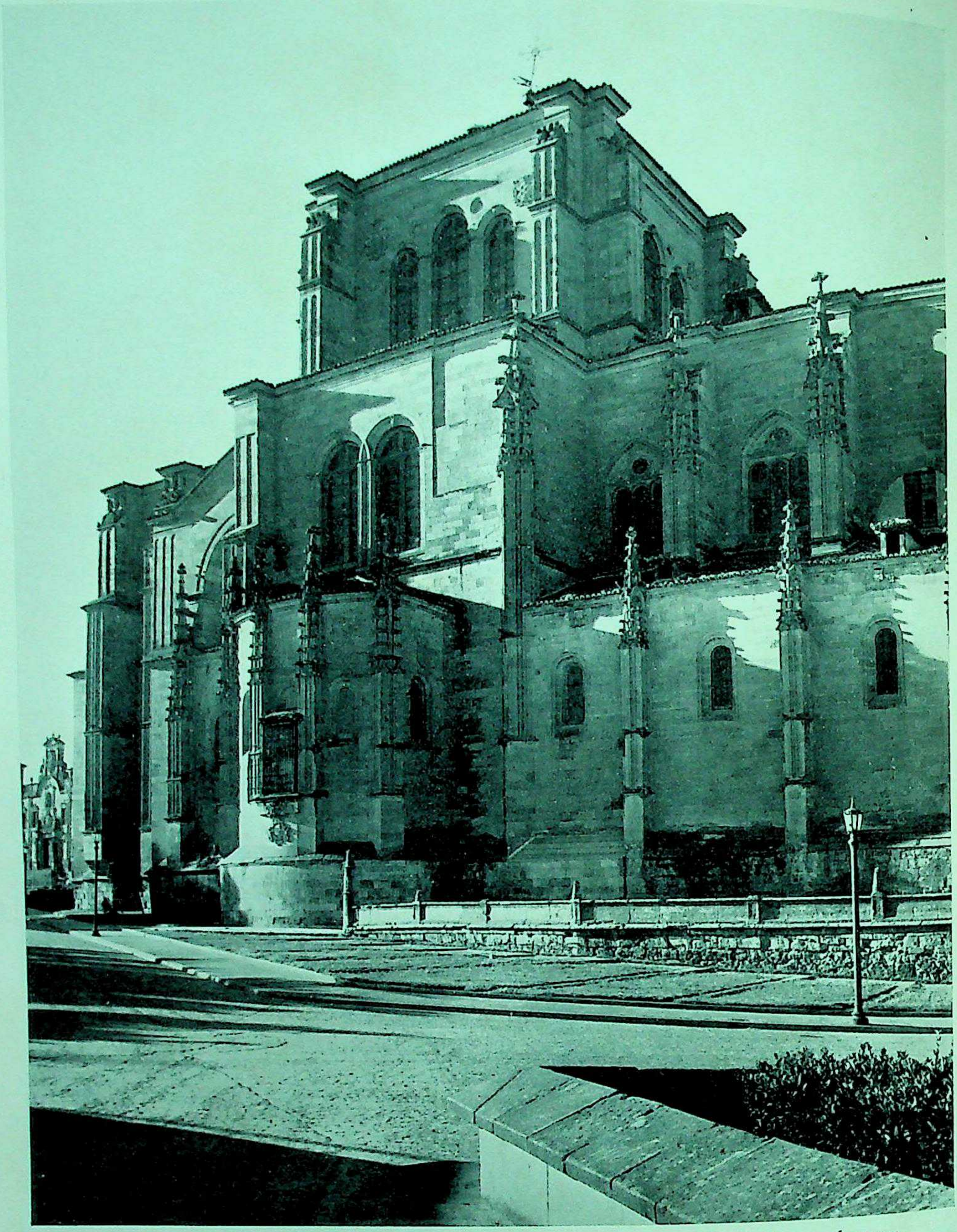
THE PLATES



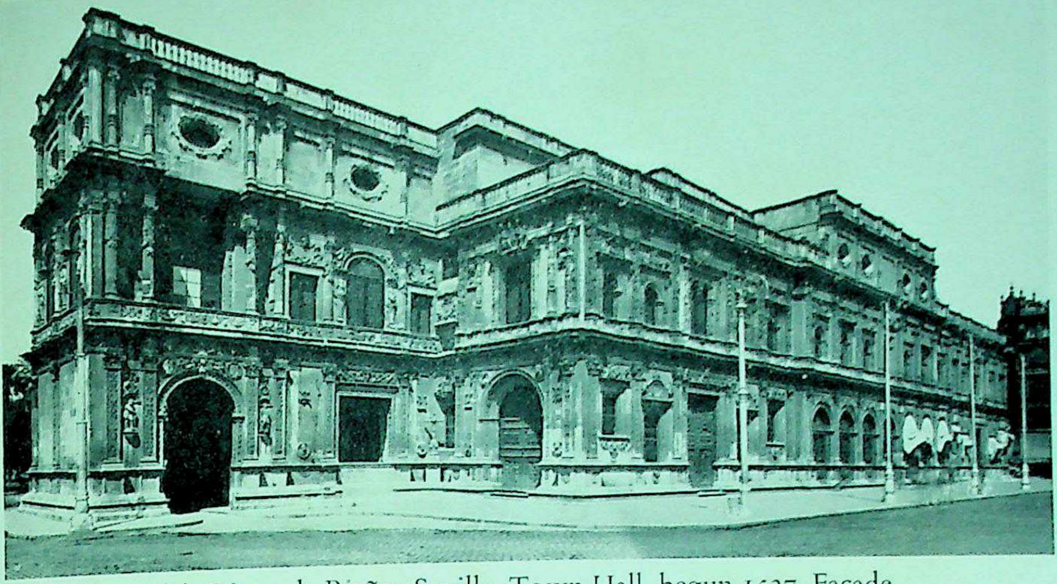
(A) Lorenzo Vázquez: Cogolludo, Medinaceli Palace, 1492–5. Façade



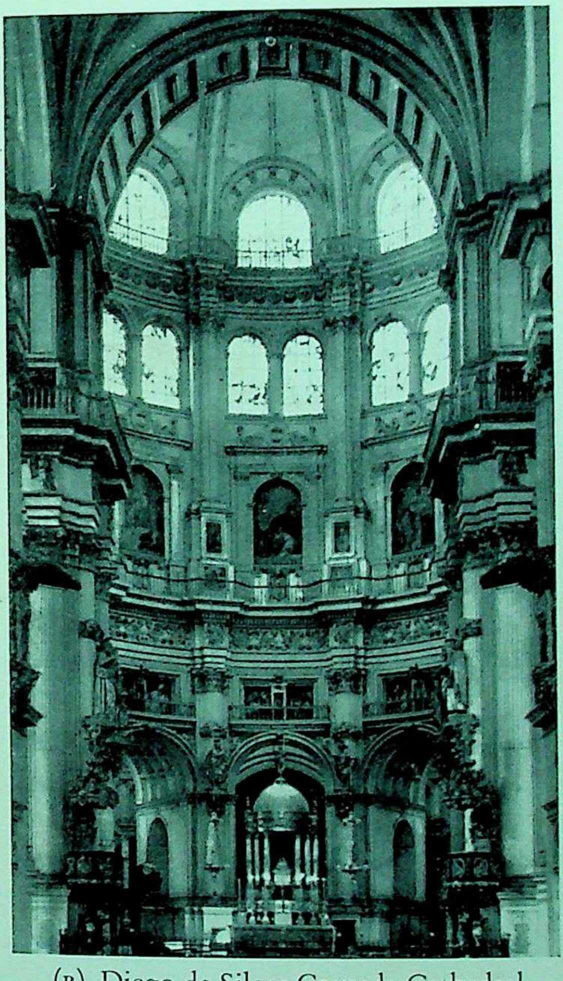
(B) Pedro de Gumiel: Alcalá de Henares, University, 1518–19. *Paraninfo*



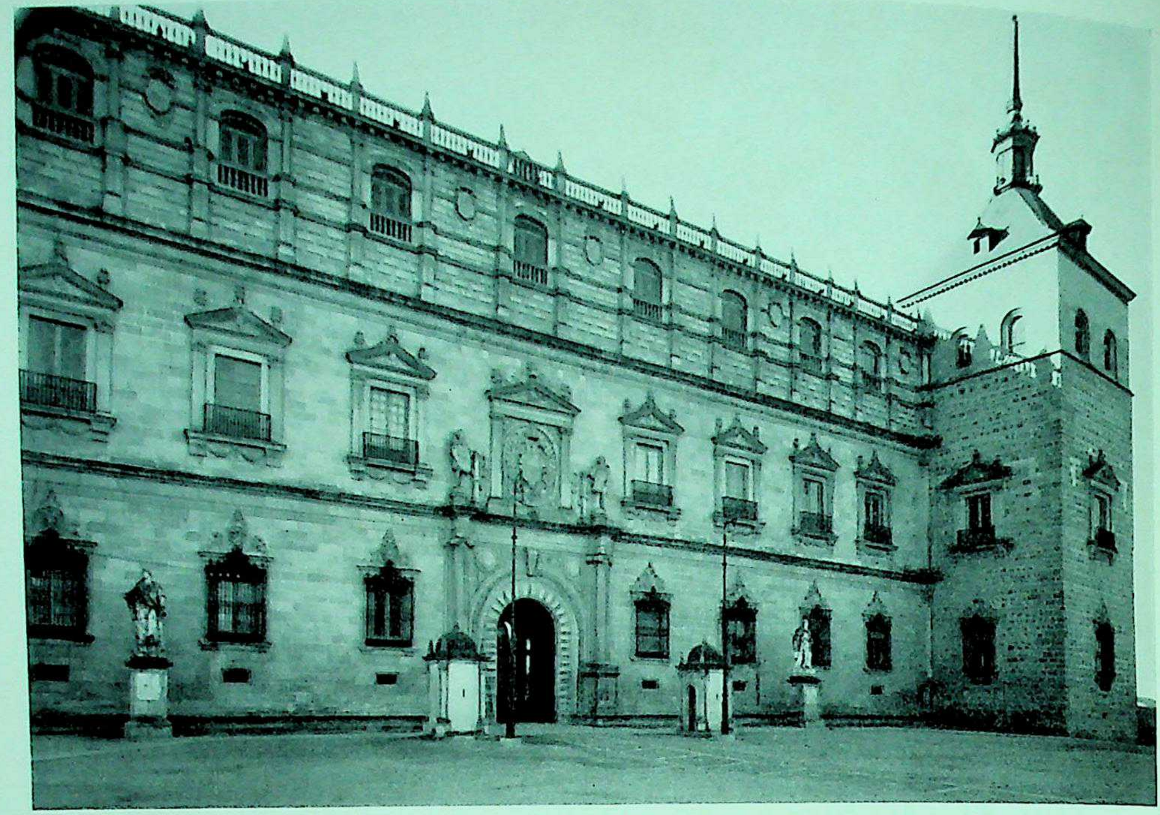
Juan de Alava: Salamanca, San Esteban, begun 1524. Exterior from the north-west



(A) Diego de Riaño: Seville, Town Hall, begun 1527. Façade

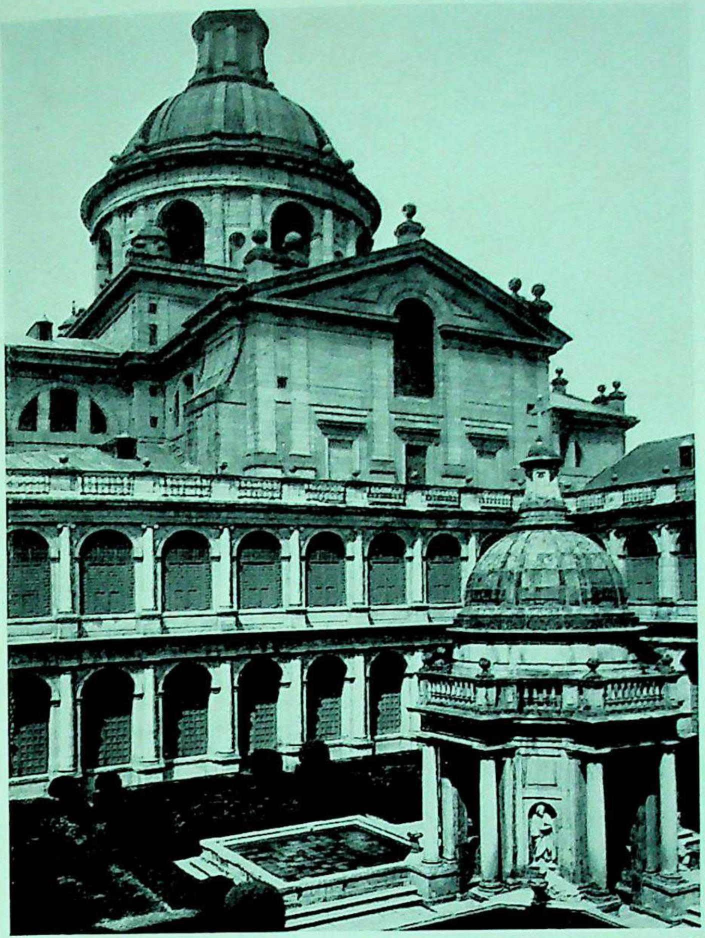


(B) Diego de Siloe: Granada Cathedral, begun 1528. Interior of rotunda

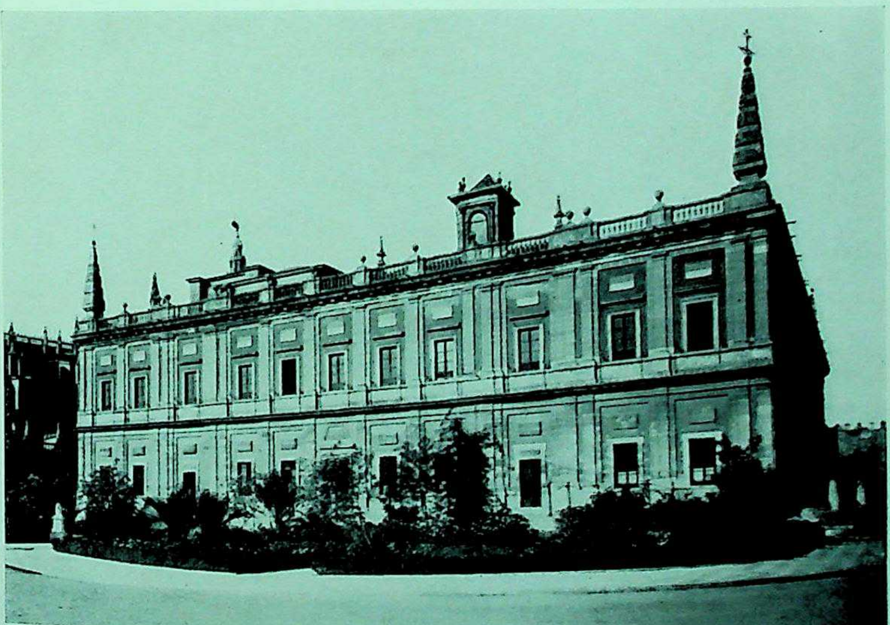


(A) Alonso de Covarrubias: Toledo, Alcázar, designed 1537. Main façade

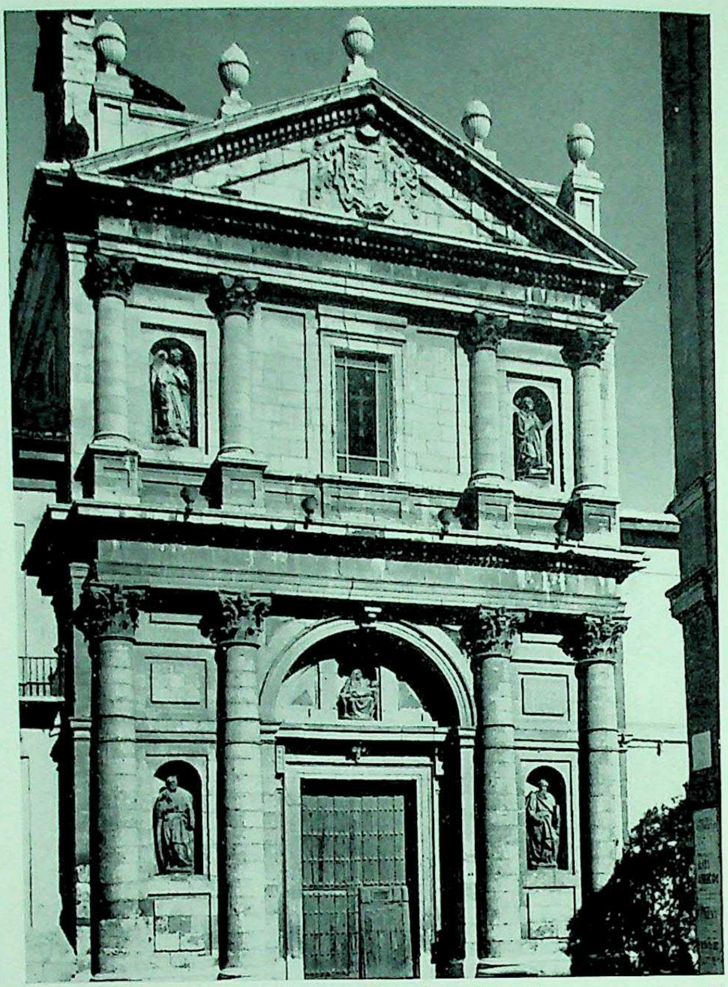
(B) Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón: Alcalá de Henares, University, 1537–53. Façade



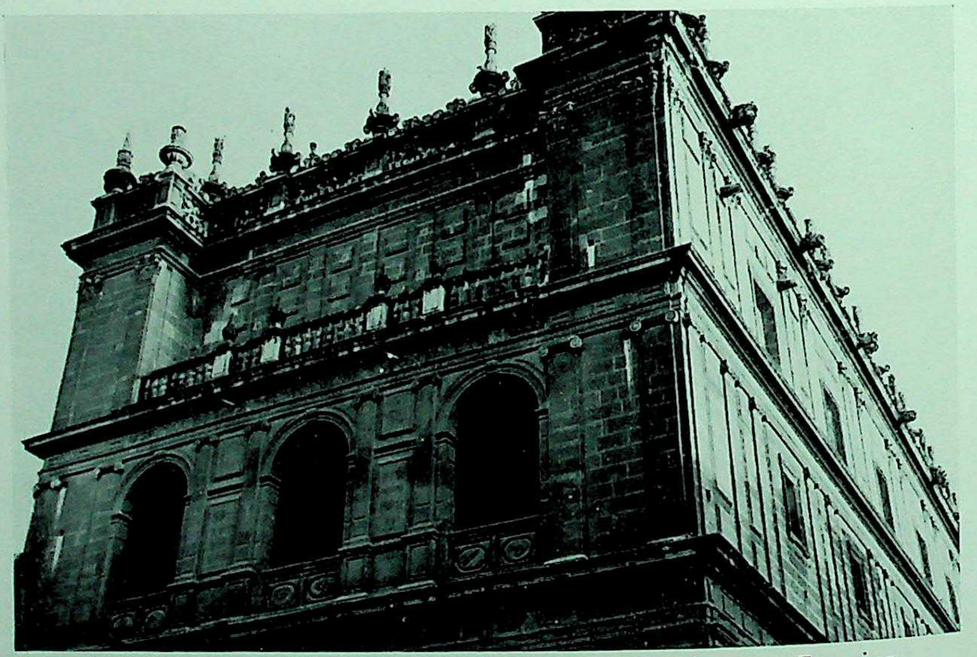
(A) Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera: Escorial, 1563–82. View of church from Court of the Evangelists



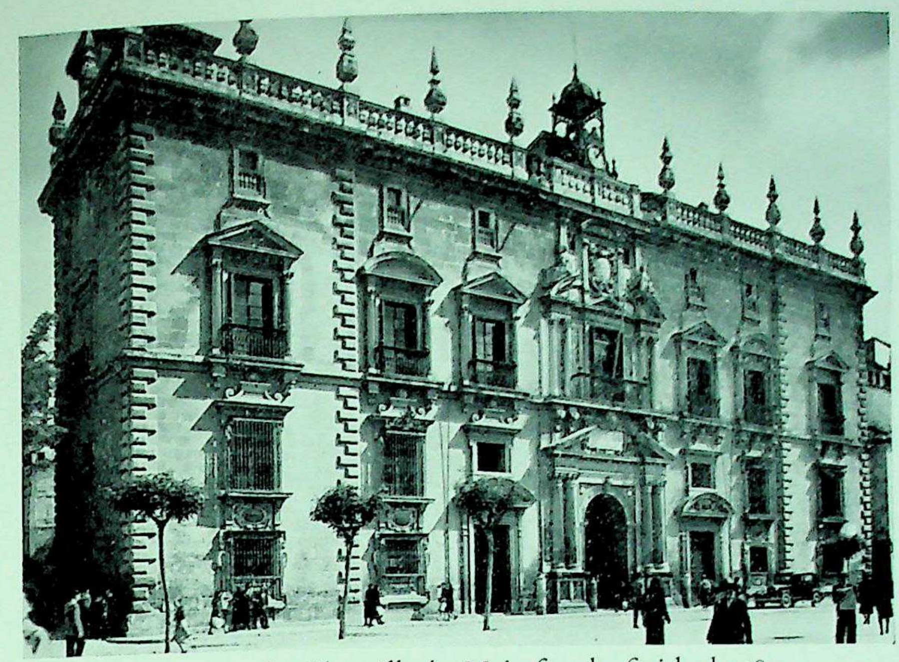
(B) Juan de Herrera: Seville, Exchange, 1582–99. West façade



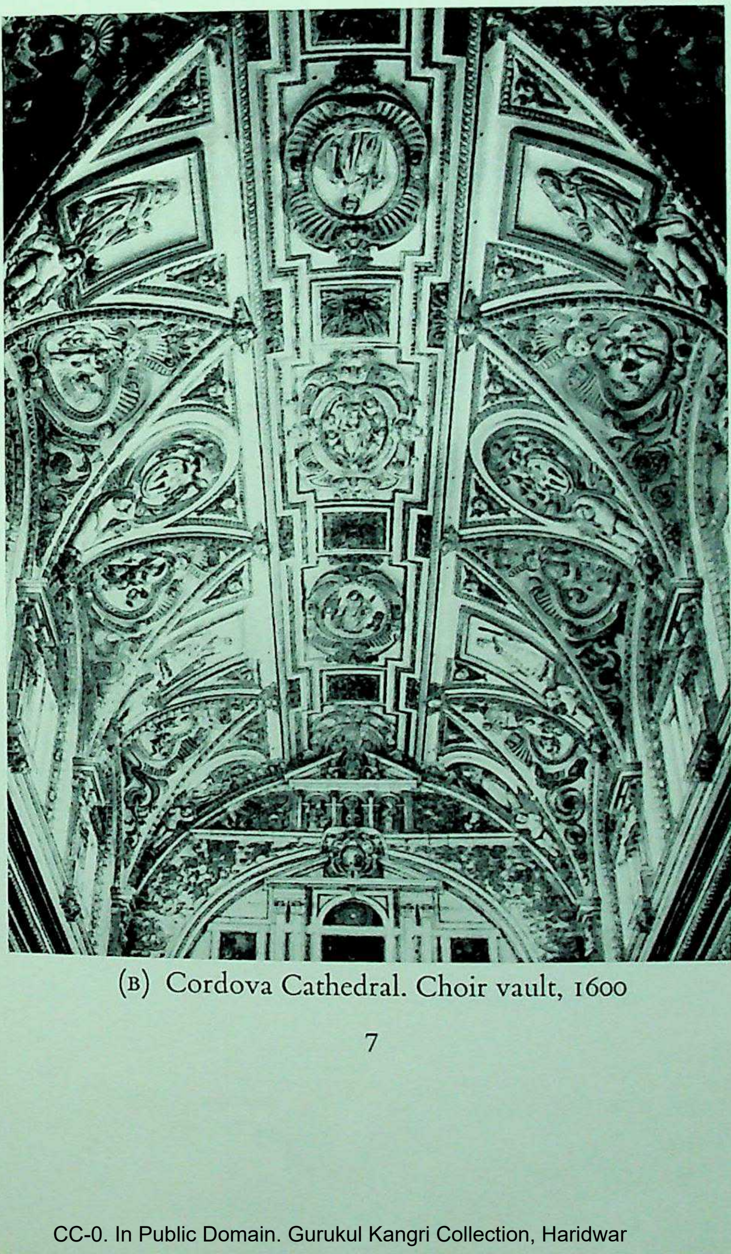
(A) Juan de Nates: Valladolid, Angustias Church, 1597–1604. Façade



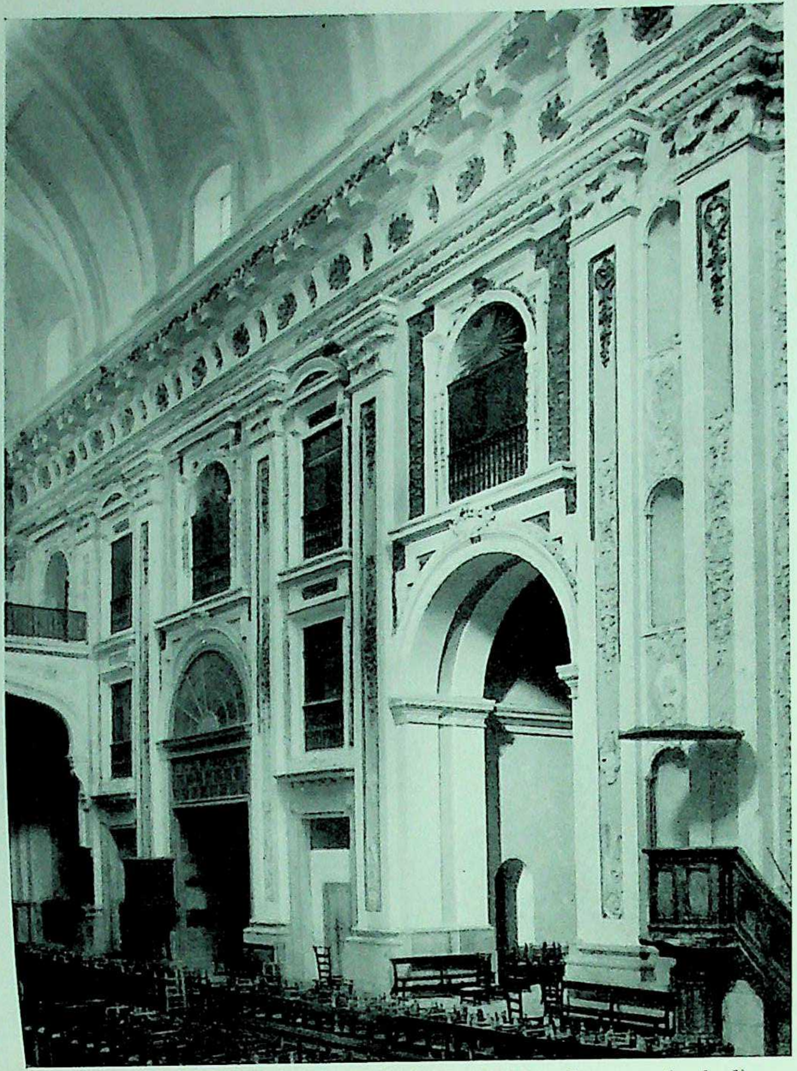
(B) Miguel de Zumárraga: Seville, Sagrario Church, 1615. Exterior



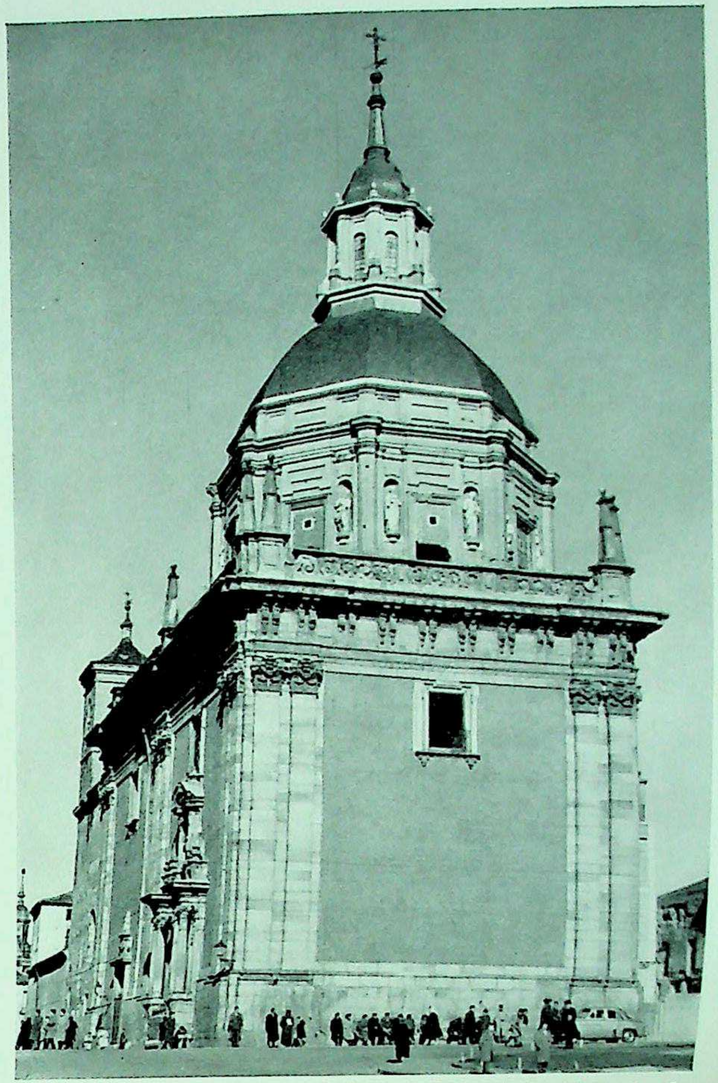
(A) Granada, Chancillería. Main façade, finished 1587



(B) Cordova Cathedral. Choir vault, 1600



(A) Francisco Bautista: Madrid, San Isidro (now cathedral), 1629. Nave

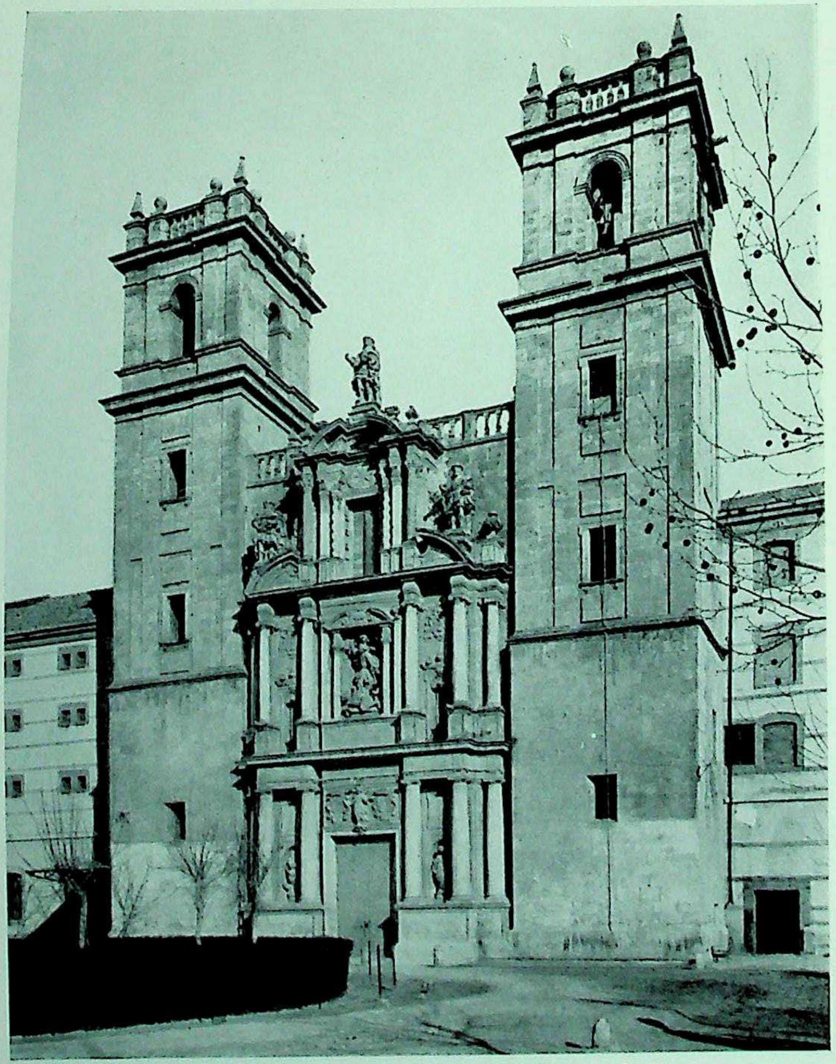


(B) Pedro de la Torre: Madrid, San Andrés, Chapel of San Isidro, 1642–69. *Exterior*

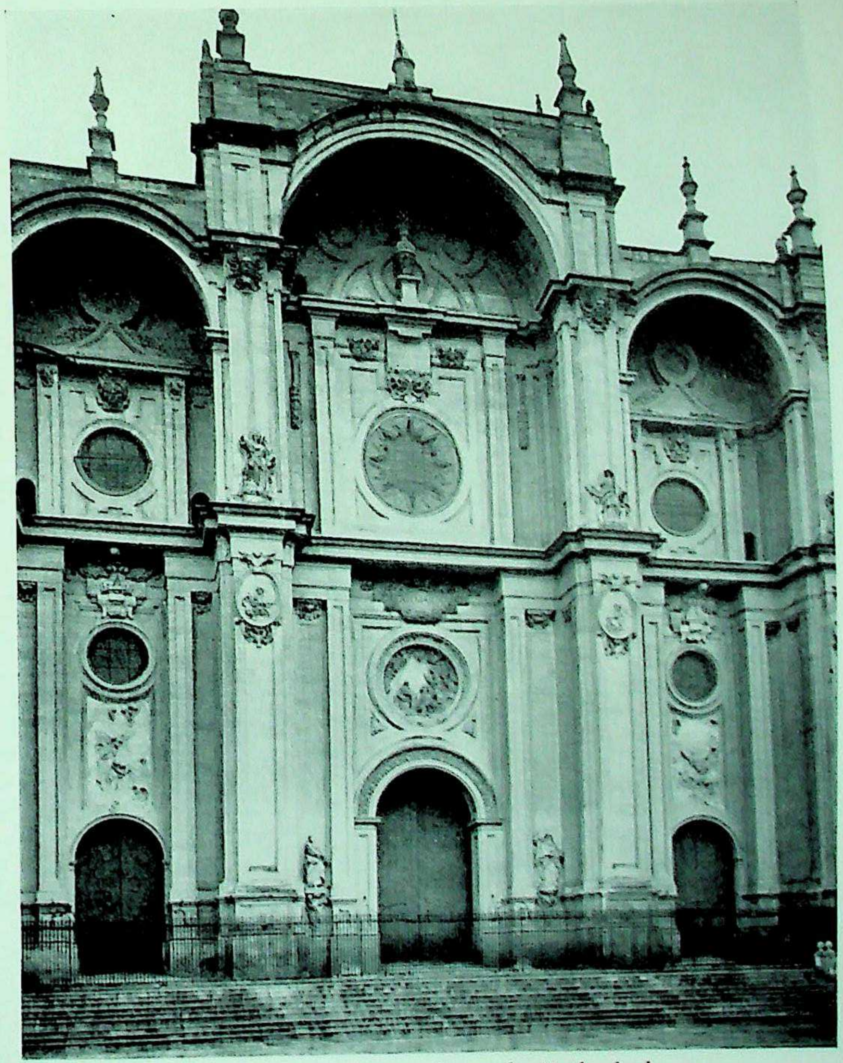
(A) Francisco Bautista: Madrid, San Isidro (now cathedral), 1629. Nave

(B) Pedro de la Torre: Madrid, San Andrés, Chapel of San Isidro, 1642–69. Exterior

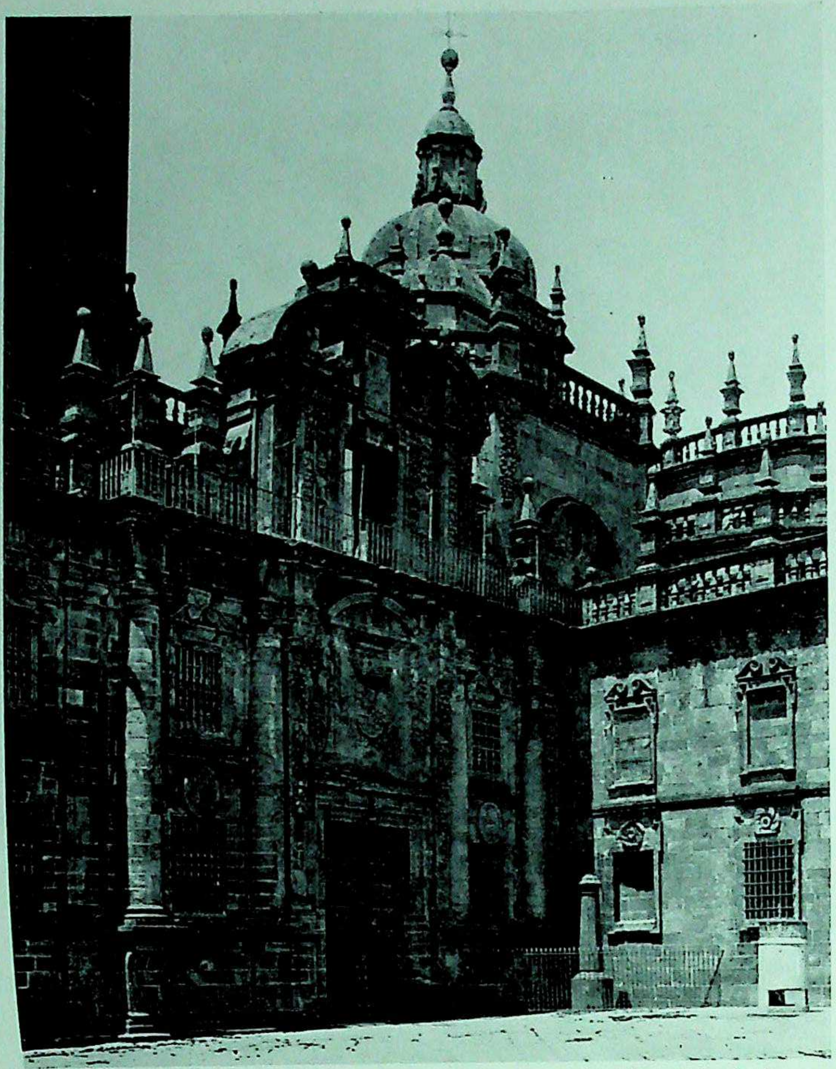
---



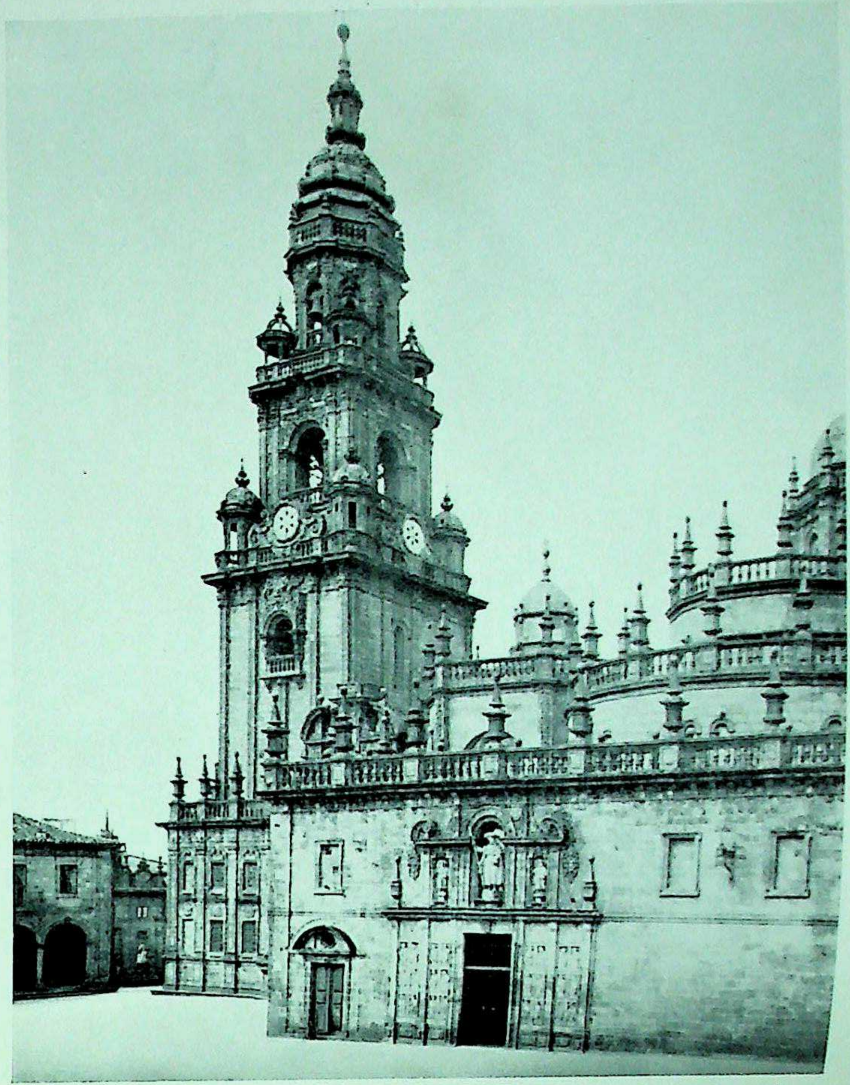
(A) Martín de Olinda: Valencia, San Miguel de los Reyes. Façade, 1632–44



(B) Alonso Cano: Granada Cathedral. Façade, 1664



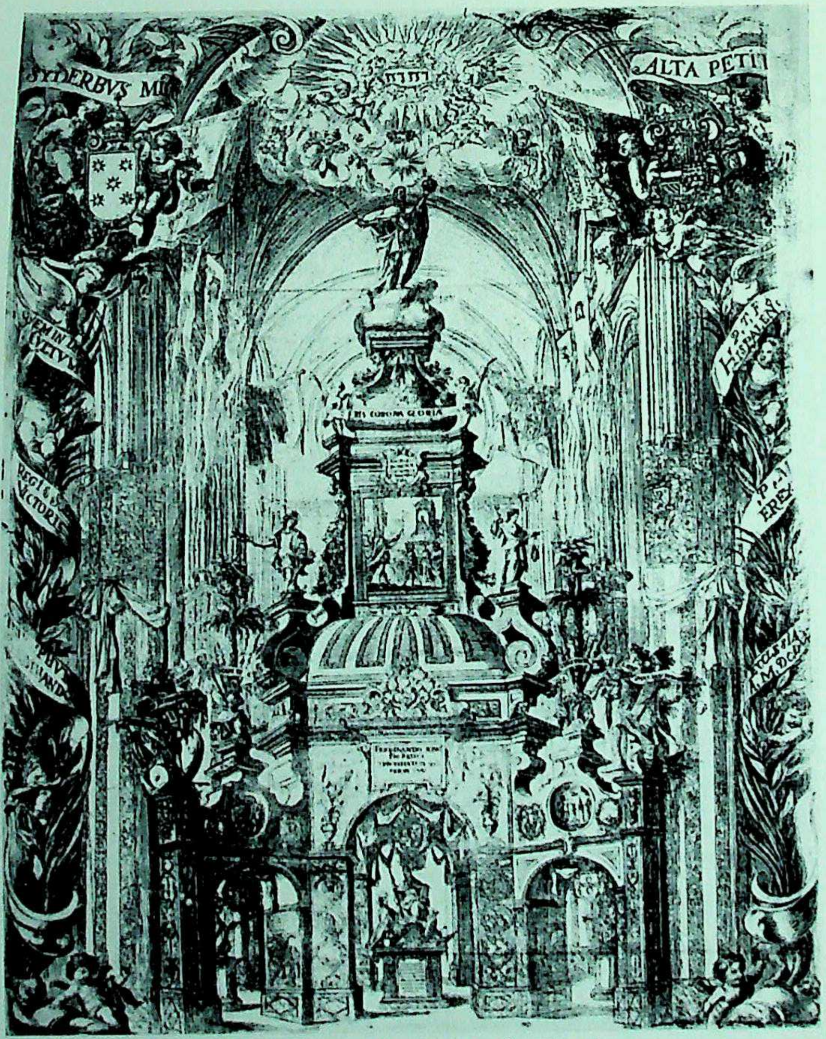
(A) José Peña de Toro: Santiago de Compostela Cathedral.
Quintana Portal, 1658–66



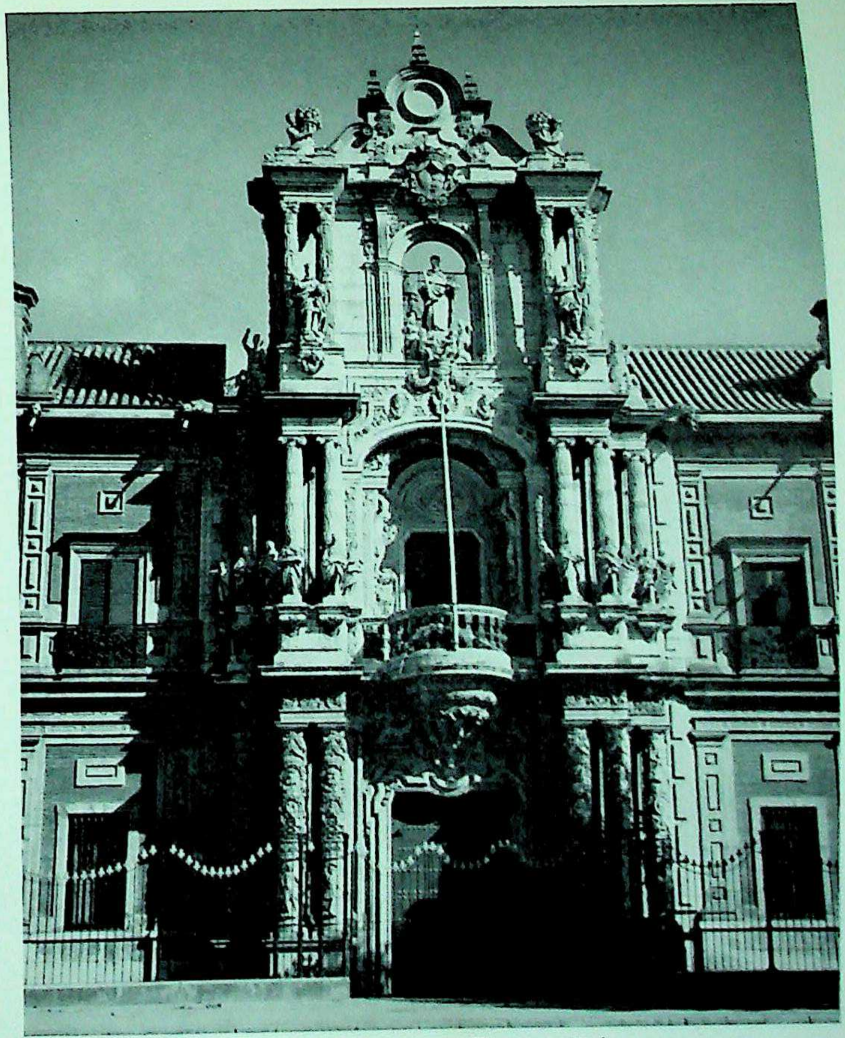
(B) Domingo de Andrade: Santiago de Compostela Cathedral.
Reloj Tower, 1676–80

Quintana Portal, 1658–66

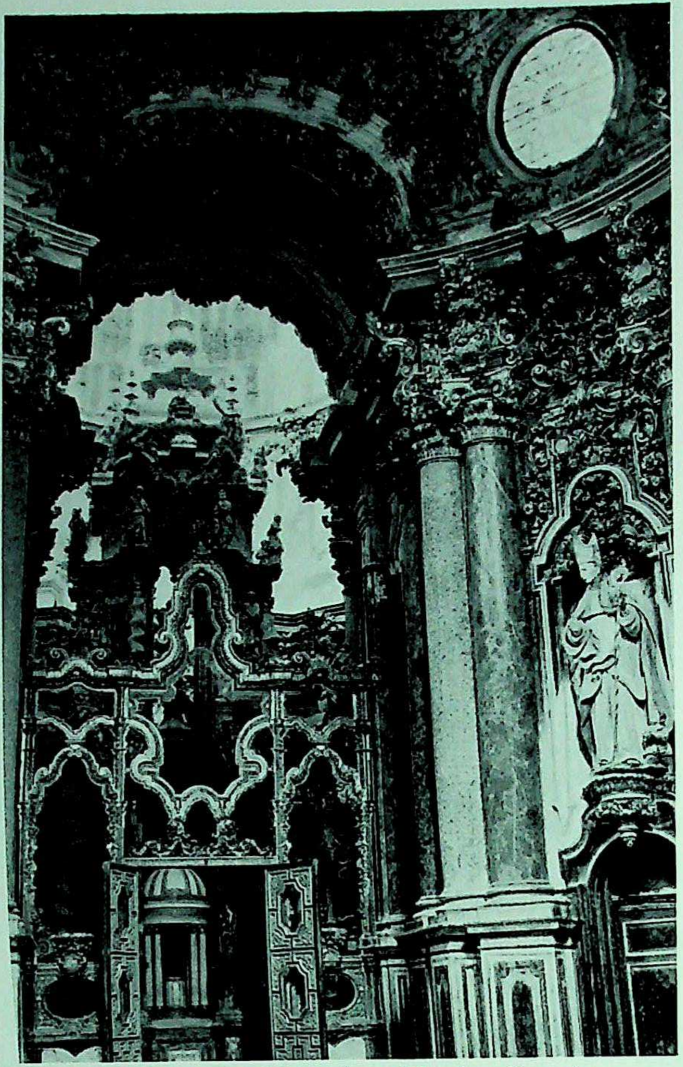
Reloj Tower, 1676–80



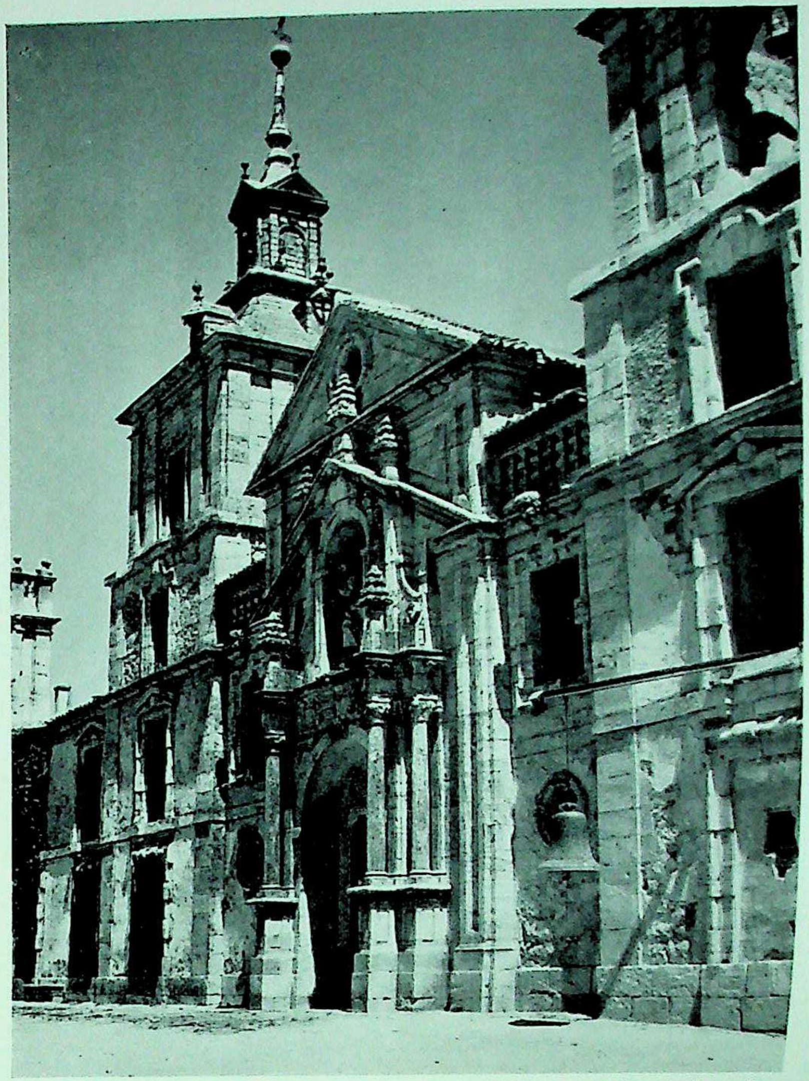
(A) Bernardo Simón de Pineda:
Seville Cathedral, monument to San Fernando, 1671.
Engraving by Juan de Valdés Leal, from F. de la Torre Farfán



(B) Leonardo de Figueroa: Seville, San Telmo, 1724–34.
West entrance



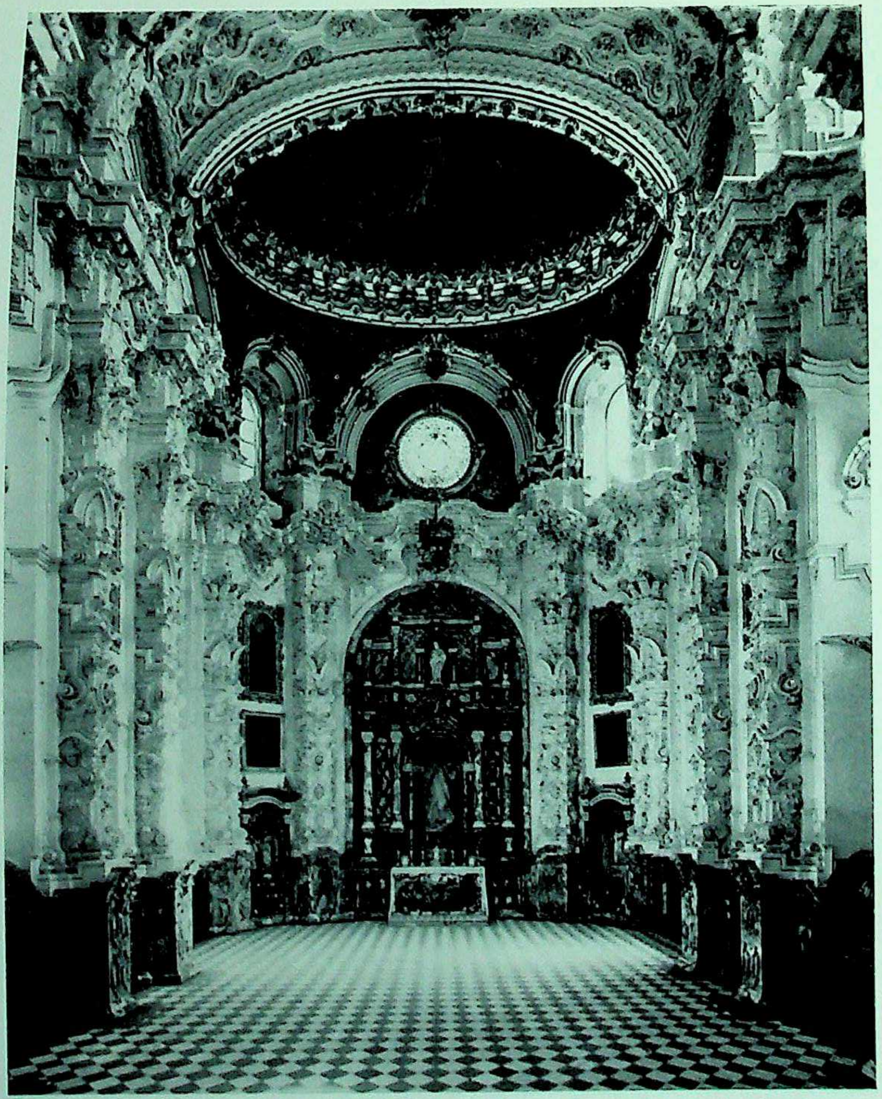
(A) Francisco Hurtado: El Paular, Cartuja.
Anteroom to Transparente Chapel, designed in 1718



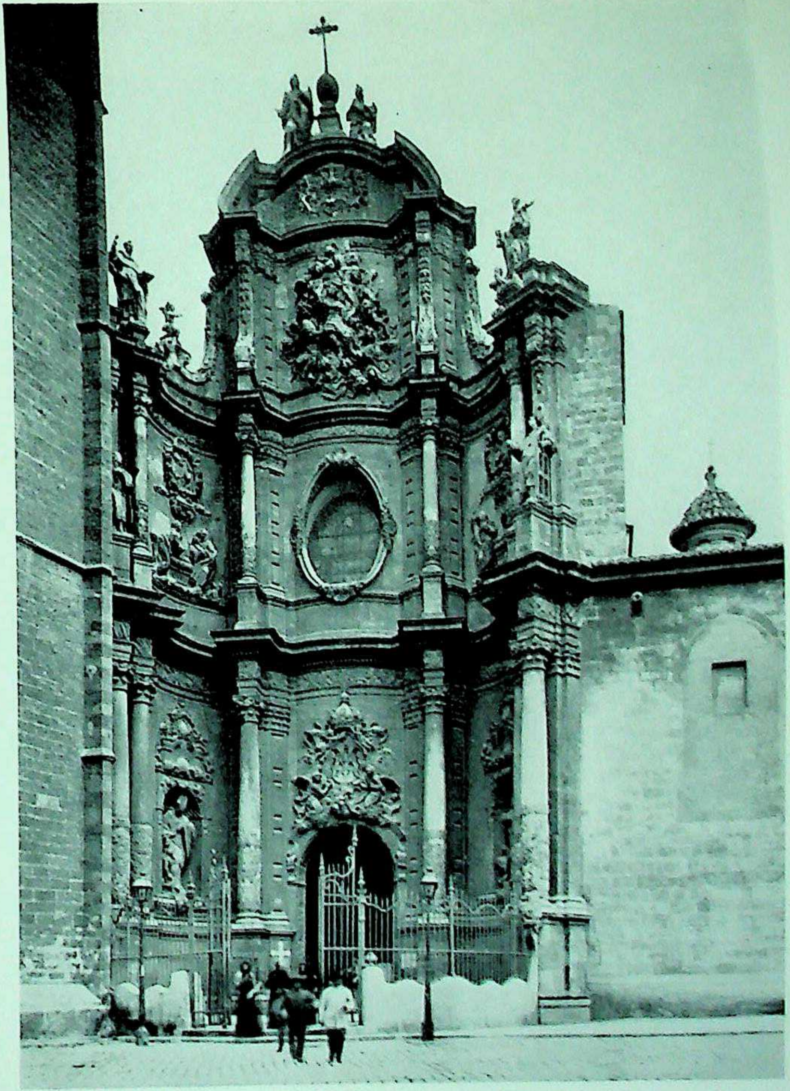
(B) José Benito de Churriguera: Nuevo Baztán, Palace Church,
1709–13. Façade

Anteroom to Transparente Chapel, designed in 1718

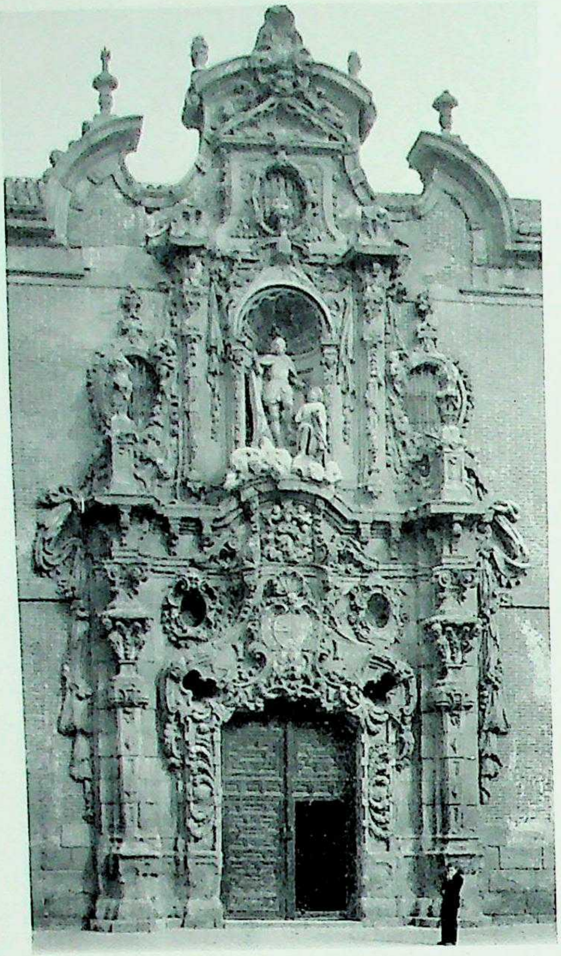
1709–13. Façade



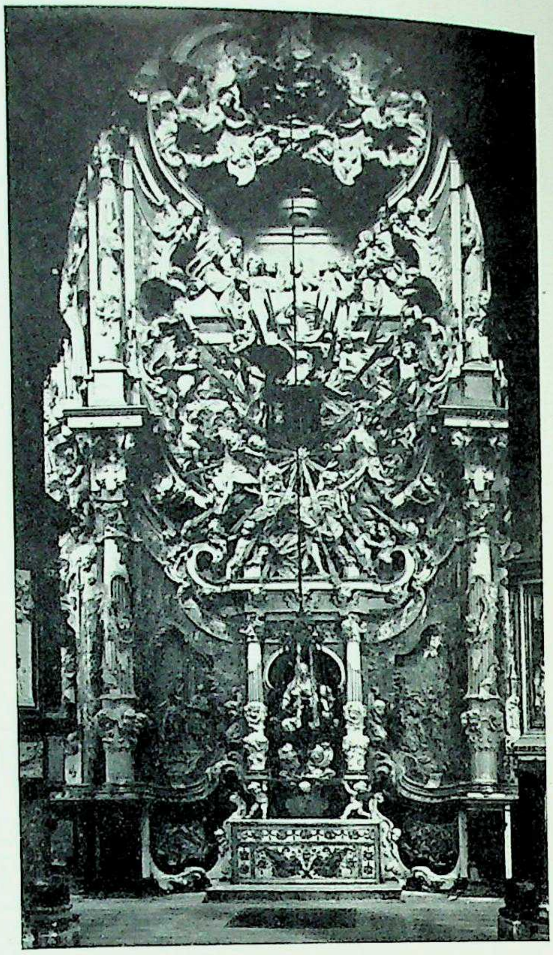
(A) Granada, Cartuja, Sacristy, 1713–47. View towards altar



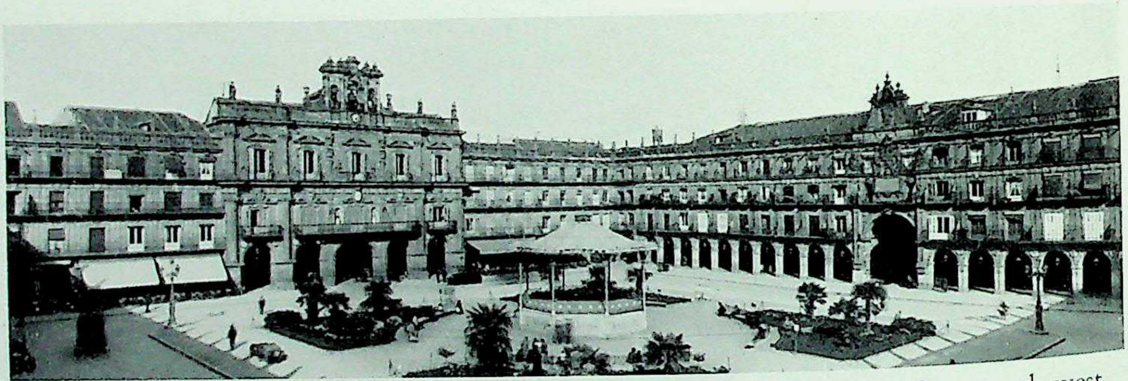
(B) Conrad Rudolf: Valencia Cathedral. Façade, design of 1703



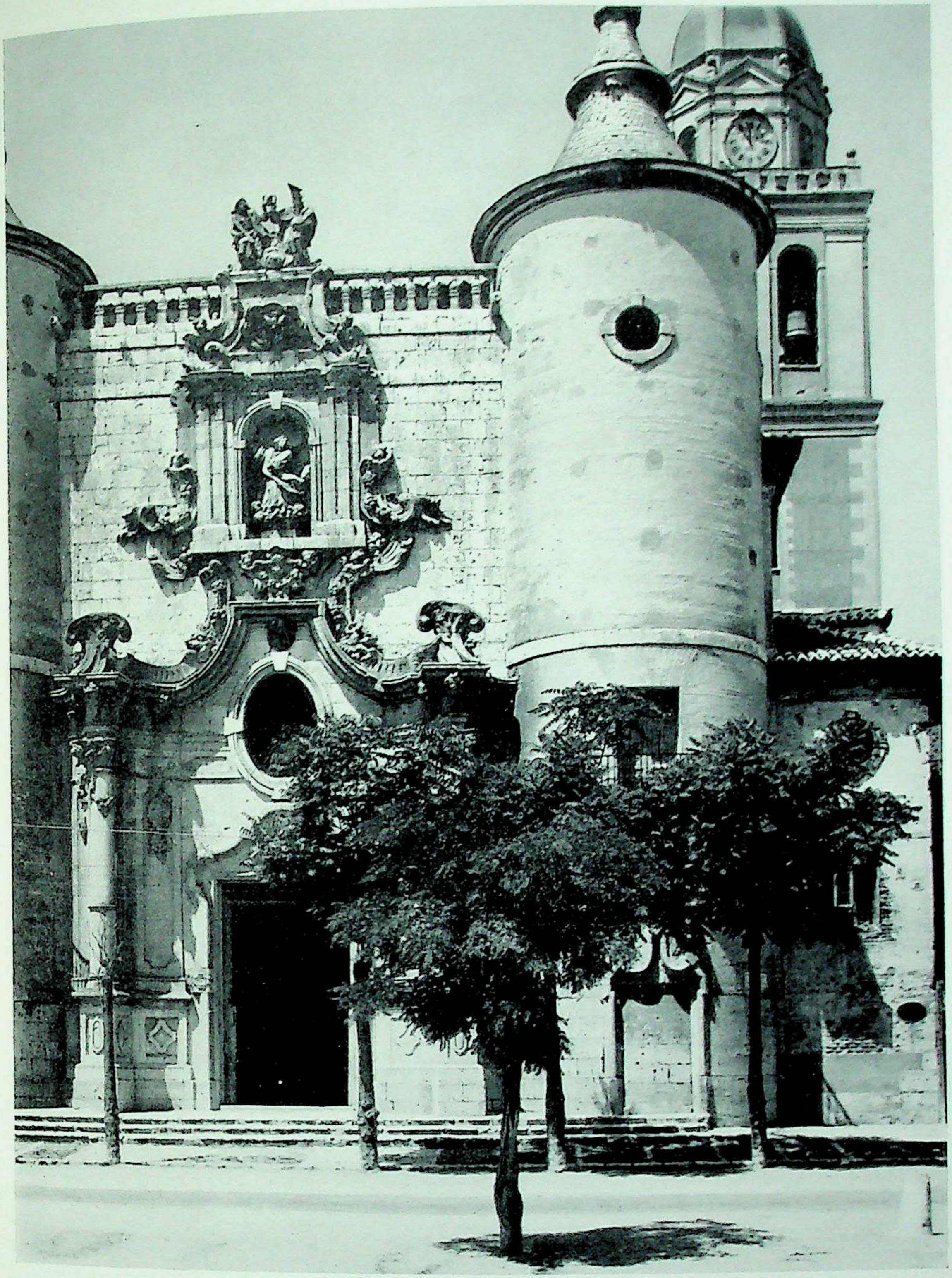
(A) Pedro de Ribera: Madrid, Hospicio de San Fernando. Portal, 1722



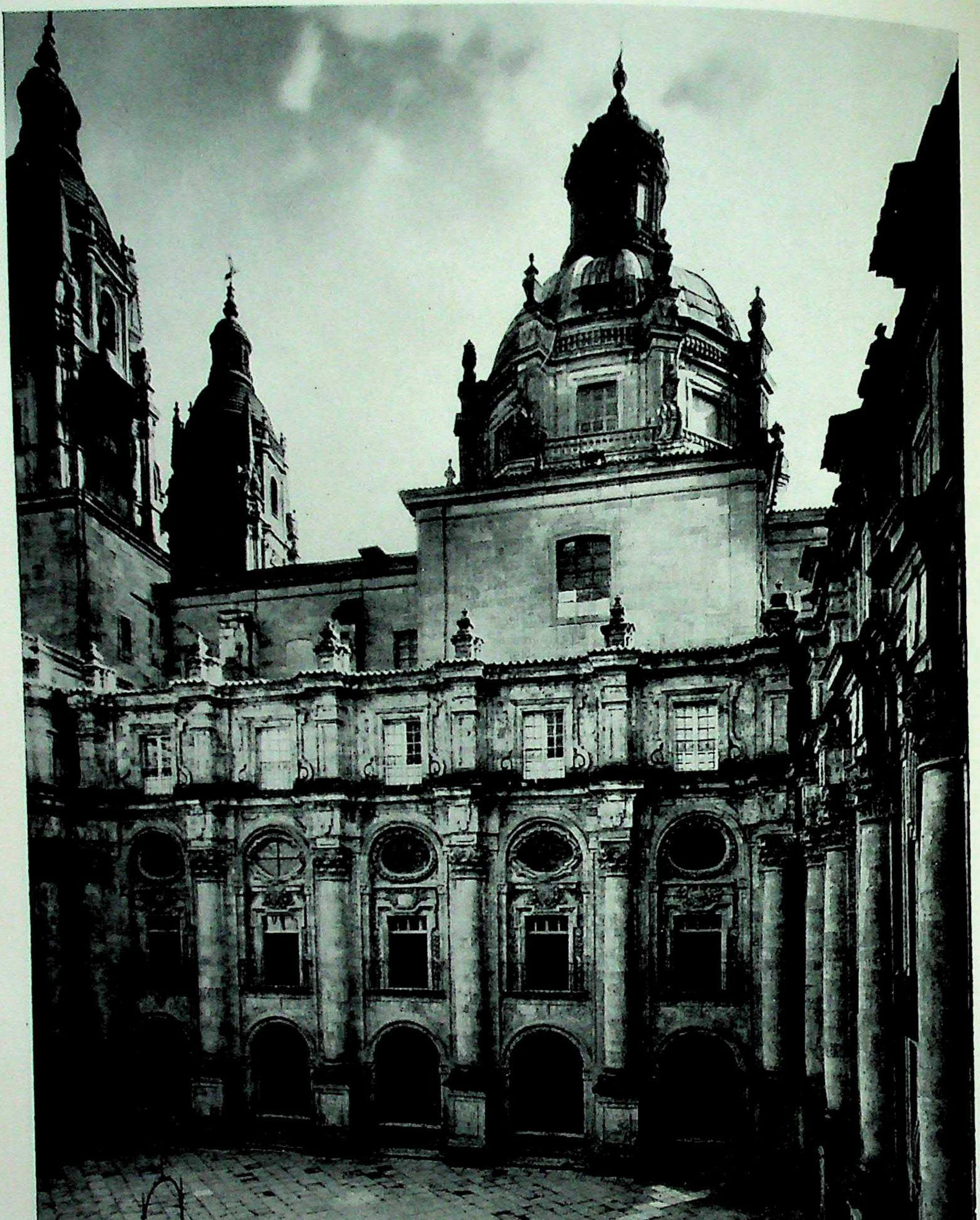
(B) Narciso Tomé: Toledo Cathedral, Transparente Chapel, 1721–32. View from the east



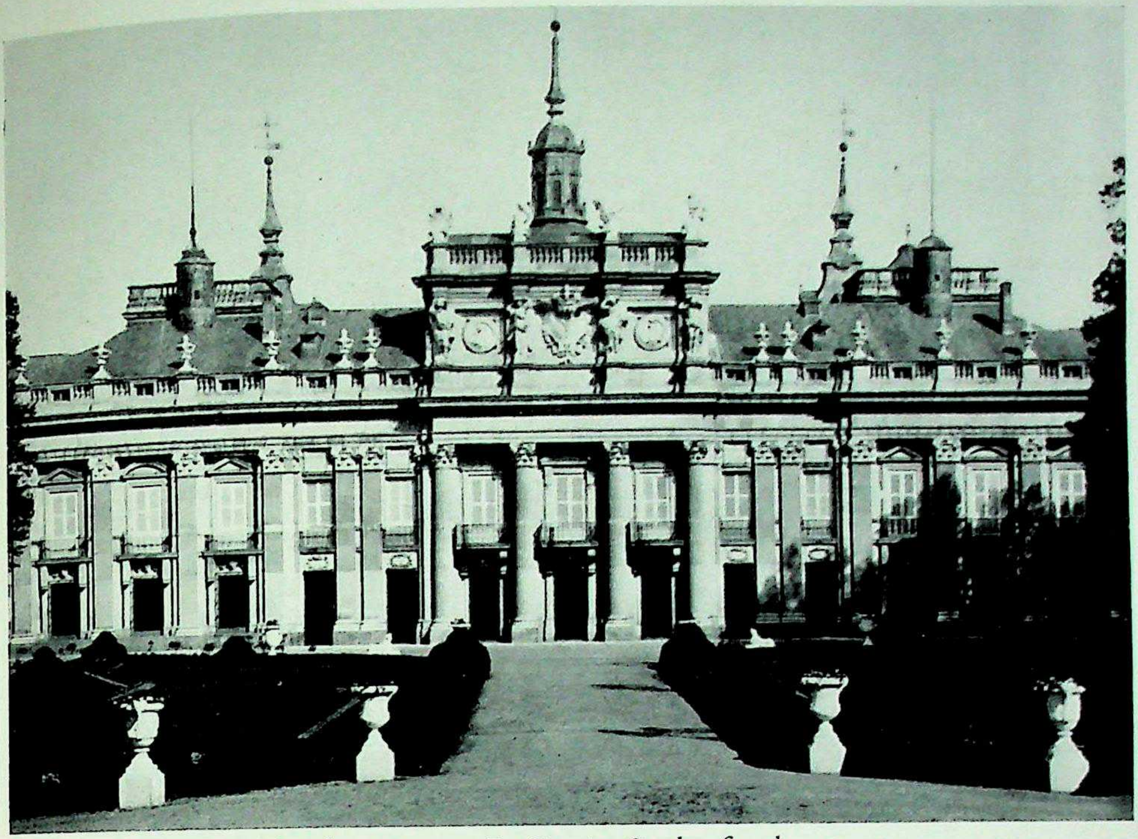
(C) Alberto de Churriguera: Salamanca, Plaza Mayor, begun 1729. View from south-west, with Town Hall (left) and Royal Pavilion



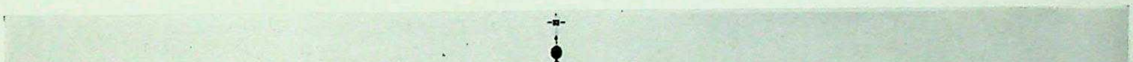
Alberto de Churriguera: Rueda, Church of the Assumption, 1738–47. Façade



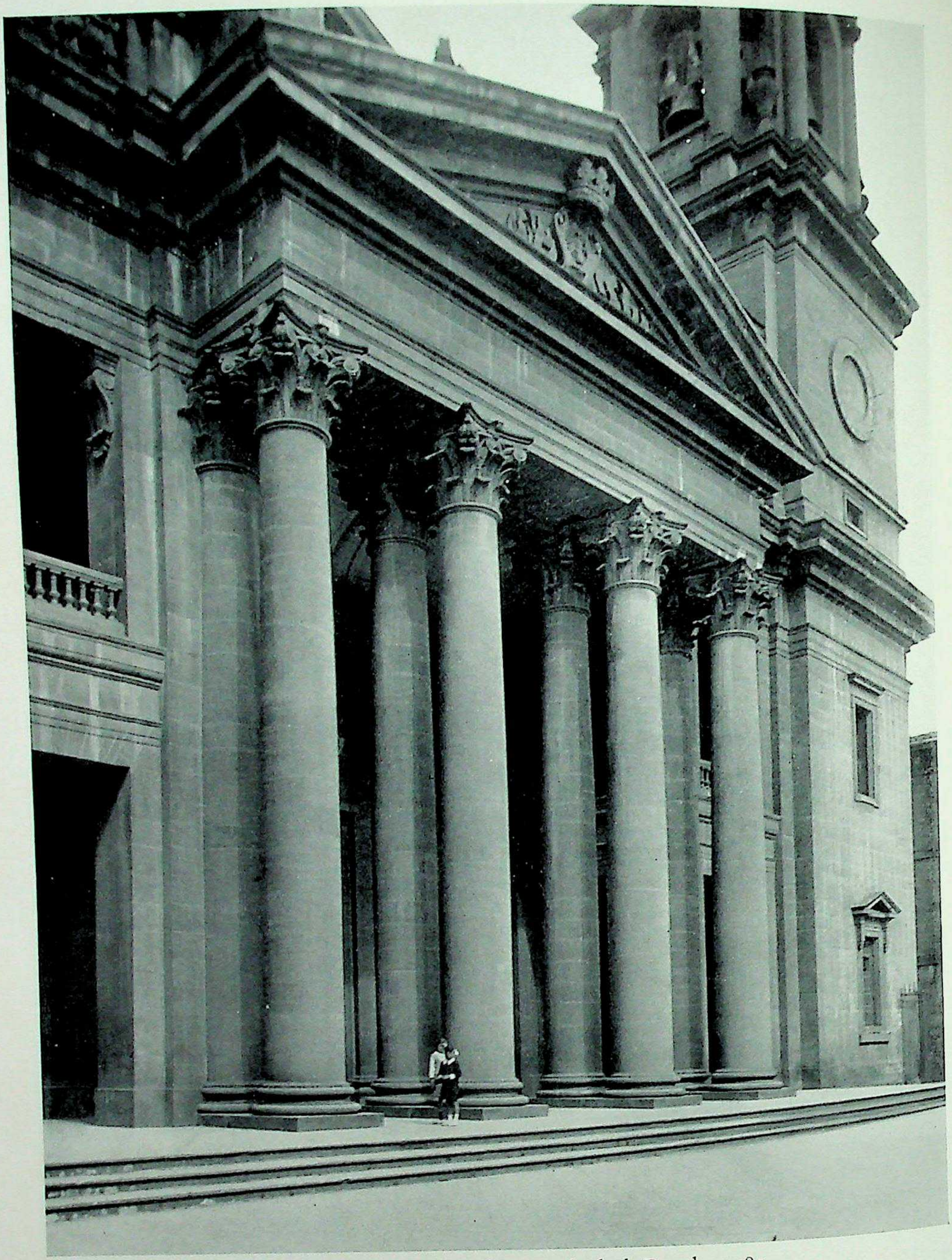
Andrés García de Quiñones: Salamanca, Clerecía, 1750–5. Cloister, view towards church



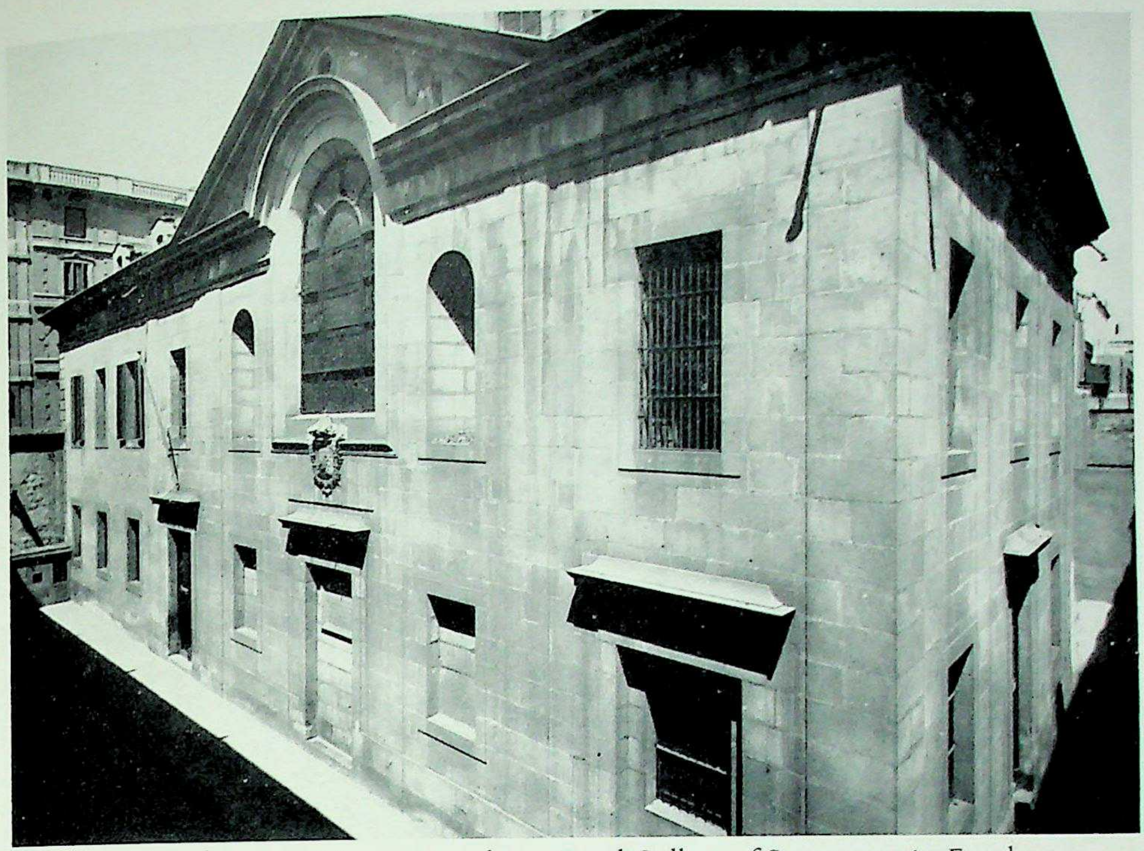
(A) Filippo Juvara: La Granja. Garden façade, 1735–9



(B) G. B. Sacchetti: Madrid, Royal Palace, begun 1736. North façade

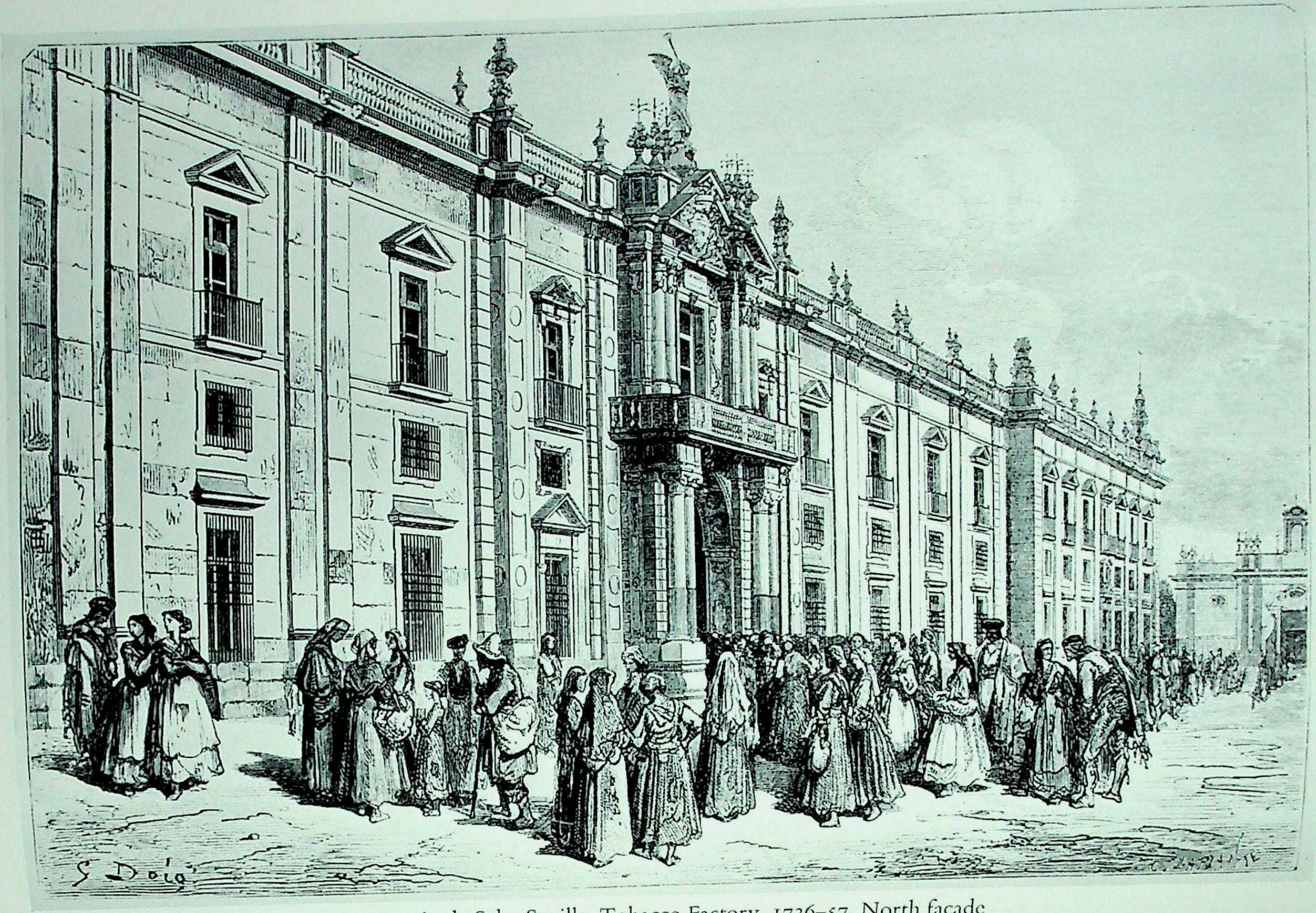


Ventura Rodríguez: Pamplona Cathedral. Façade, 1783



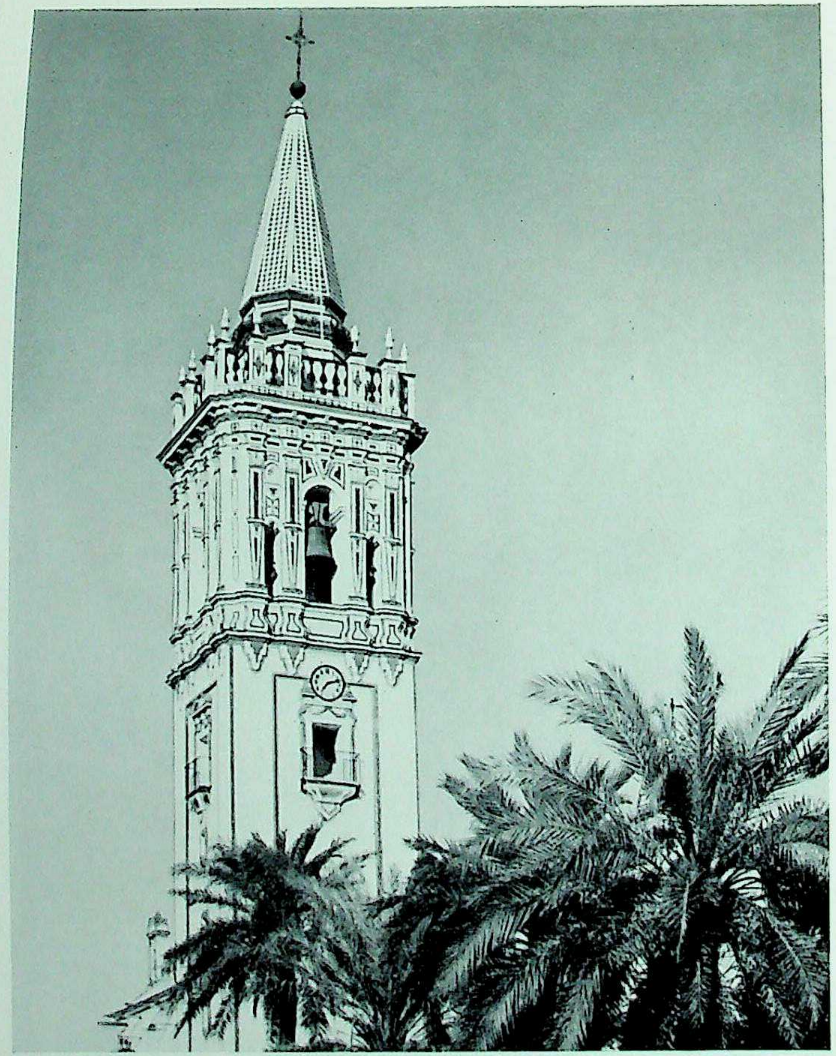
(A) Ventura Rodríguez: Barcelona, Royal College of Surgery, 1761. Façade

(B) Juan de Villanueva: Madrid, Prado Museum, designed 1787. West façade from the north-west

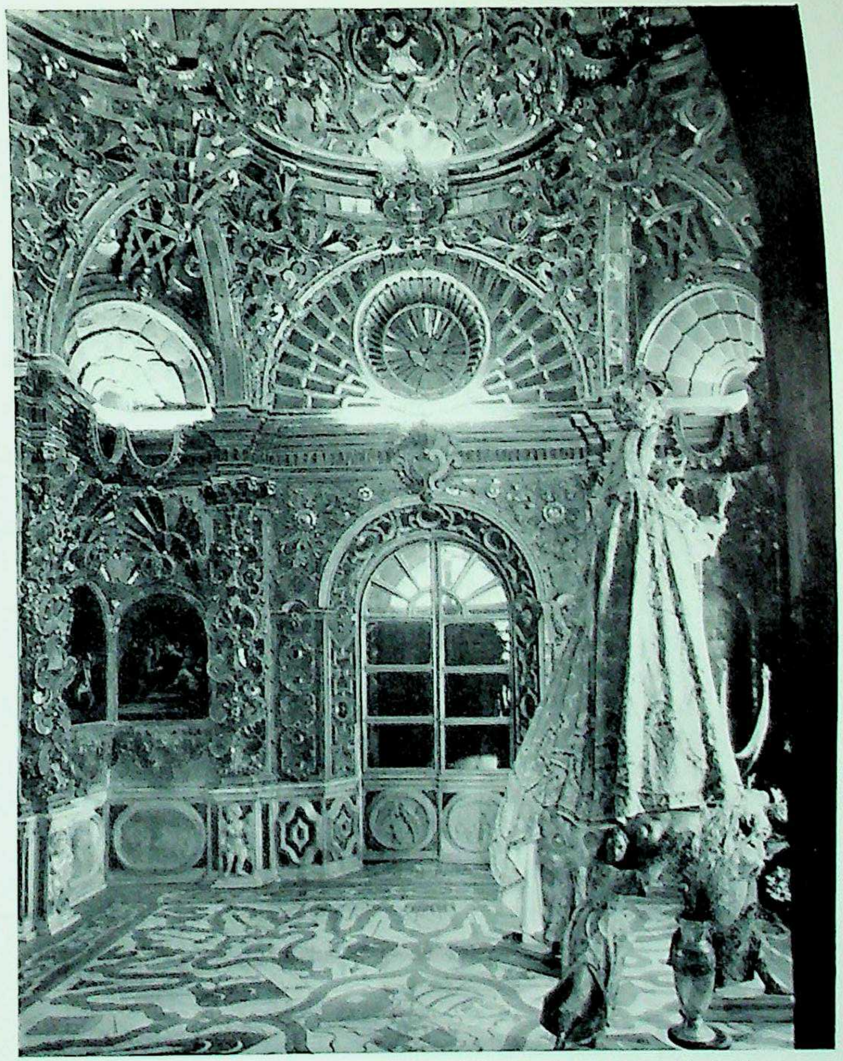


Ignacio de Sala: Seville, Tobacco Factory, 1726–57. North façade

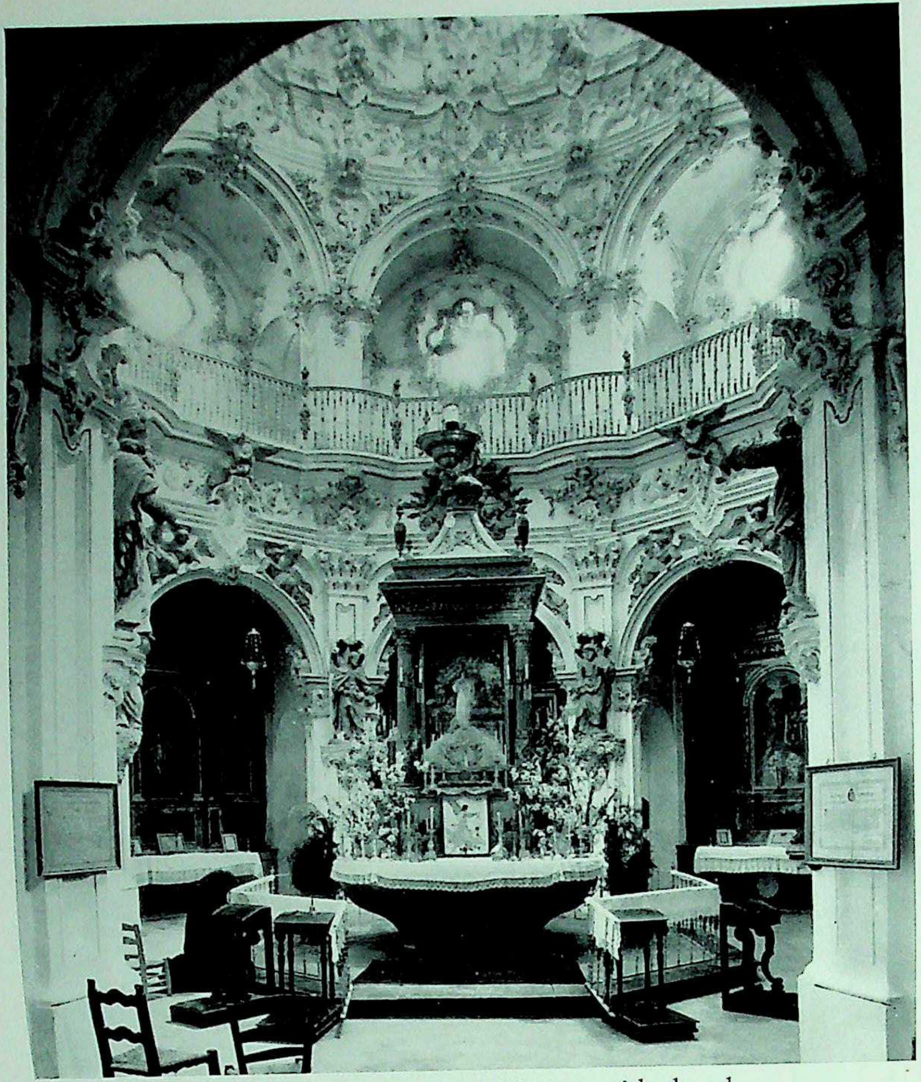
Ignacio de Sala: Seville, Tobacco Factory, 1726–57. North façade



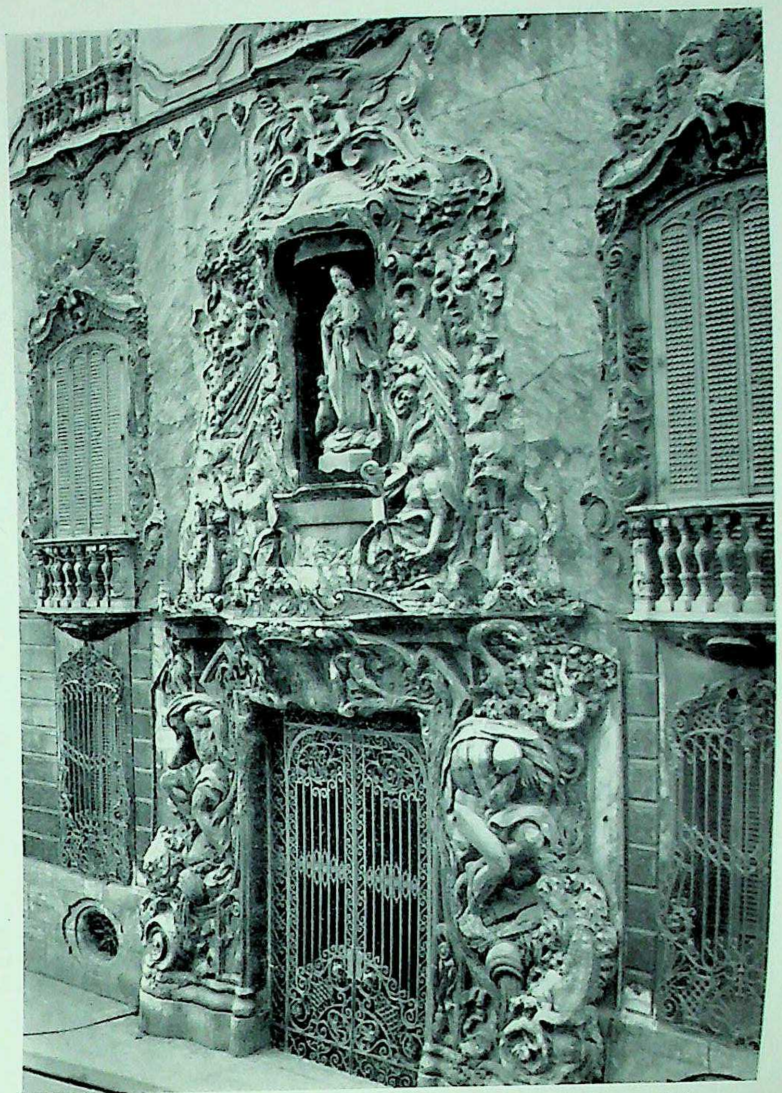
(A) Antonio Matías de Figueroa: La Palma del Condado, parish church. Tower, 1780



(B) Granada, Santa Cruz la Real (now Santa Escolástica). Rosario *camarín*, interior, 1726–73



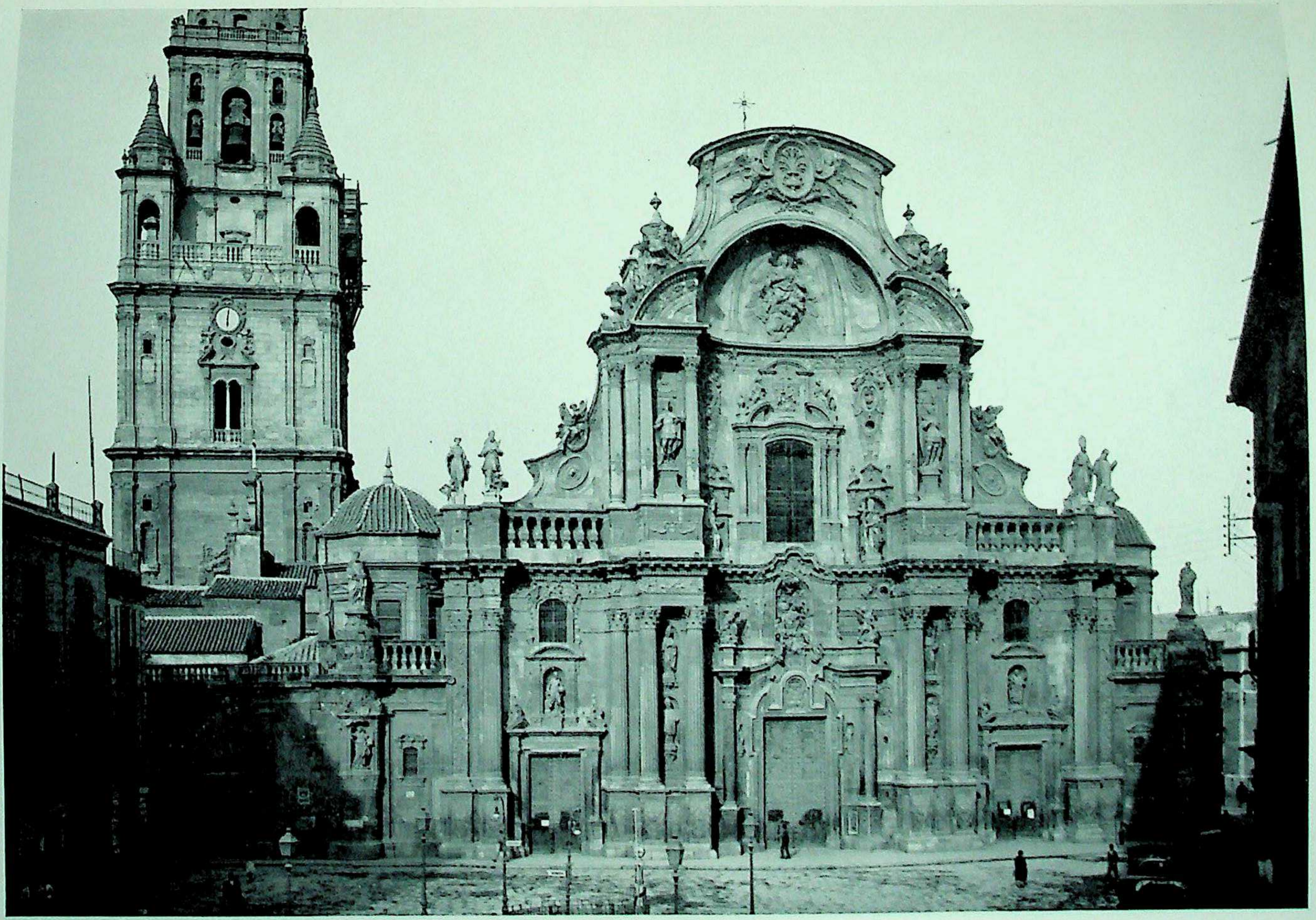
(A) F. X. A. Pedraxas: Priego, parish church. Sacramental Chapel, interior, 1784



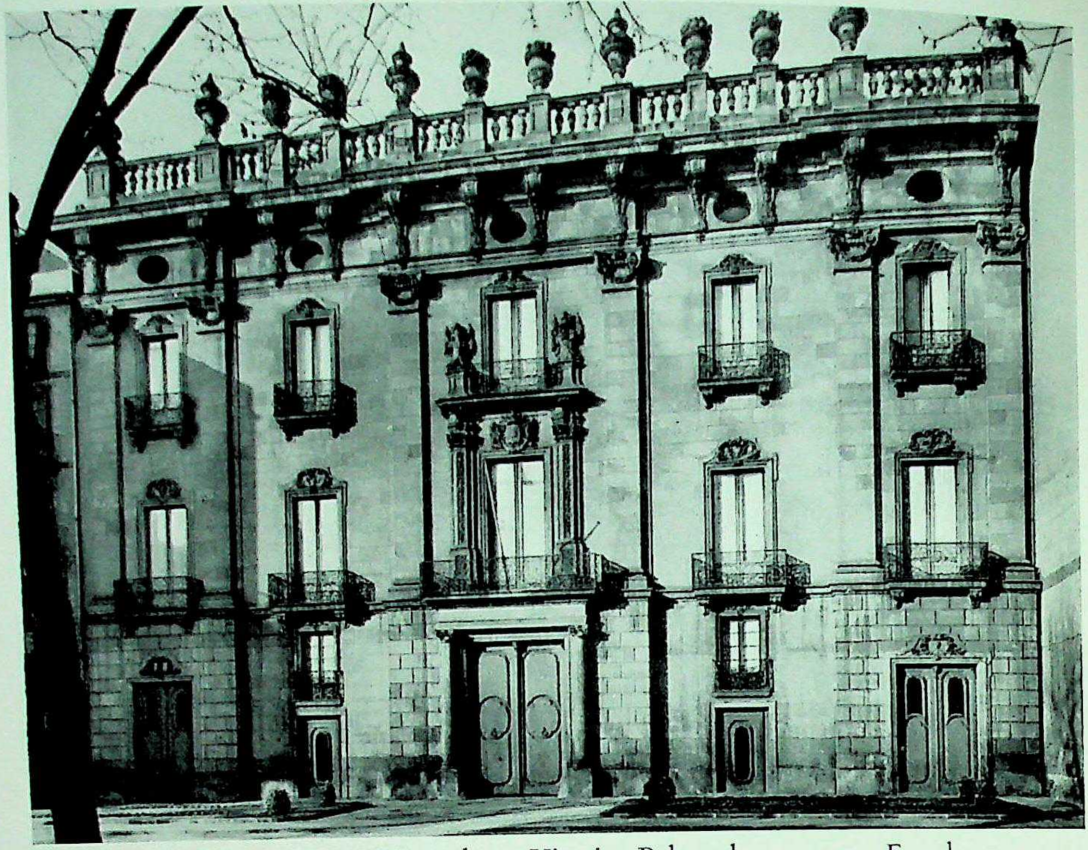
(B) Hipólito Rovira Brocandel: Valencia, Palace of the Marqués de Dos Aguas, remodelled 1740–4

(A) F. X. A. Pedraxas: Priego, parish church.
Sacramental Chapel, interior, 1784

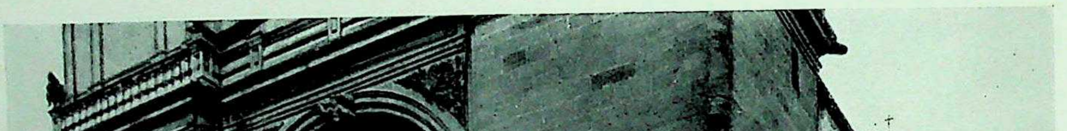
Marqués de Dos Aguas, remodelled 1740–4



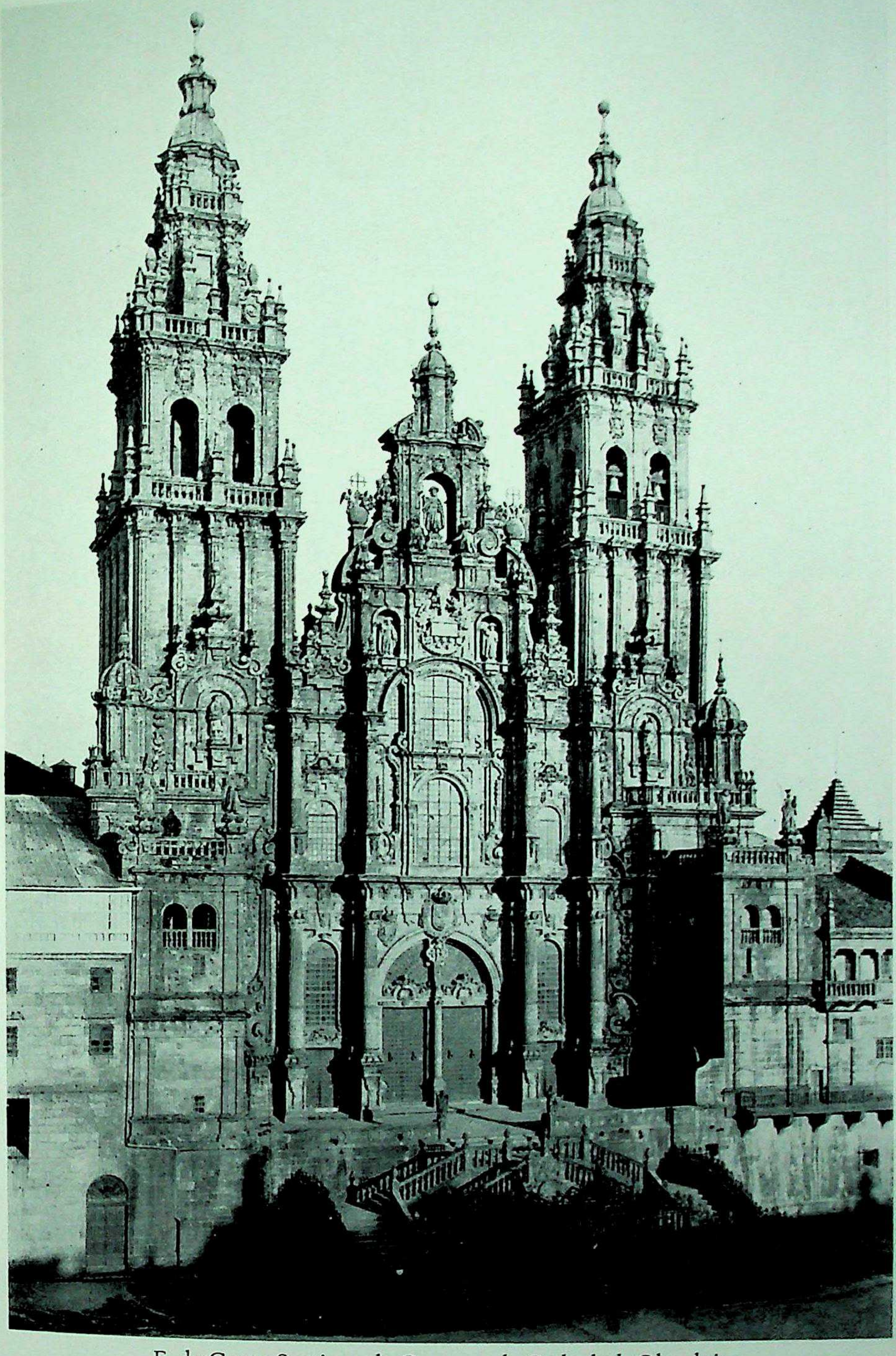
Jaime Bort Miliá: Murcia Cathedral. Façade, 1741–54



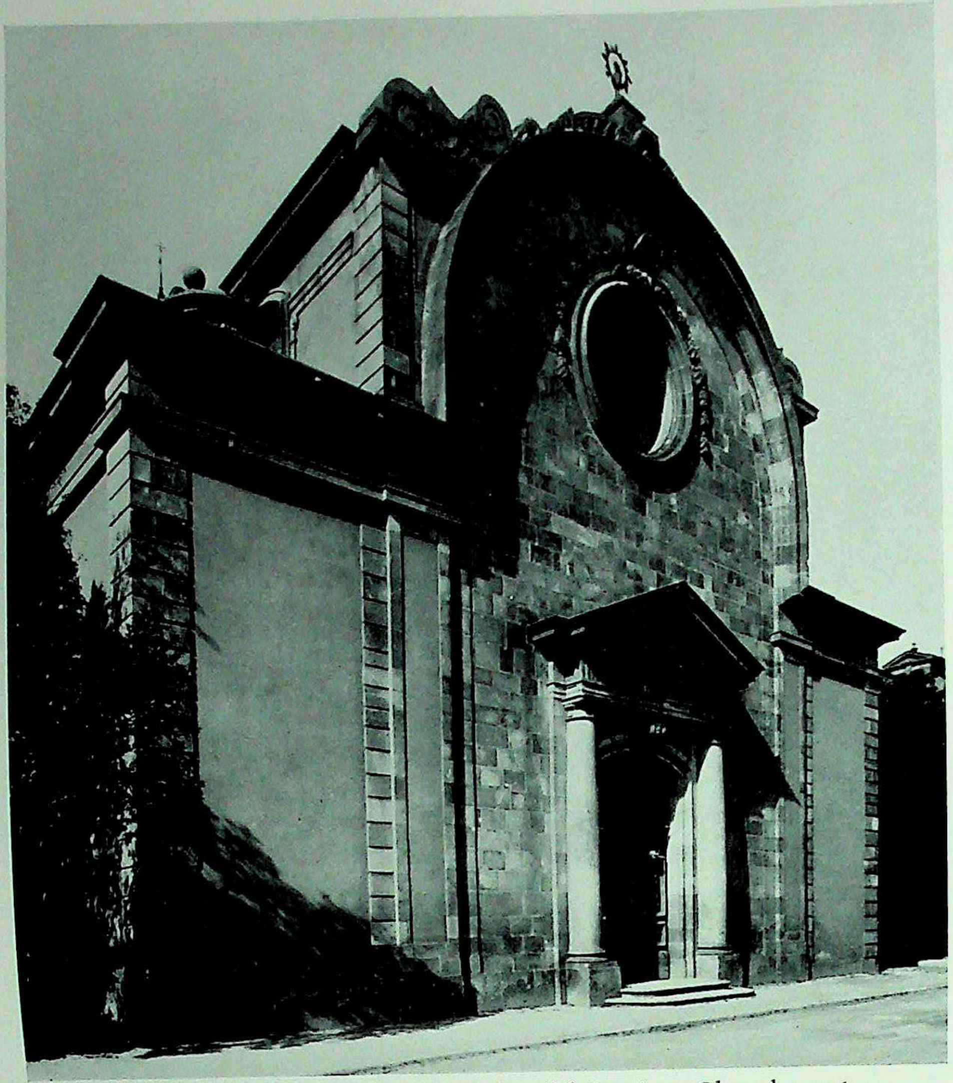
(A) Manuel Amat: Barcelona, Virreina Palace, begun 1722. Façade



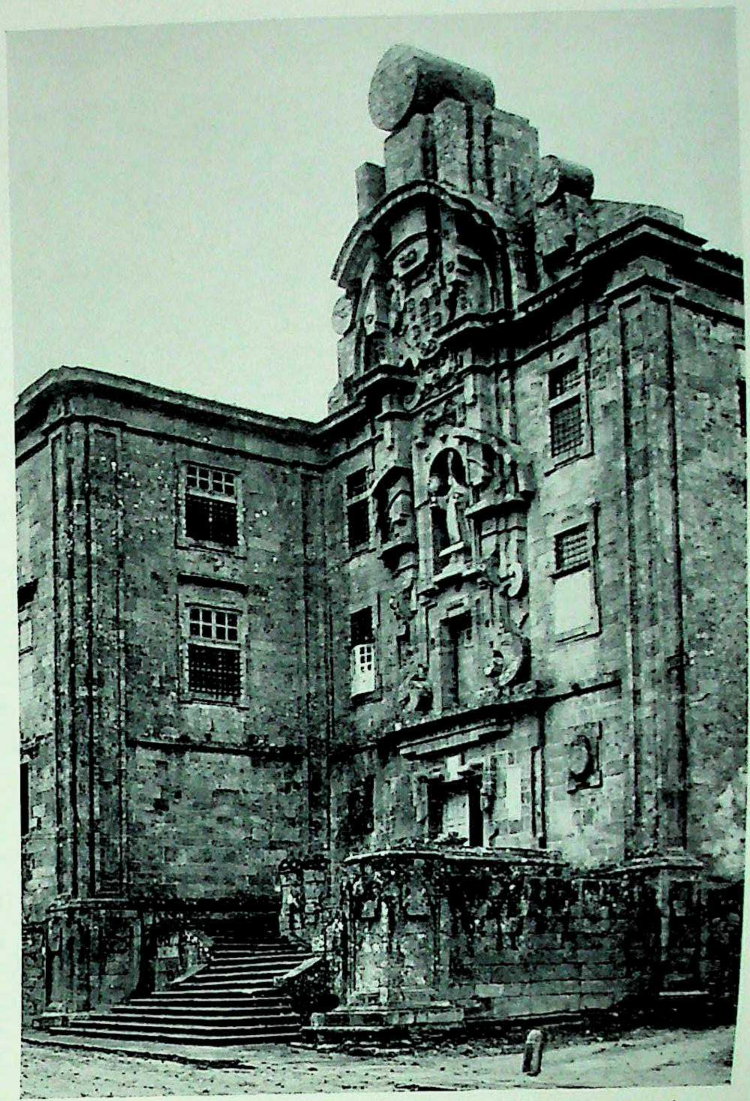
(B) Logroño, Santa María la Redonda. Façade, 1742–60



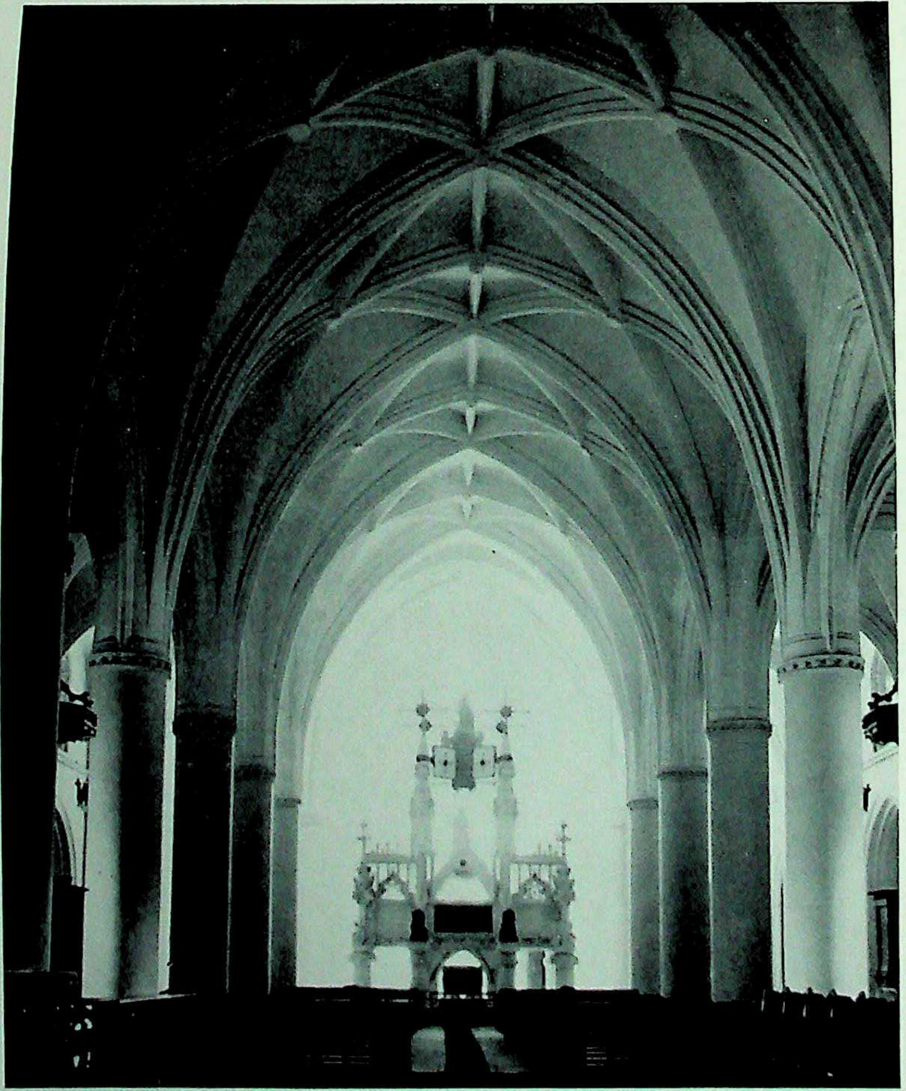
F. de Casas: Santiago de Compostela Cathedral. Obradoiro (main façade, centre panel), finished 1749



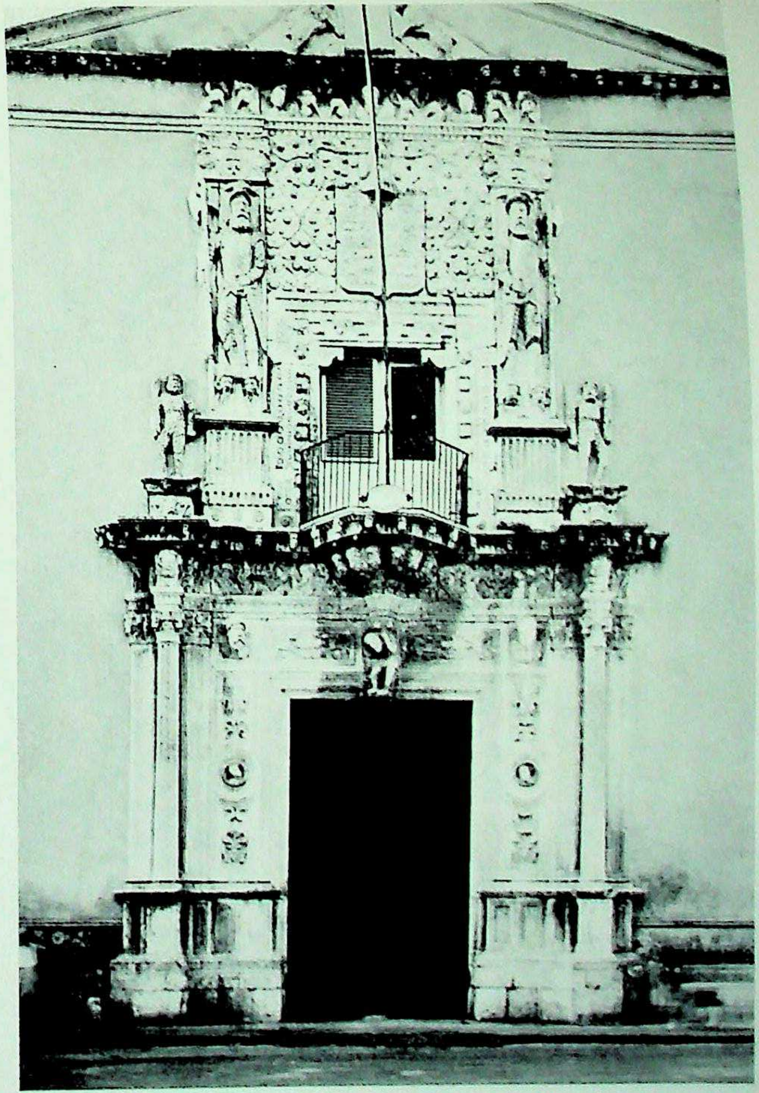
(A) Alexandre de Rez: Barcelona, Citadel Garrison Chapel, 1716–27. North façade



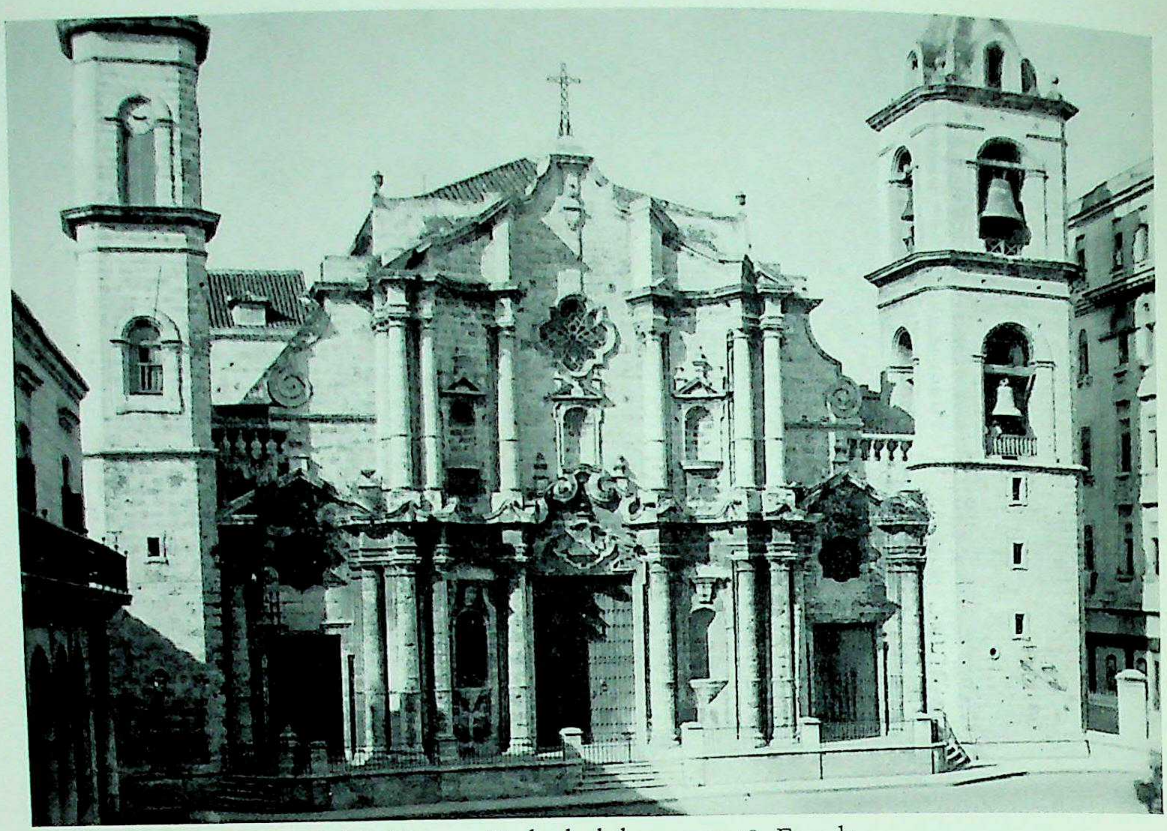
(B) Simón Rodríguez (attr.): Santiago de Compostela, Santa Clara. Gatehouse façade, *c.* 1750



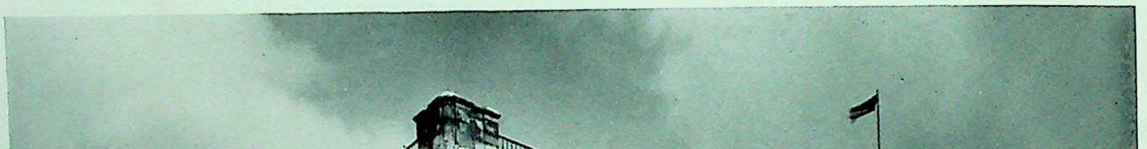
(A) Santo Domingo Cathedral, 1512–41. Interior



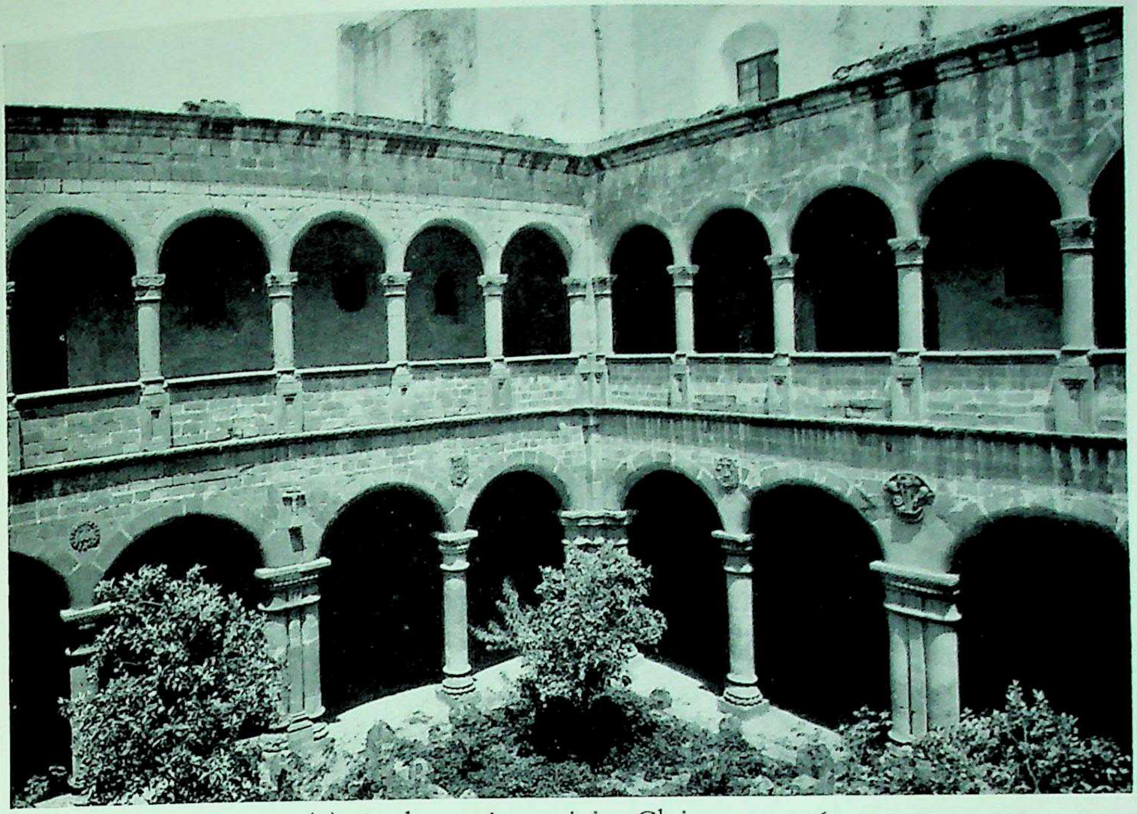
(B) Mérida (Yucatan), Montejo House. Façade, *c.* 1550



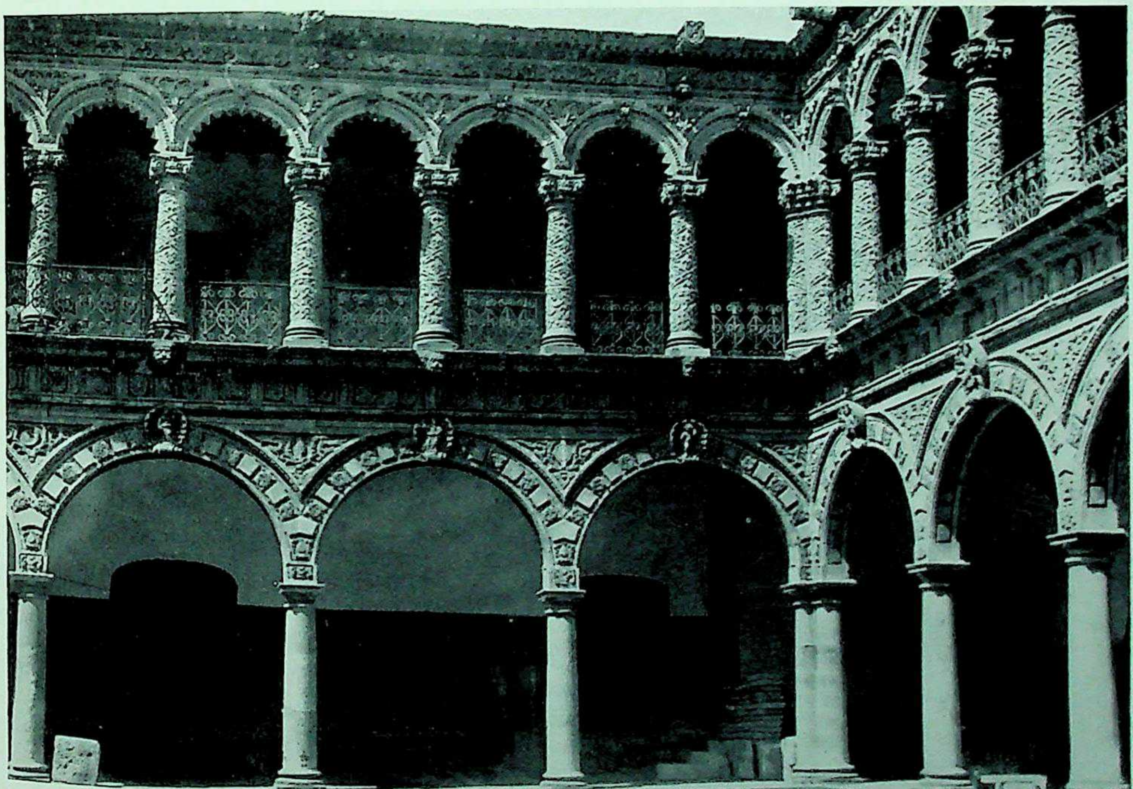
(A) Havana Cathedral, begun 1748. Façade



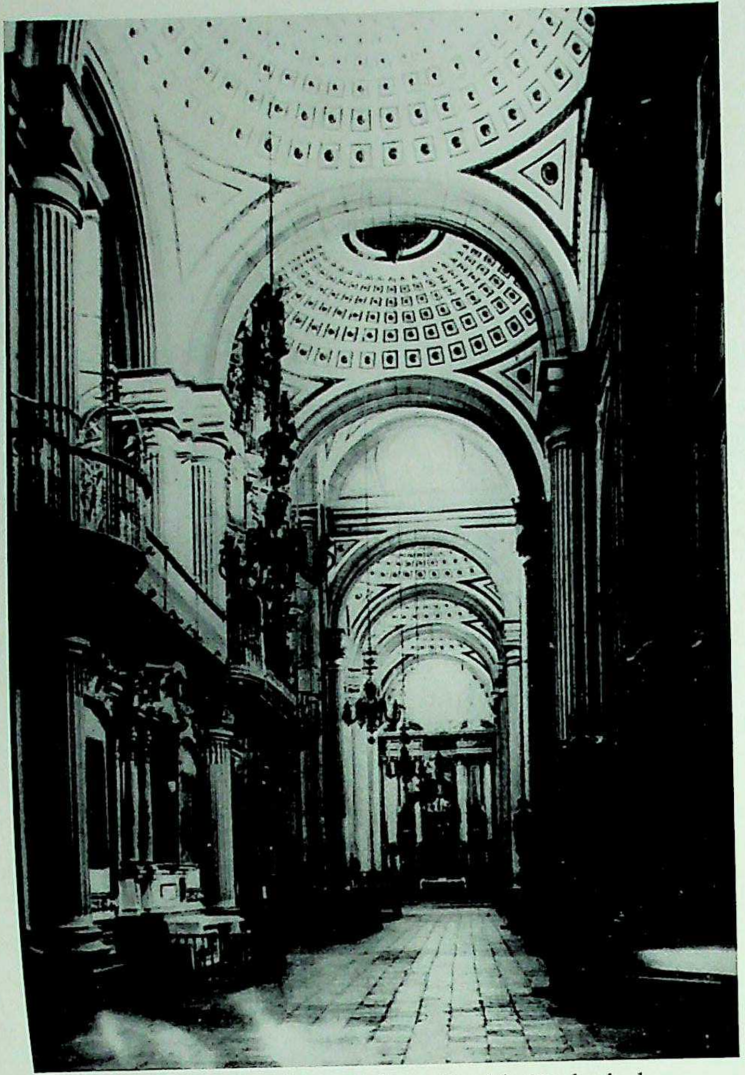
(B) Havana, Town Hall. Façade, 1776–92



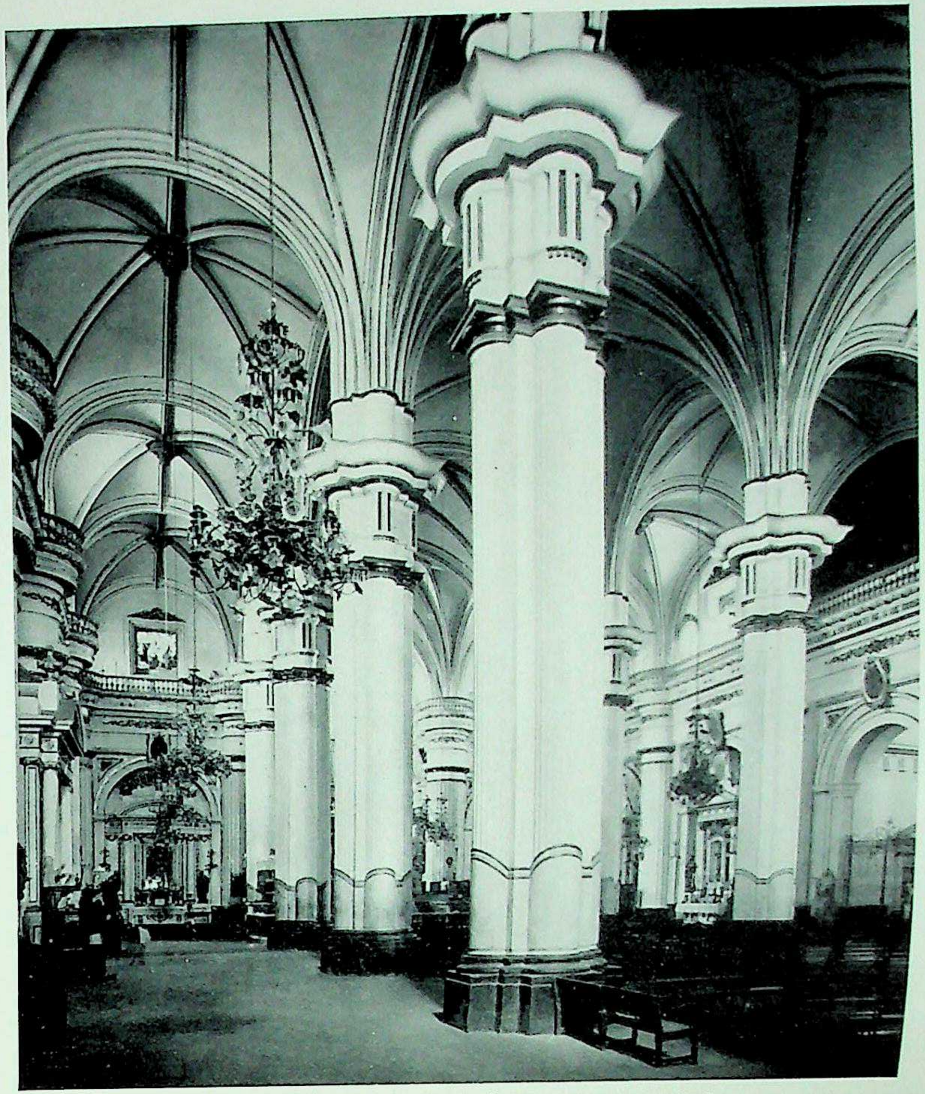
(A) Acolman, Augustinian Cloister, 1550–60



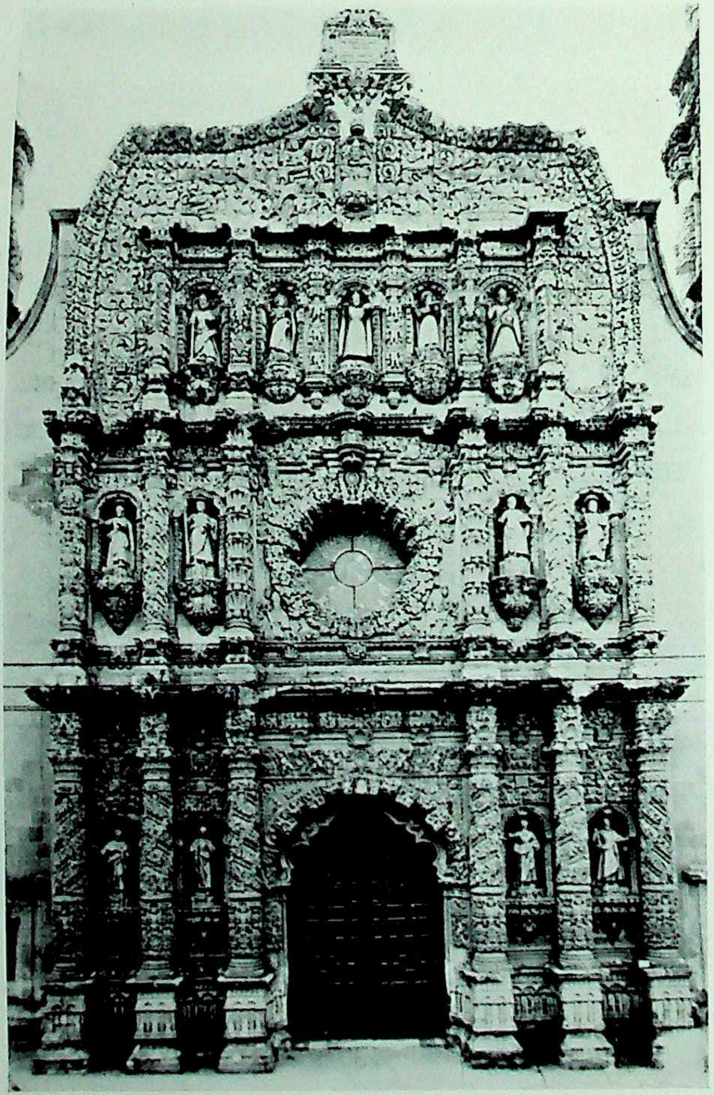
(B) Mexico City, Merced, 1634–54. Cloister



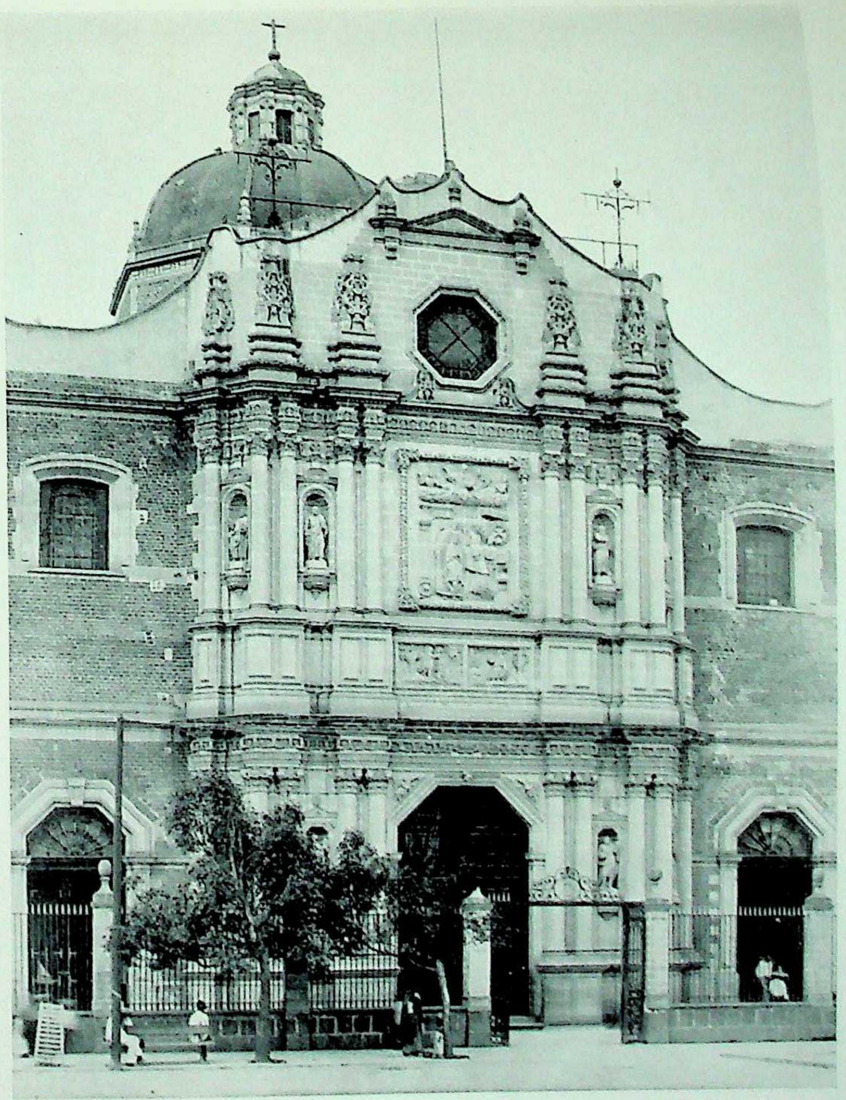
(A) Claudio de Arciniega: Puebla Cathedral.
Nave, *c.* 1585–1649



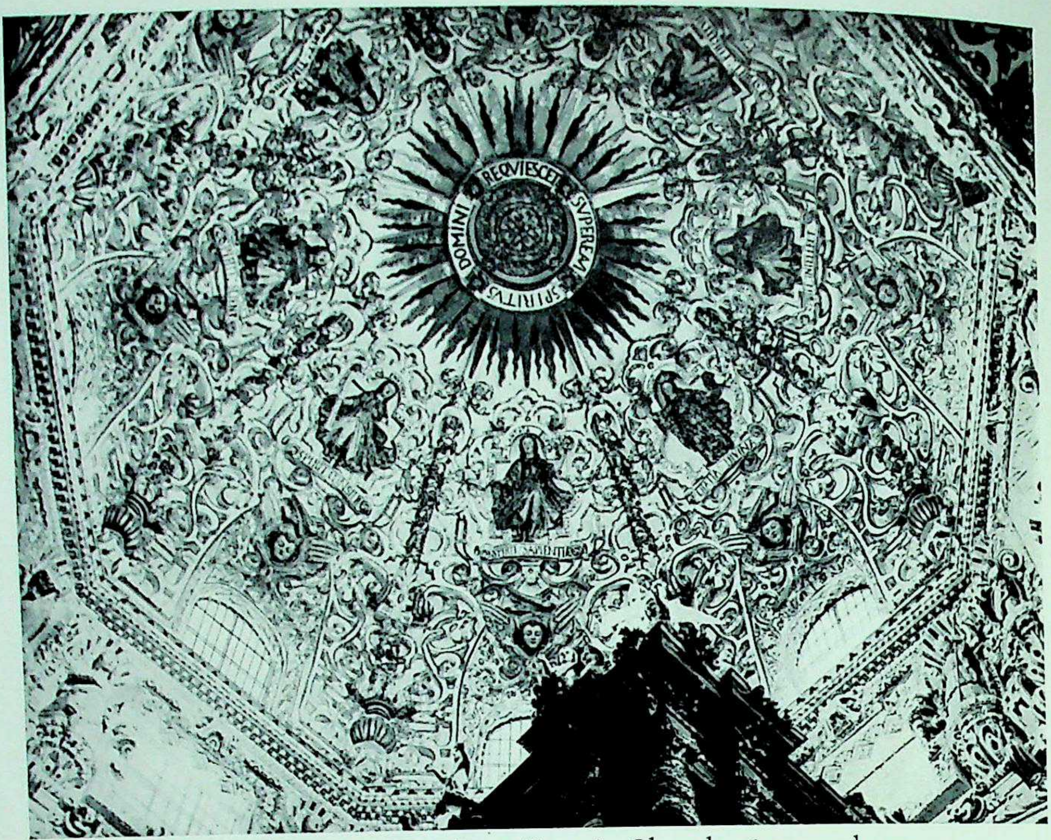
(B) Guadalajara Cathedral. Nave, 1571–1618



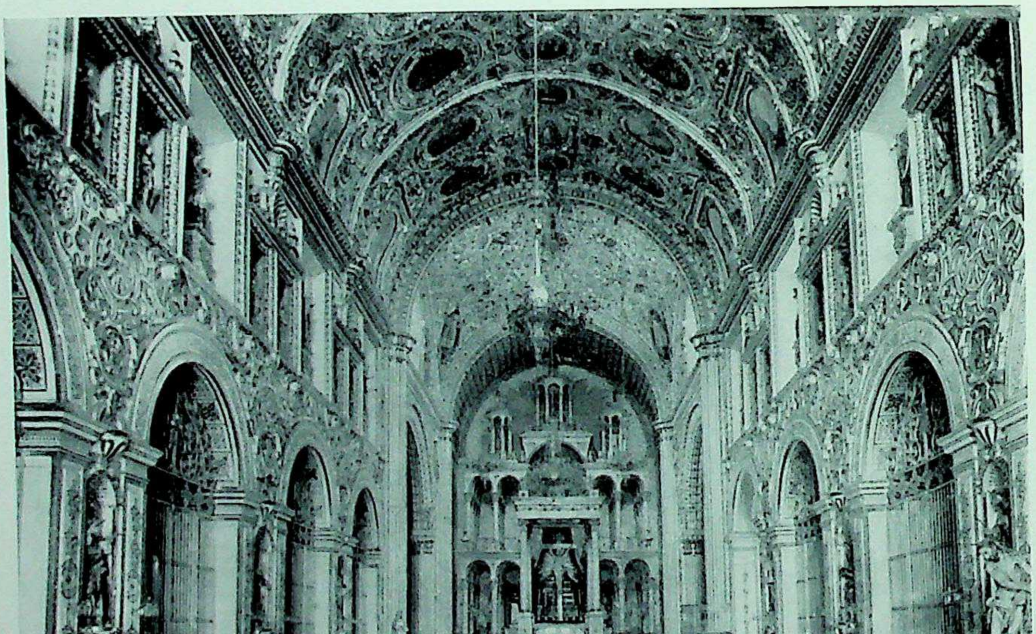
(A) Zacatecas Cathedral, dedicated 1752. Façade



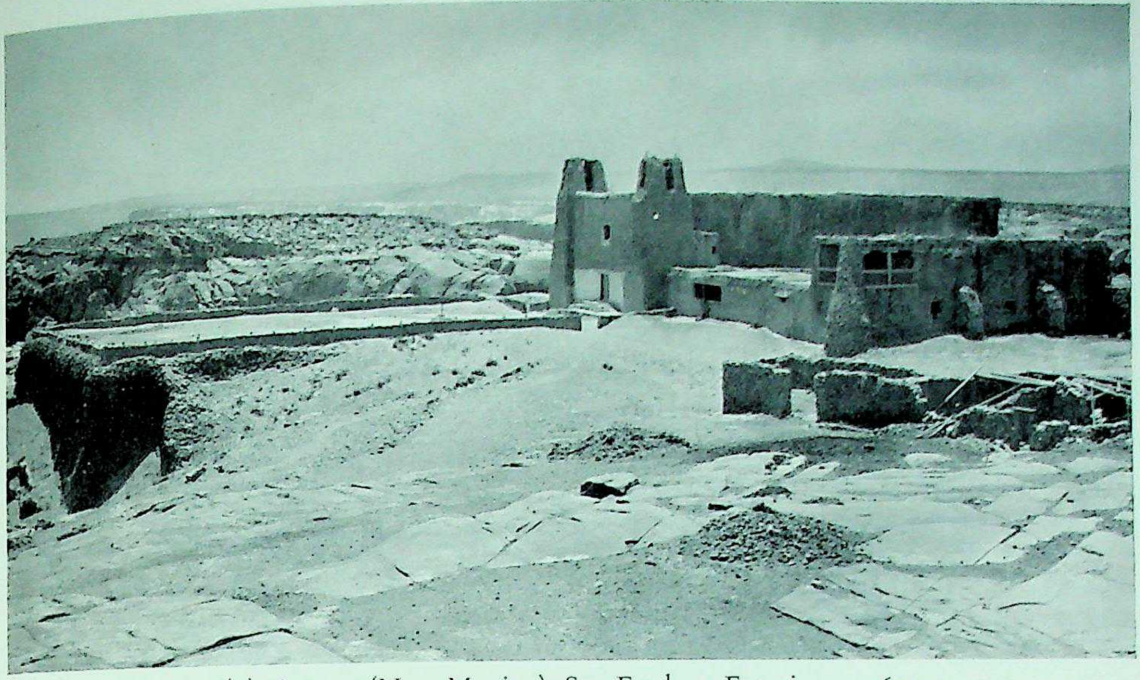
(B) Pedro de Arrieta: Guadalupe, basilica, 1695–1709. Façade


DOMINI REQVIESCET SVPER EAM SPIRITVS

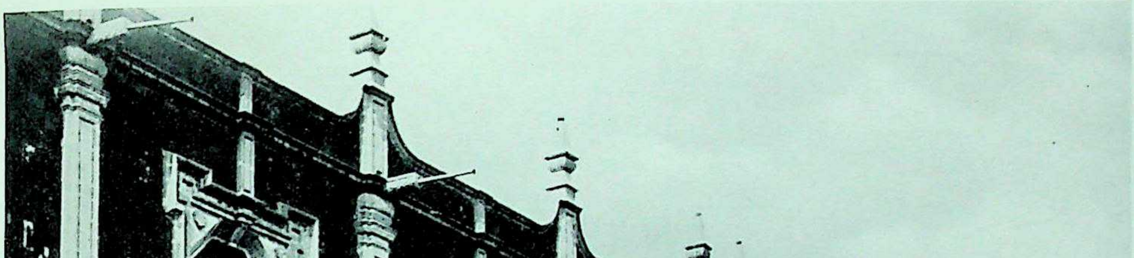
(A) Puebla, Santo Domingo. Rosario Chapel, 1650–90, dome



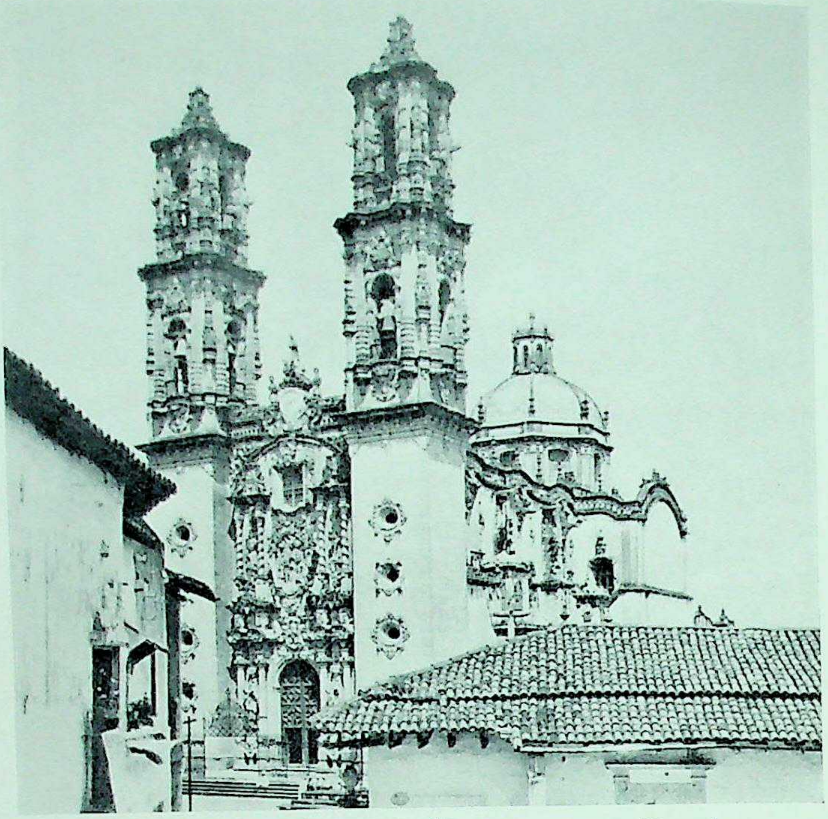
(B) Oaxaca, Santo Domingo. Nave, interior, 1657



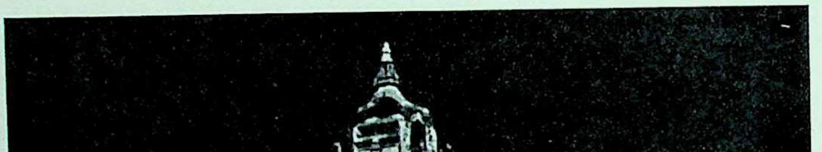
(A) Acoma (New Mexico), San Esteban. Exterior, *c.* 1630



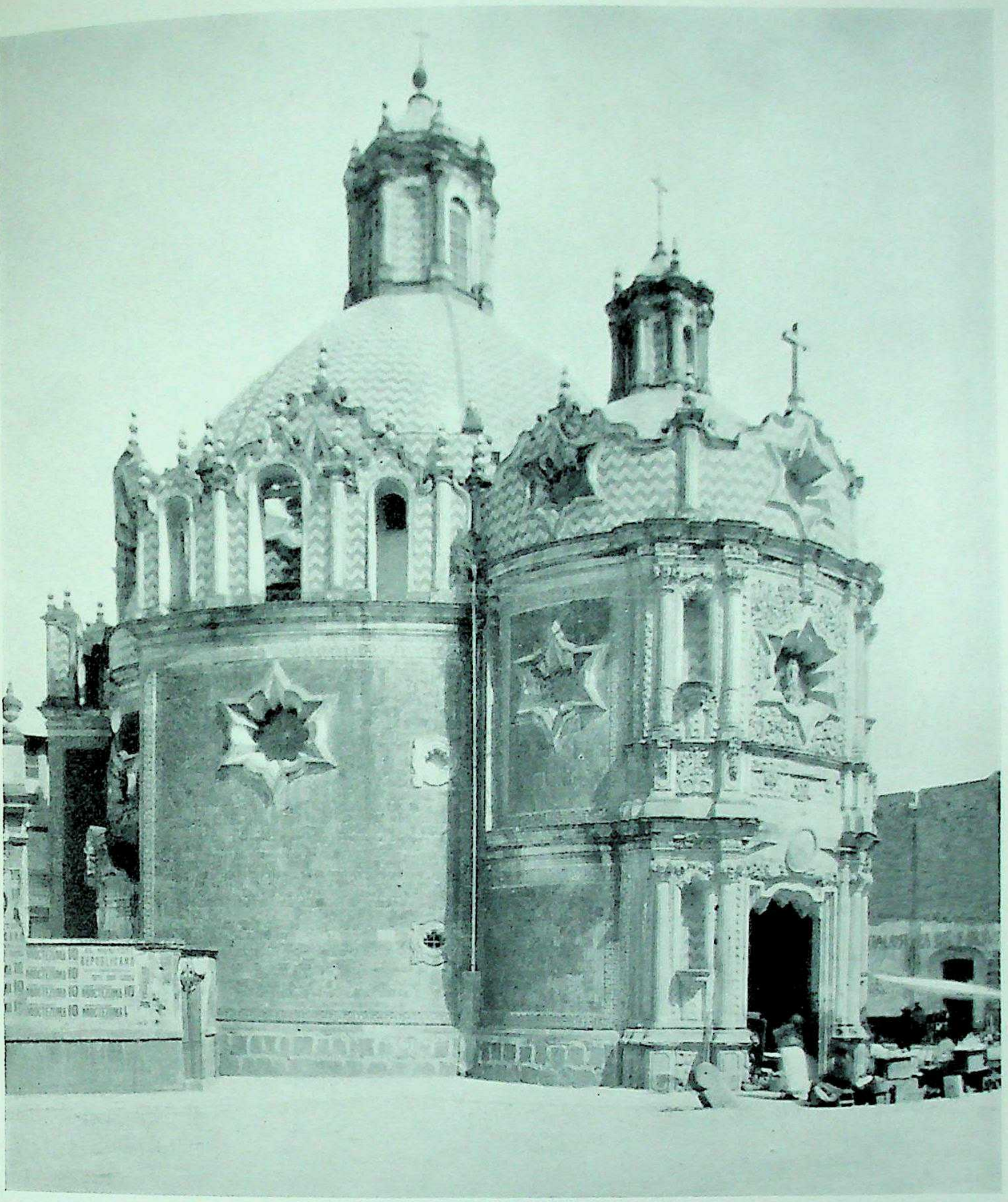
(B) Pedro Bueno: Mexico City, Las Vizcaínas, 1734–53. Façade



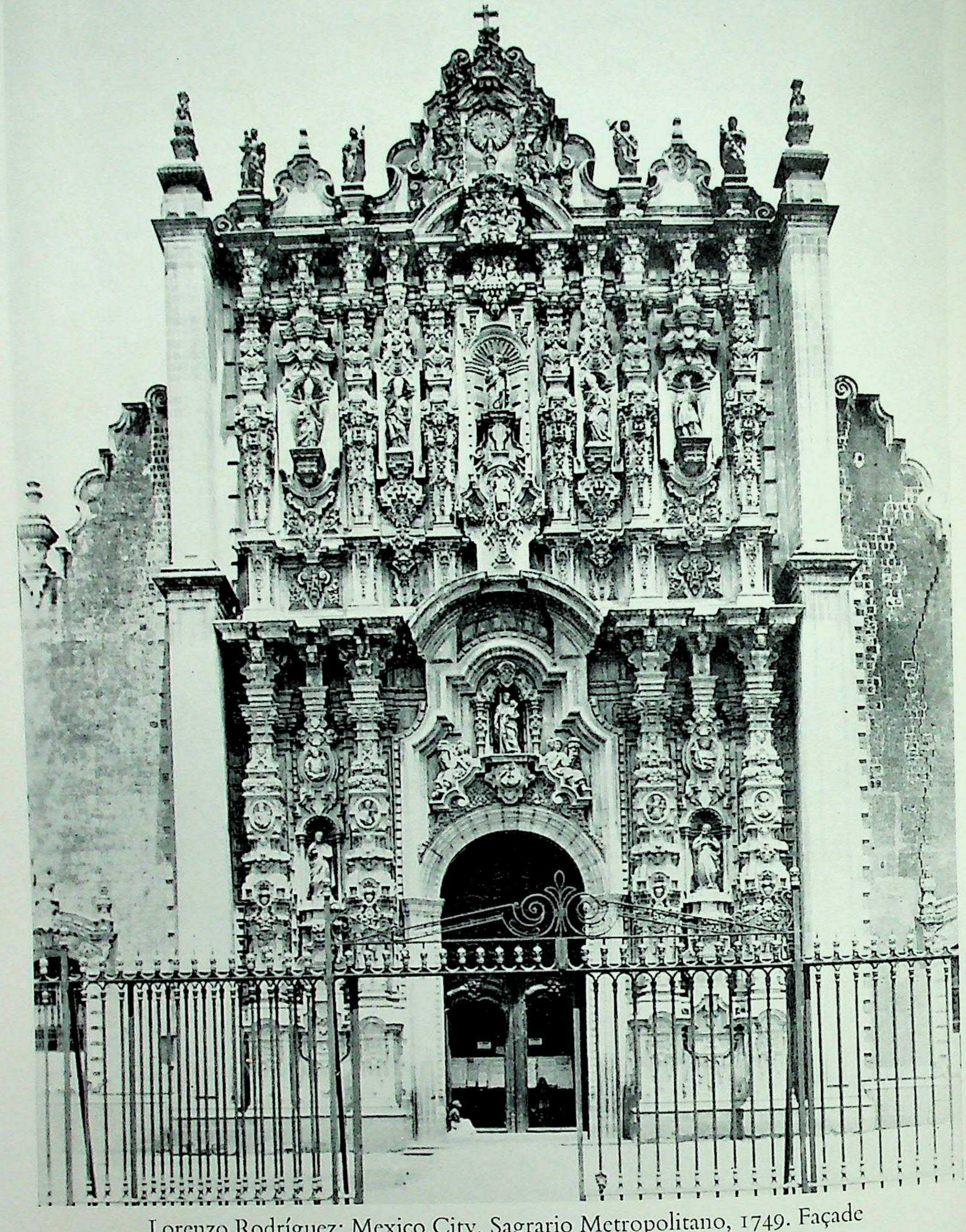
(A) Taxco, St Sebastian and St Prisca, 1748. Exterior



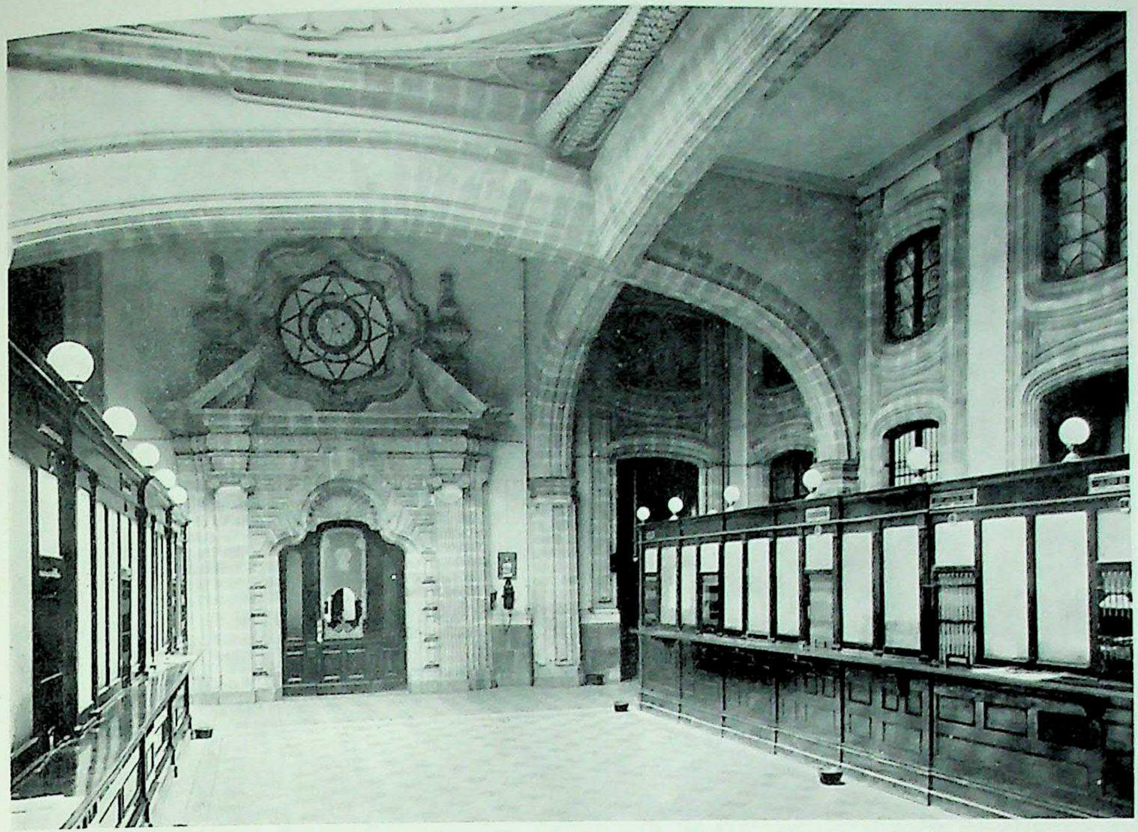
(B) Guanajuato, Valenciana. Façade, 1765–88



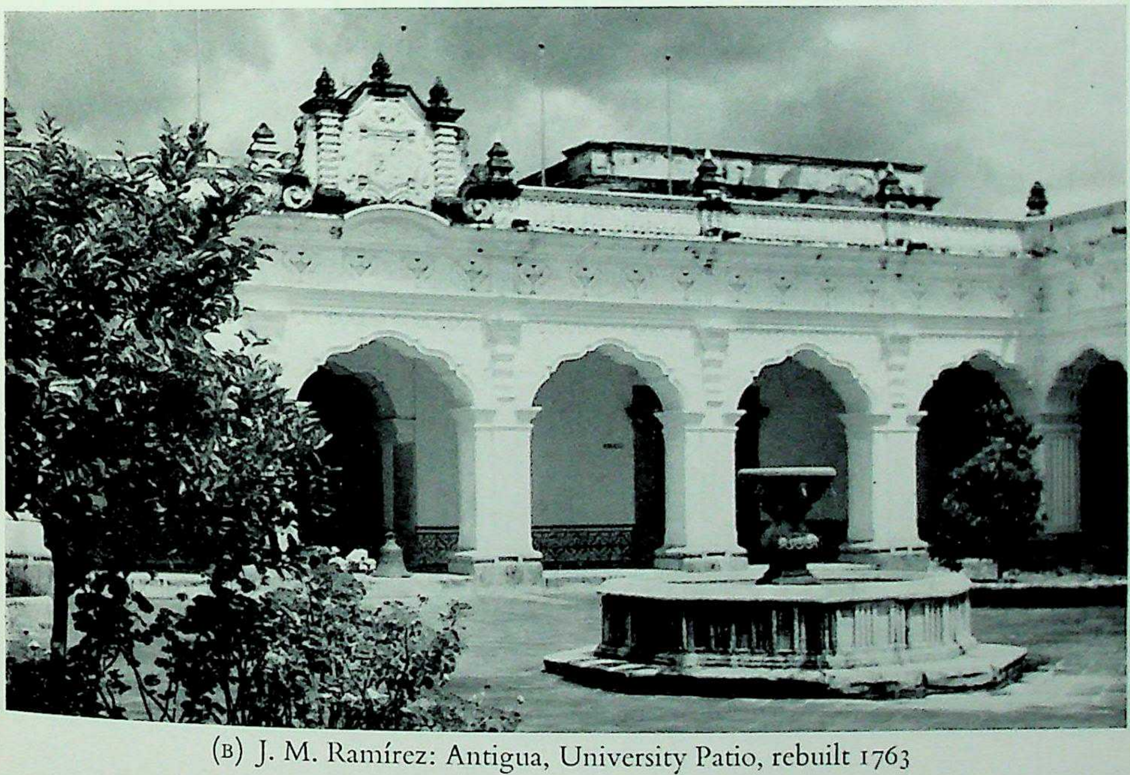
F. A. Guerrero y Torres: Guadalupe, Pocito Chapel, 1779. Façade



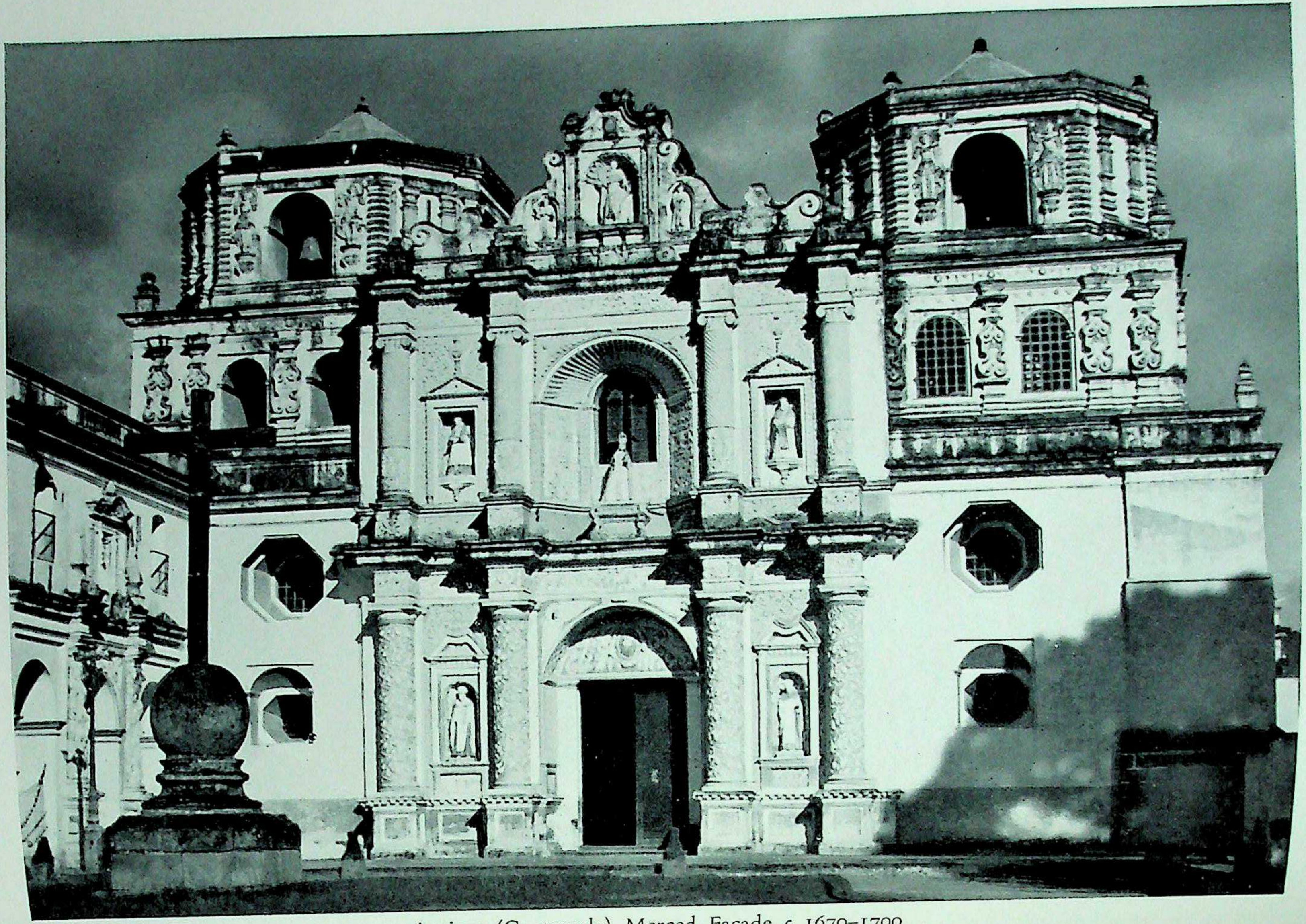
Lorenzo Rodríguez: Mexico City, Sagrario Metropolitano, 1749. Façade



(A) F. A. Guerrero y Torres: Mexico City, Banco de México (formerly Valparaíso House), 1769. Courtyard

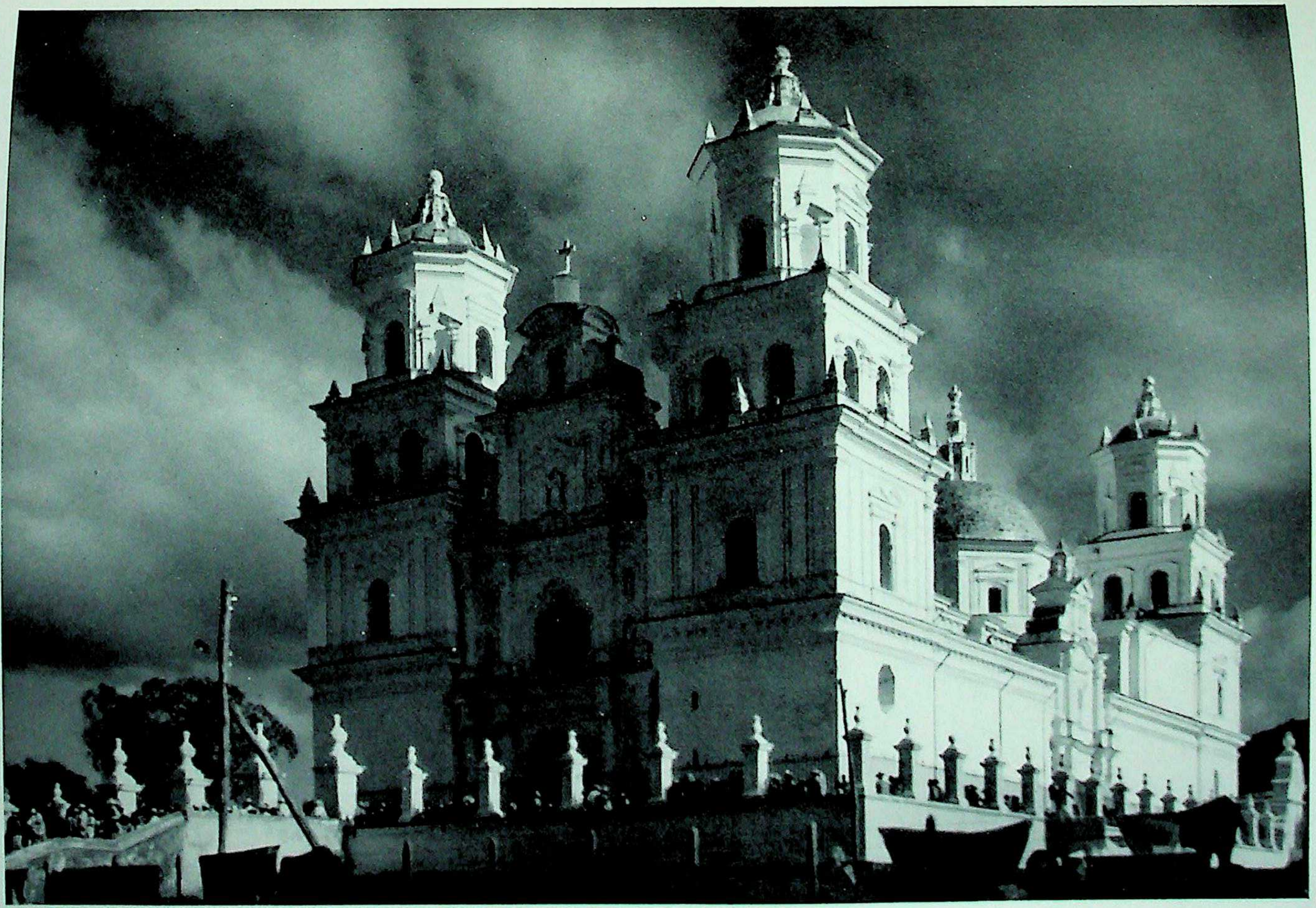


(B) J. M. Ramírez: Antigua, University Patio, rebuilt 1763

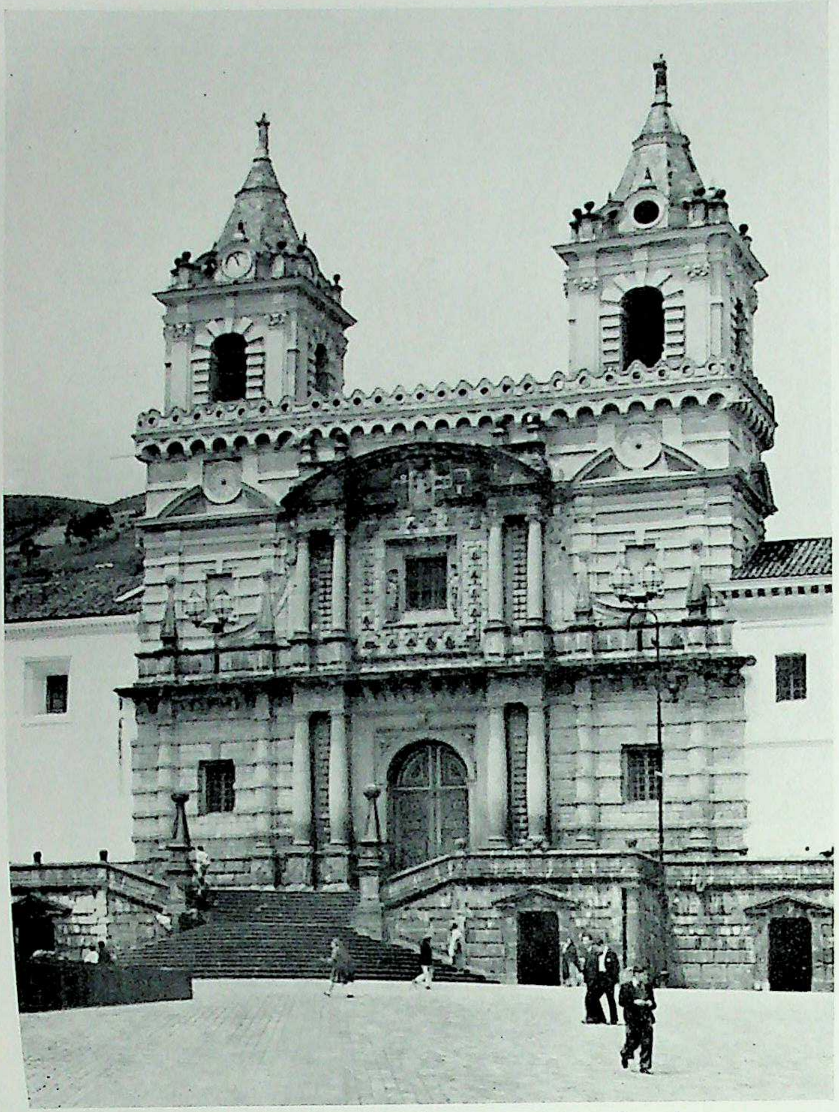


Antigua (Guatemala), Merced. Façade, *c.* 1670–1700

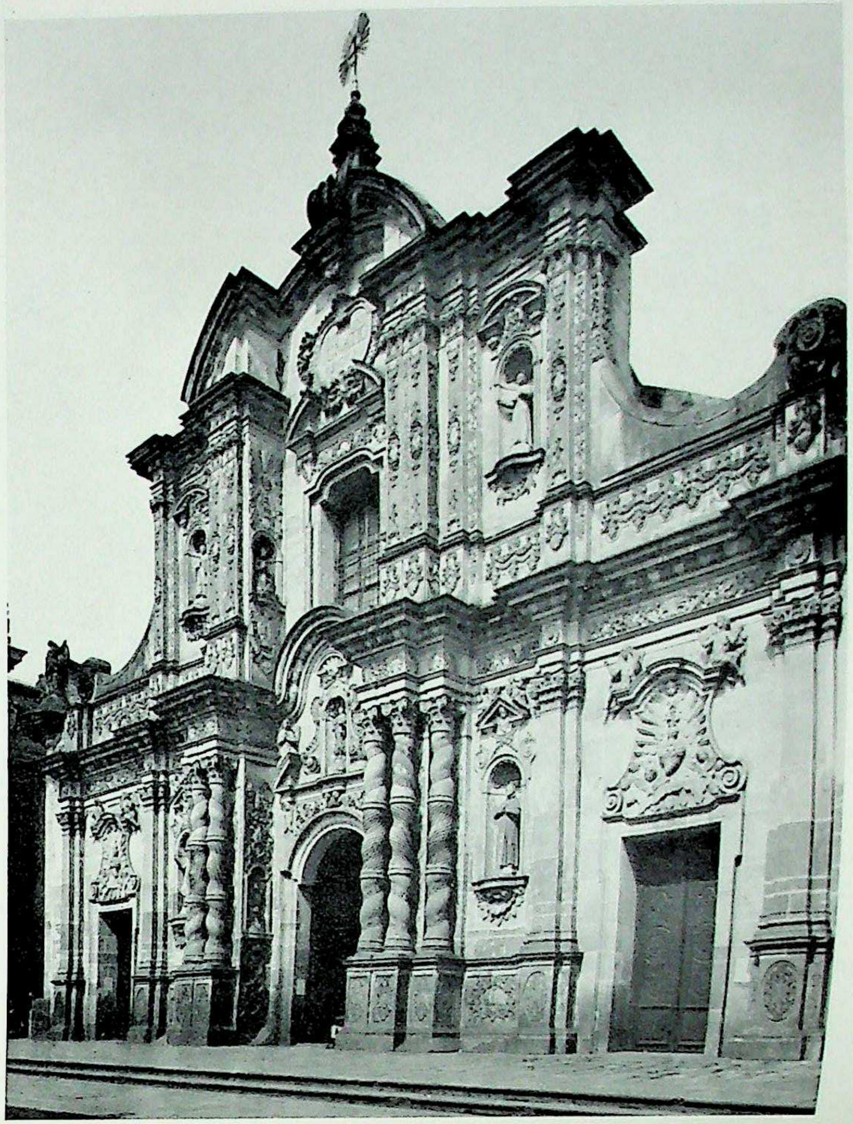
Antigua (Guatemala), Merced. Façade, *c.* 1670–1700



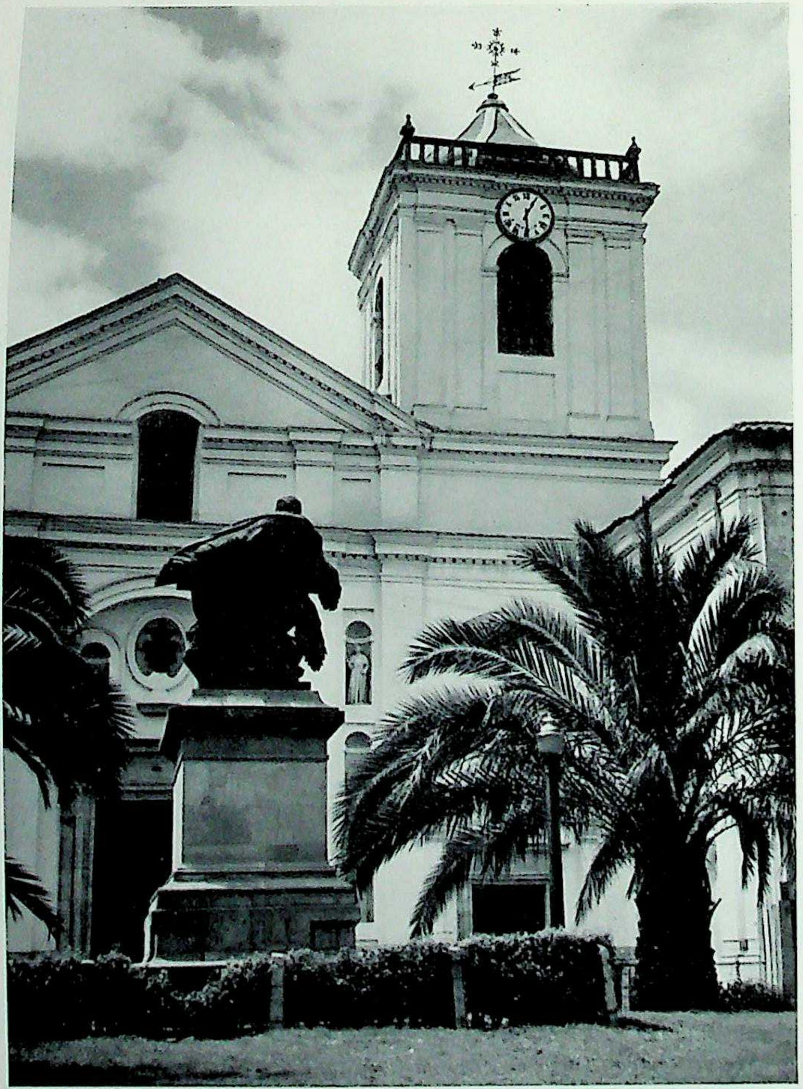
Esquipulas (Guatemala), Sanctuary, 1735–85. General view



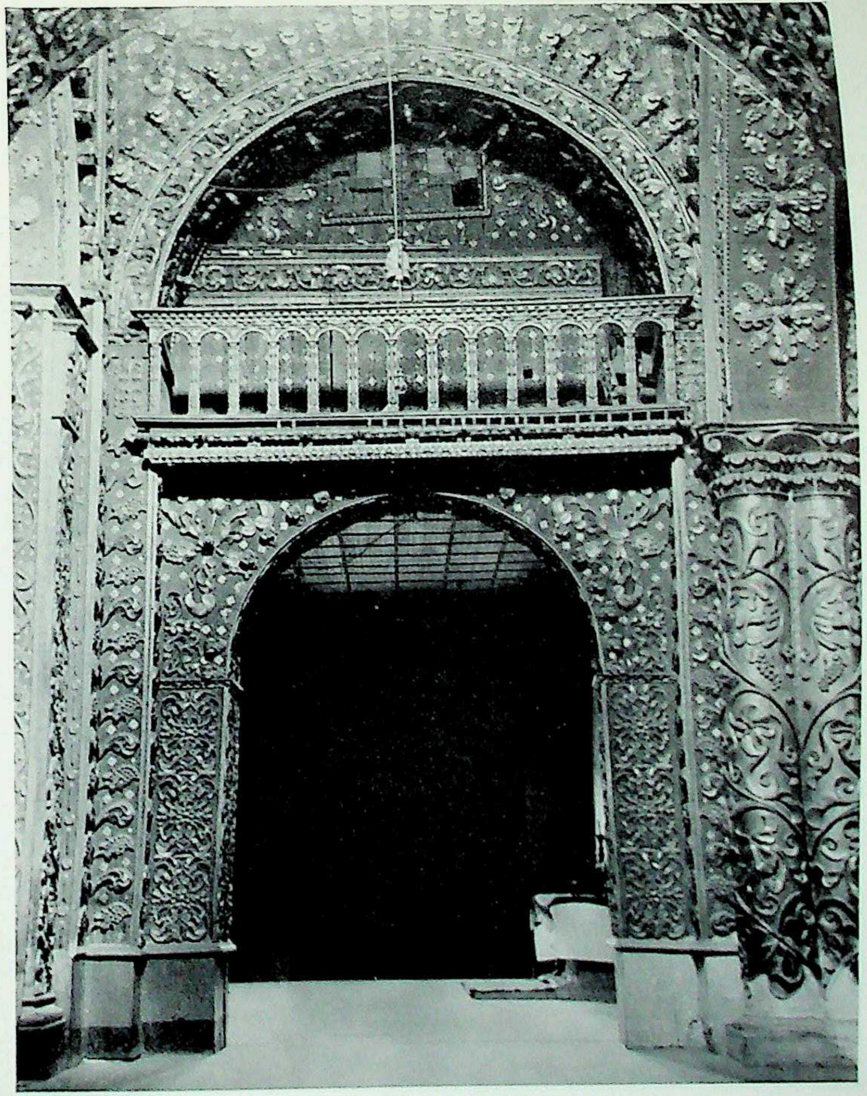
(A) Quito, San Francisco, *c.* 1564–75. Façade



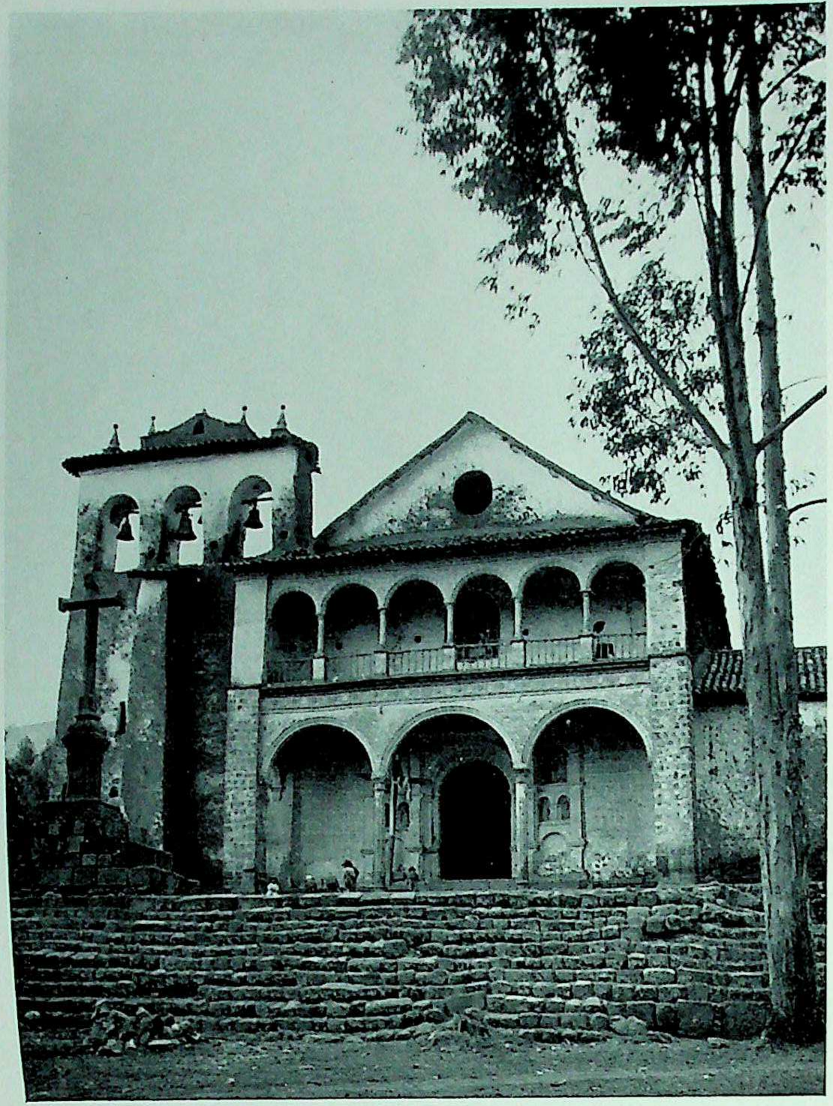
(B) Leonhard Deubler: Quito, Compañía. Façade, 1722–60/5



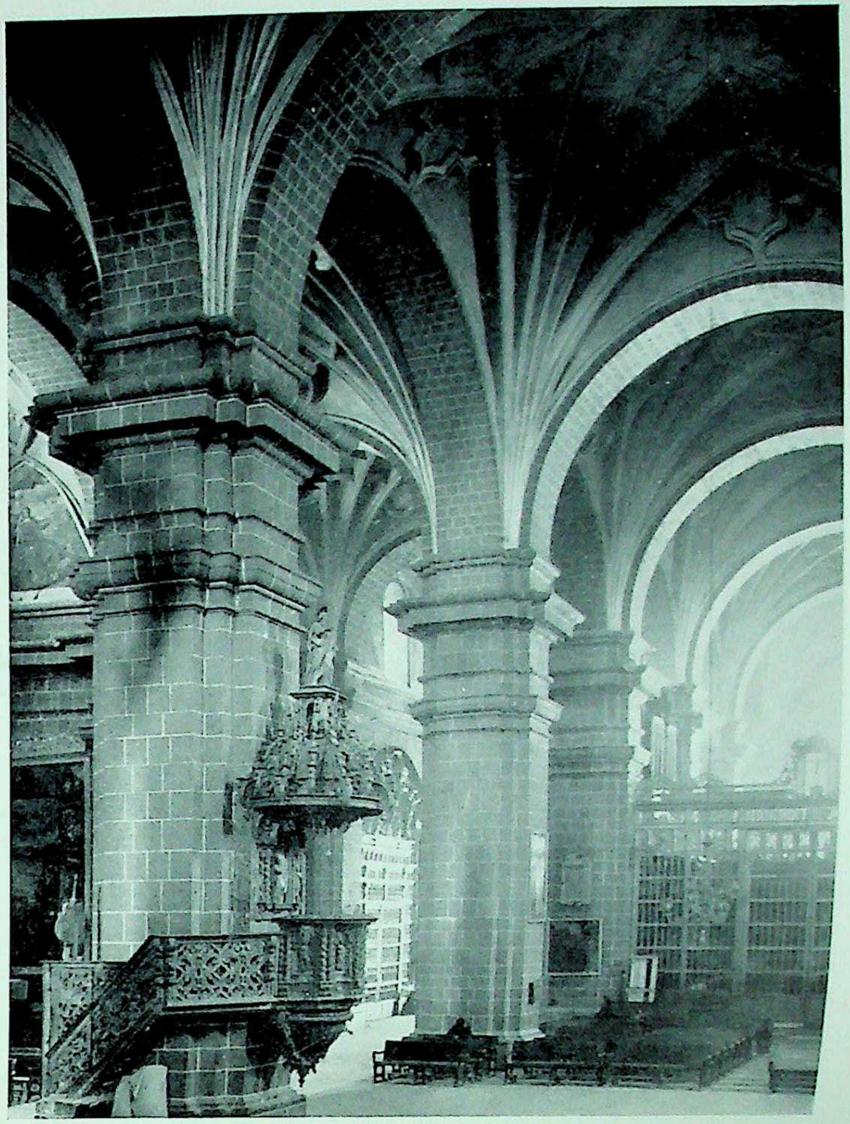
(A) J. B. Coluccini: Bogotá, San Ignacio, 1625–39. Façade



(B) Tunja, Rosario Chapel. Interior, *c.* 1680–90



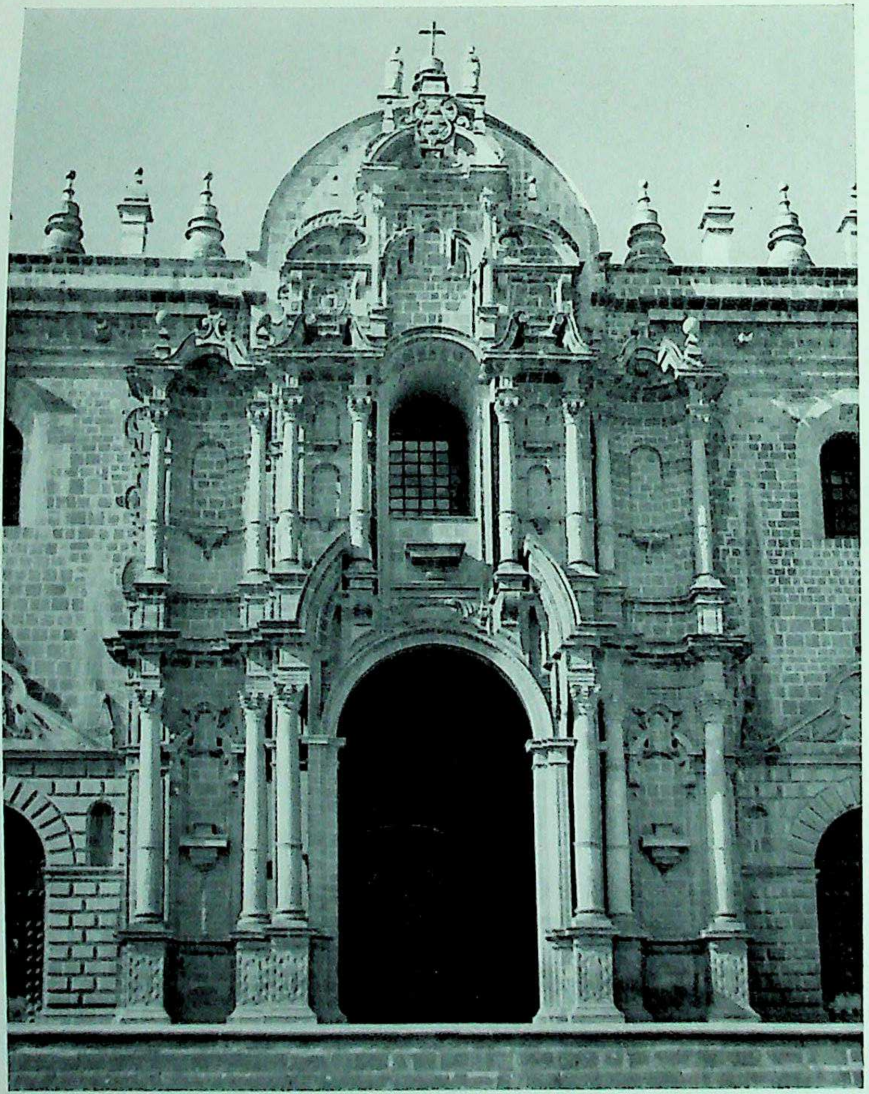
(A) Cuzco, San Jerónimo. Façade, *c.* 1580–1600



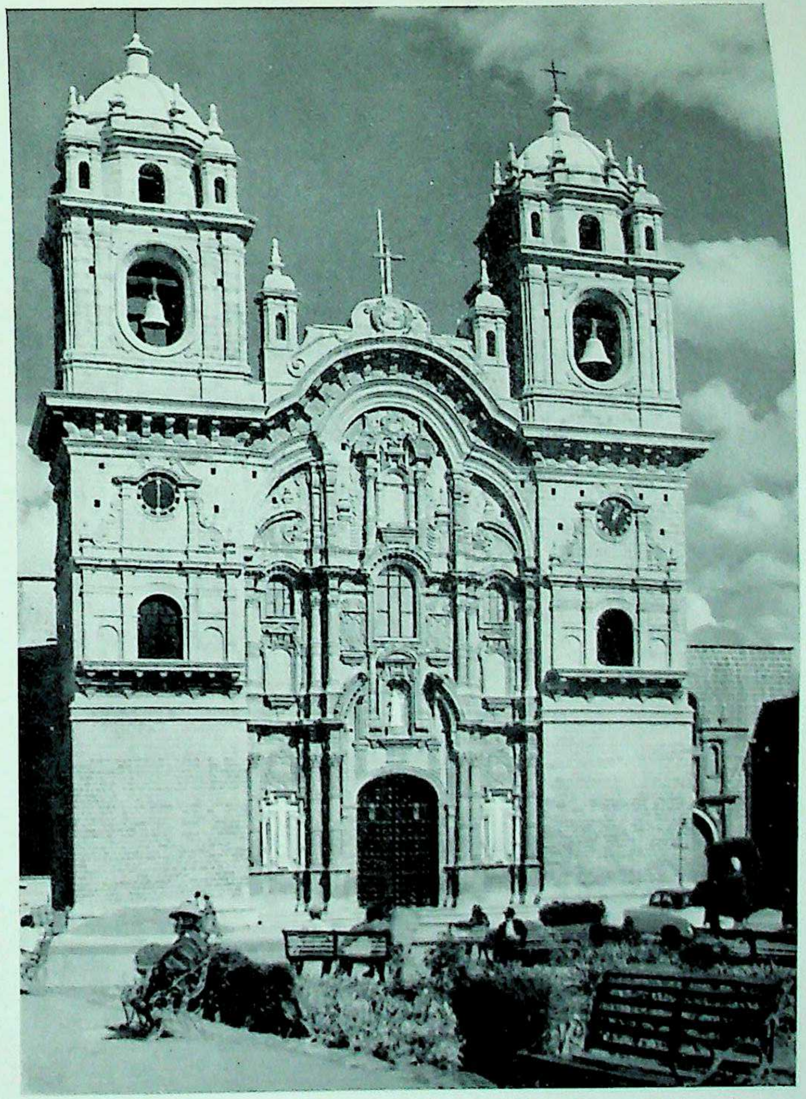
(B) Francisco Becerra: Cuzco Cathedral, 1582–1654. Nave

(A) Cuzco, San Jerónimo. Façade, c. 1580–1600

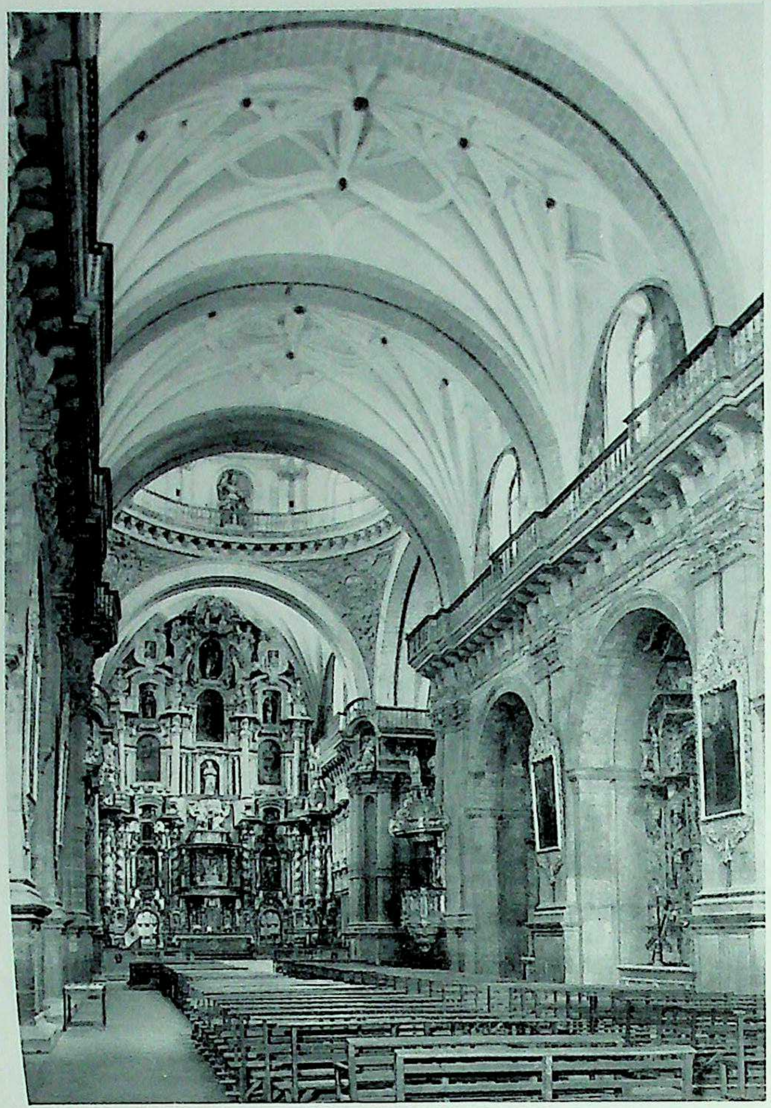
(B) Francisco Becerra: Cuzco Cathedral, 1582–1654. Nave



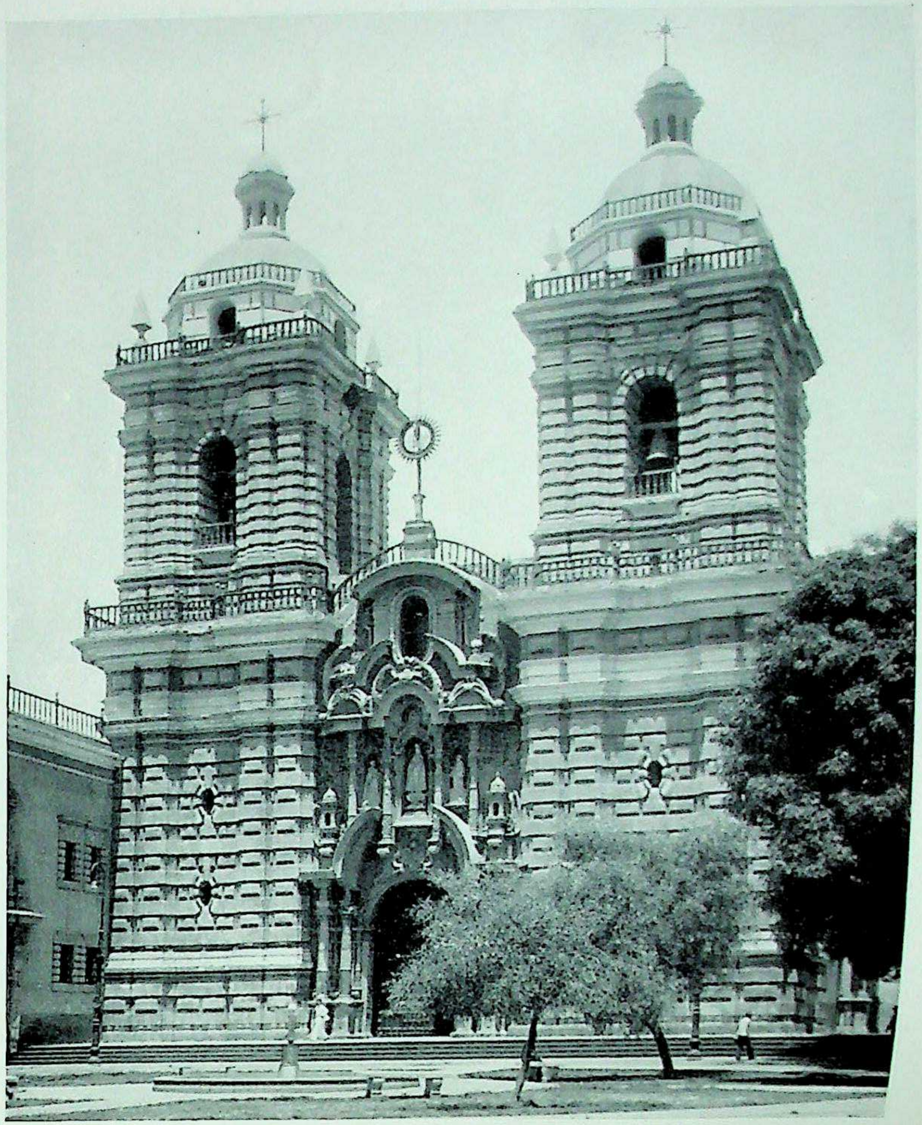
(A) Cuzco Cathedral. Façade, central portal, 1651–4



(B) J. B. Egidiano(?): Cuzco, Compañía, 1651–68. Façade



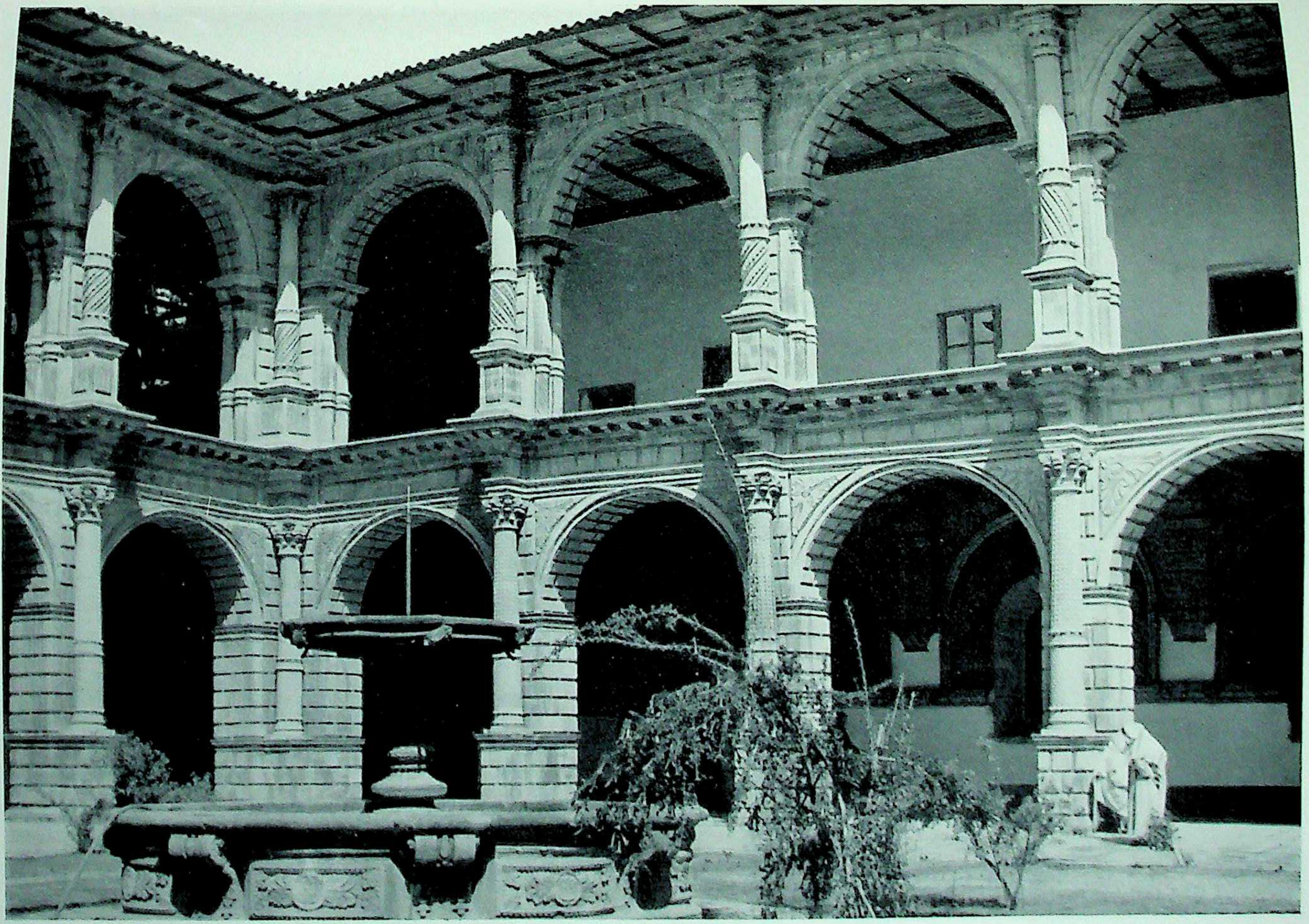
(A) J. B. Egidiano(?): Cuzco, Compañía, 1651–68. Nave



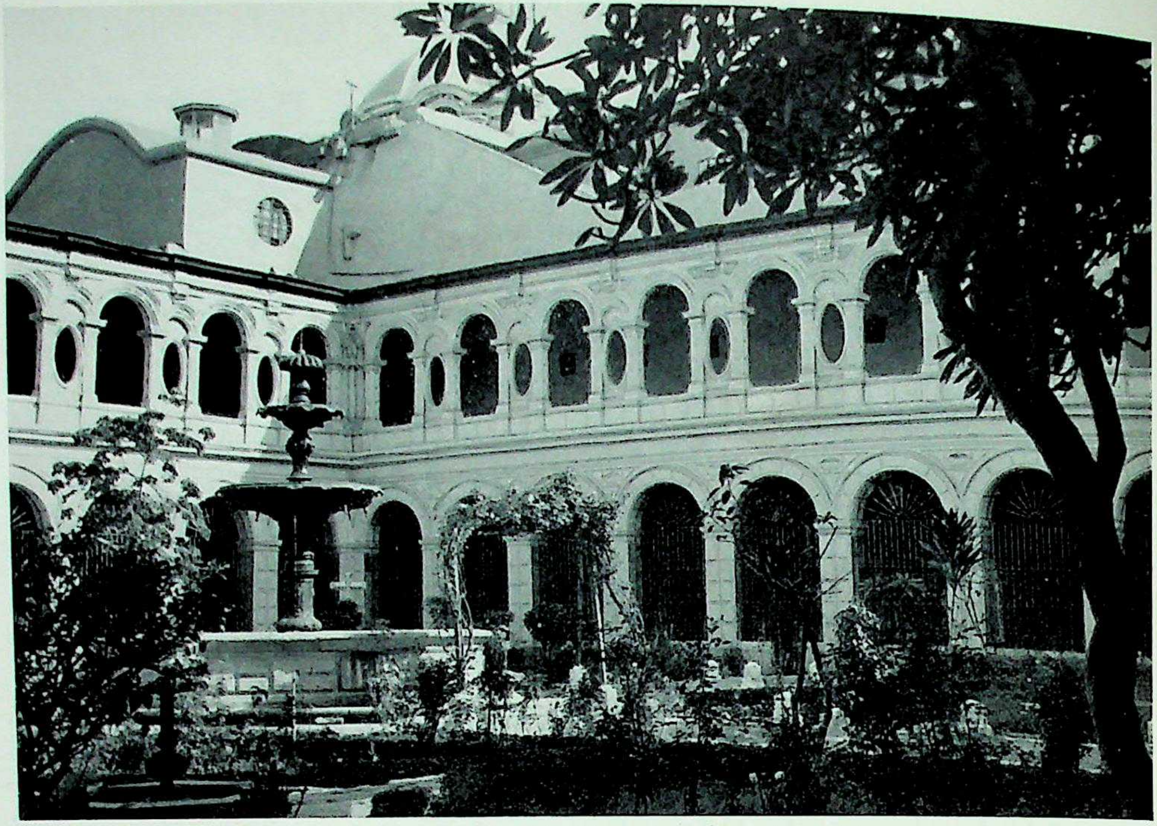
(B) Constantino de Vasconcelos: Lima, *San Francisco. Façade, 1669–74*

(A) J. B. Egidiano(?): Cuzco, Compañía, 1651–68. Nave

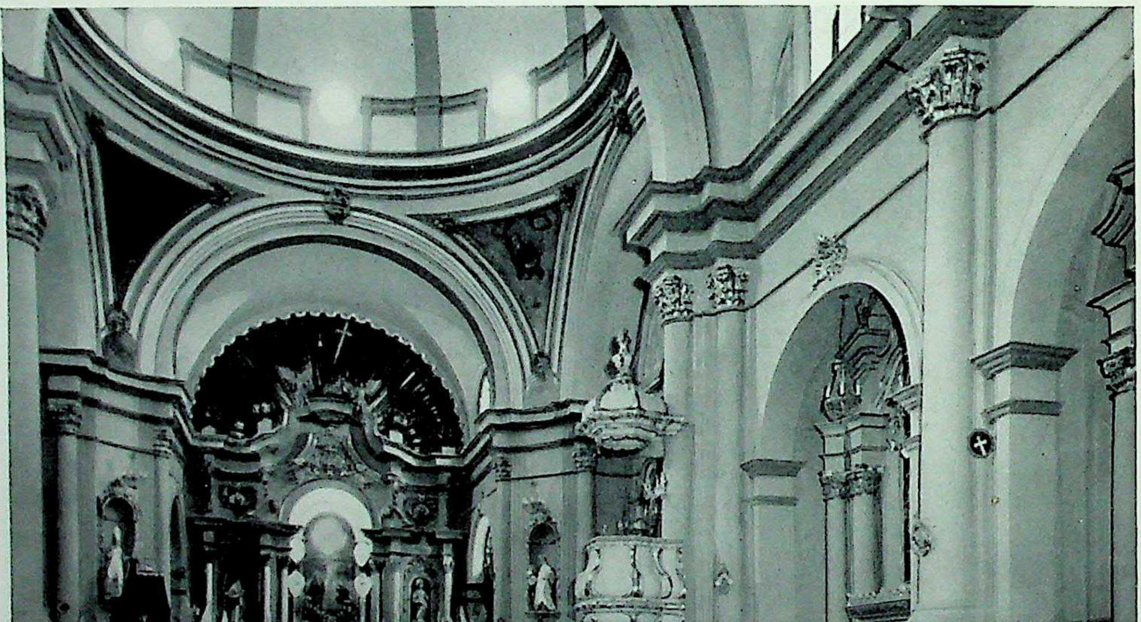
(B) Constantino de Vasconcelos: Lima, San Francisco. Façade, 1669–74



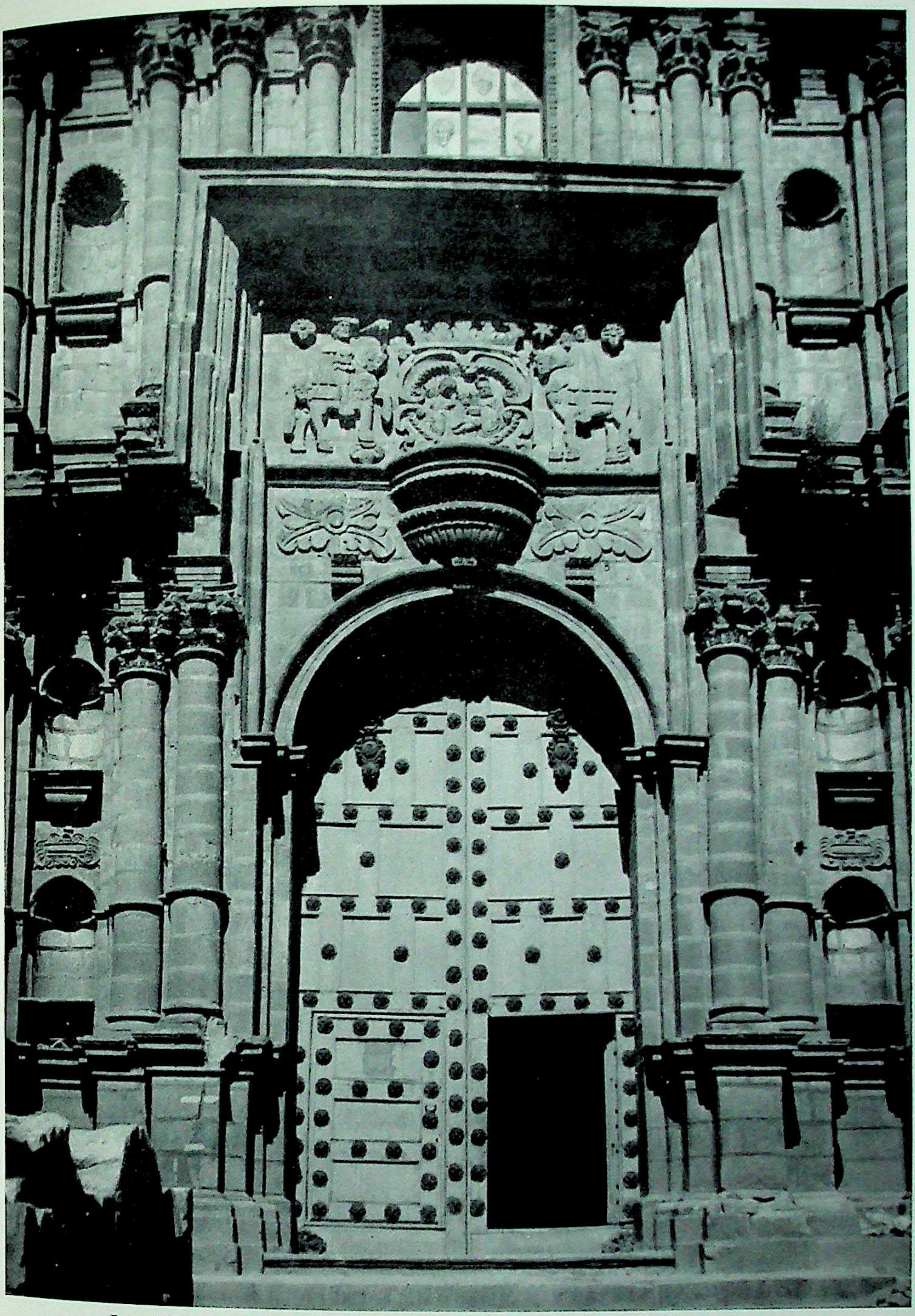
Cuzco, Merced. Cloister, 1651–69



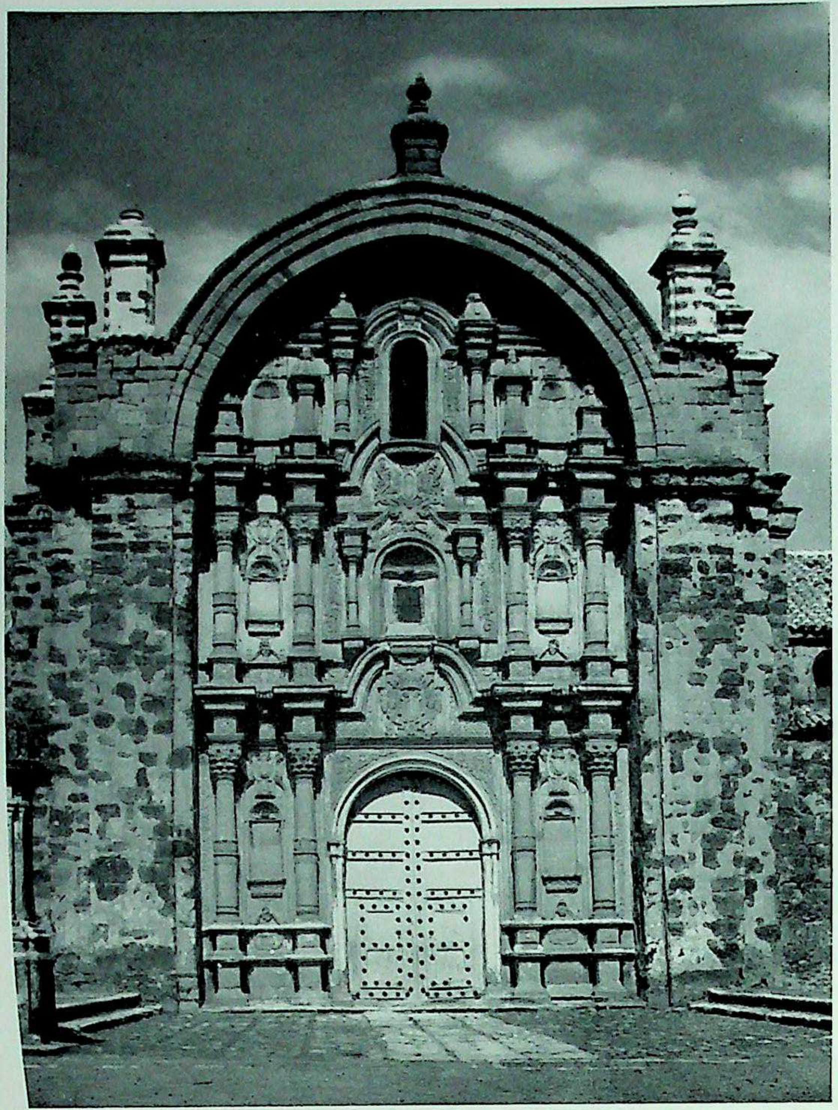
(A) Constantino de Vasconcelos(?): Lima, San Francisco. Cloister, 1669–74



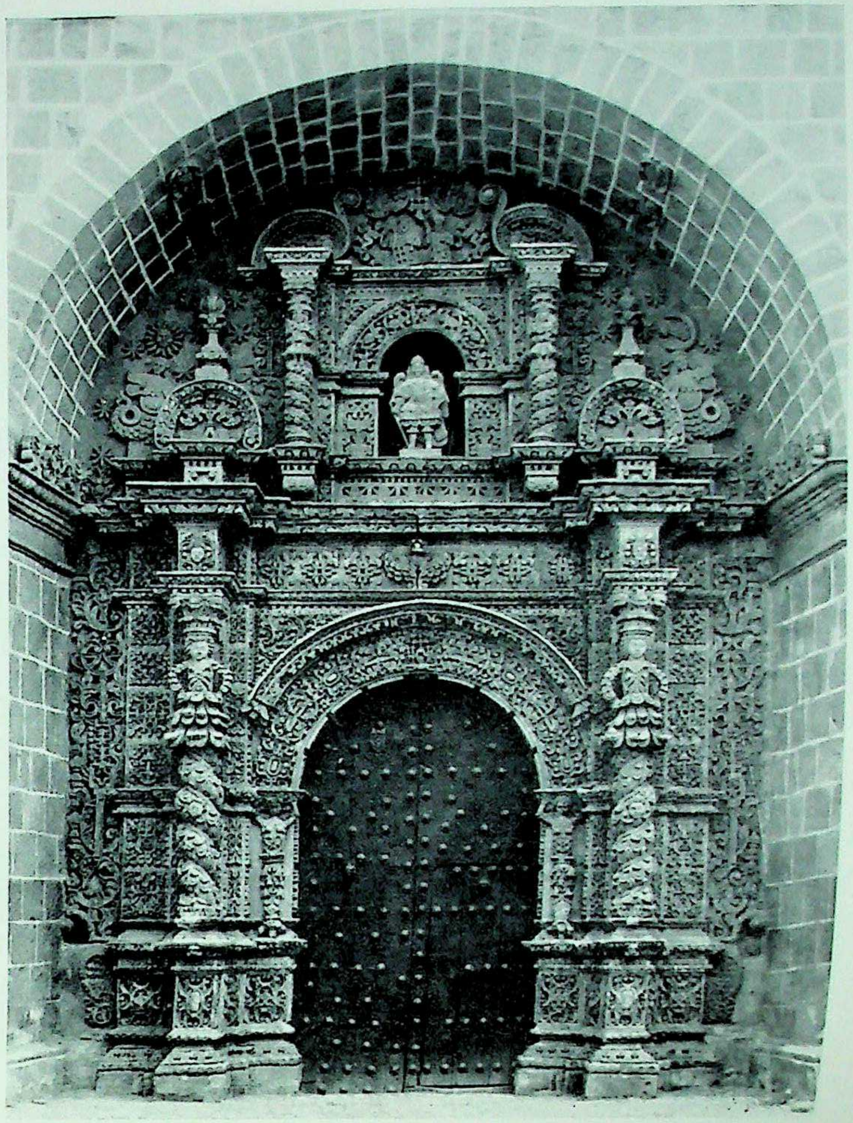
(B) Manuel Amat: Lima, Nazarenas Church, 1766–71. Interior



Juan Tomás Tuyru Tupac(?): Cuzco, Belén Church. Façade, before 1696



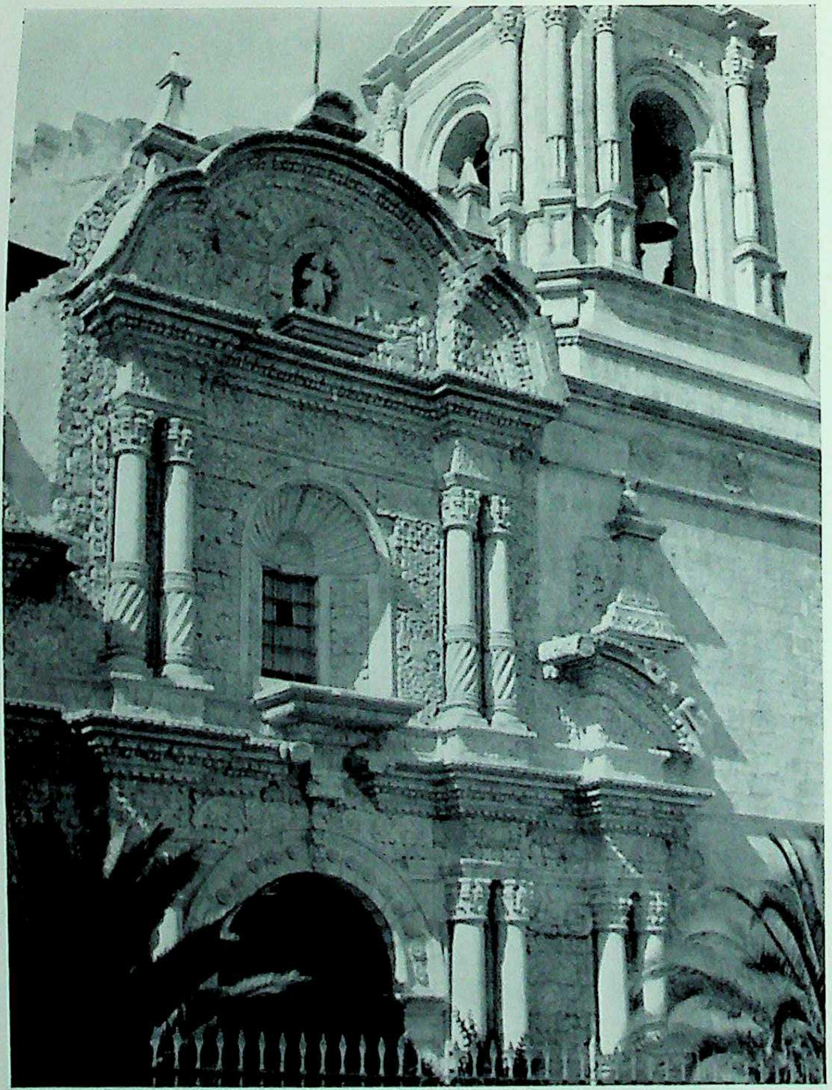
(A) Lampa, parish church, 1678–85. Façade



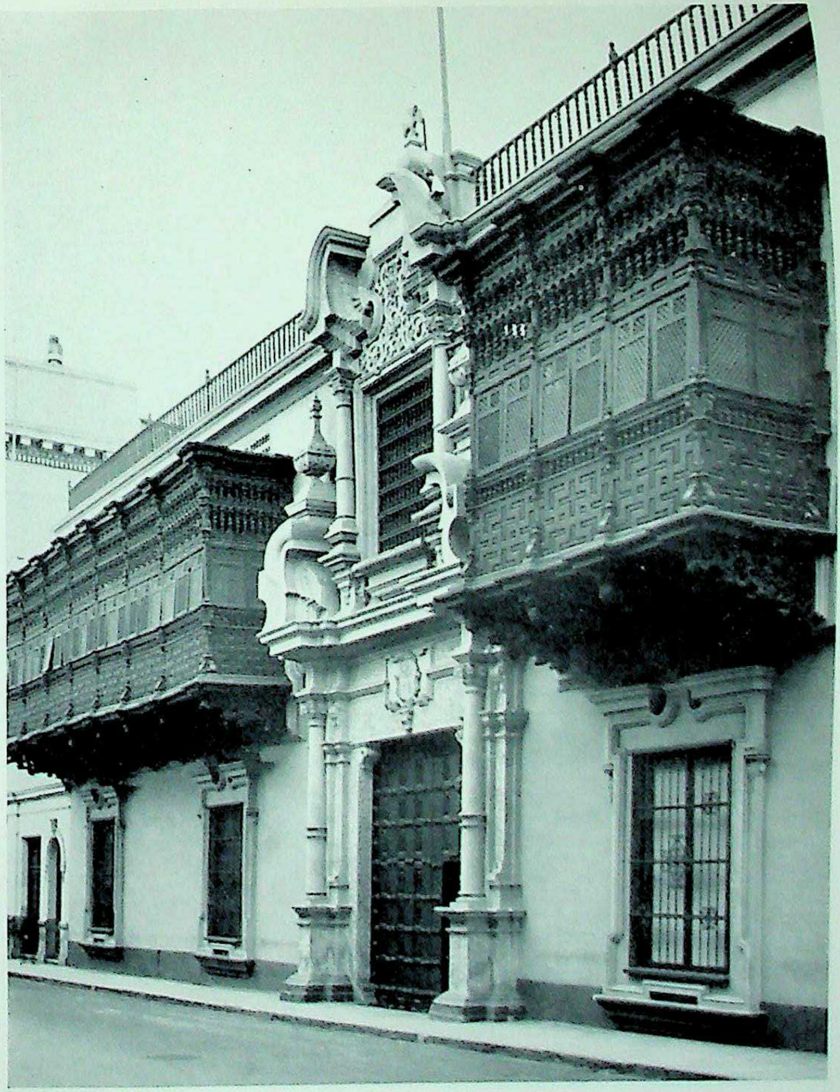
(B) *Potosí, San Lorenzo, 1728–44. Portal*

(A) Lampa, parish church, 1678–85. Façade

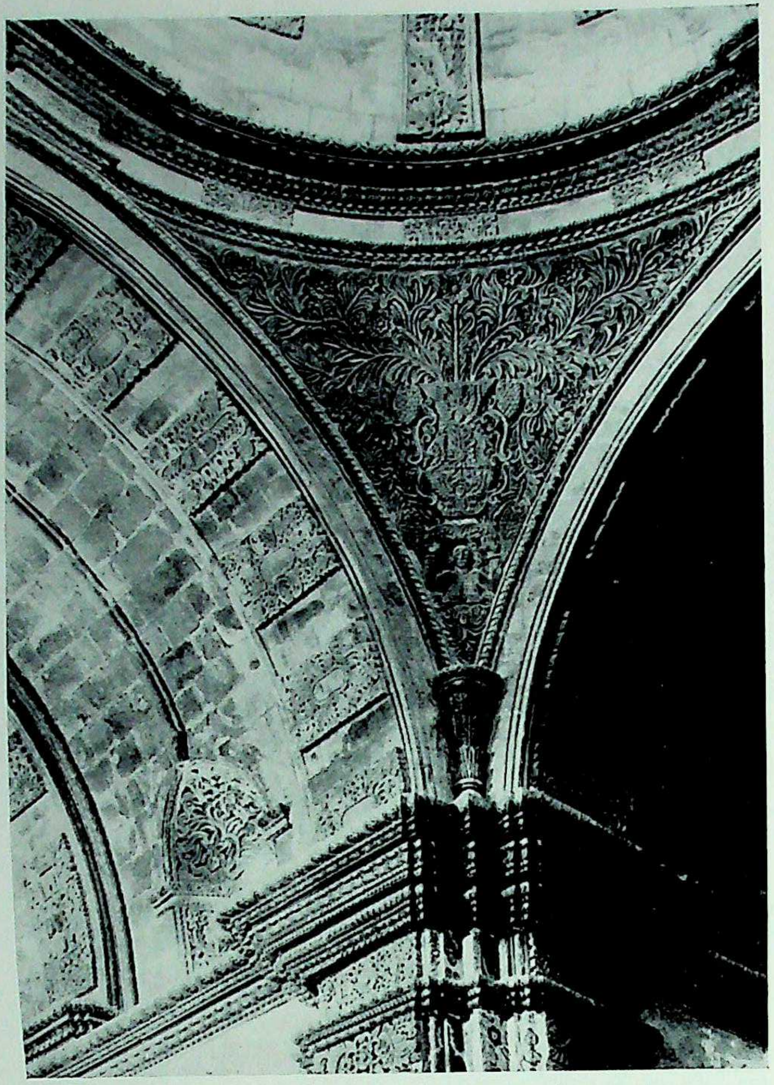
(B) Potosí, San Lorenzo, 1728–44. Portal



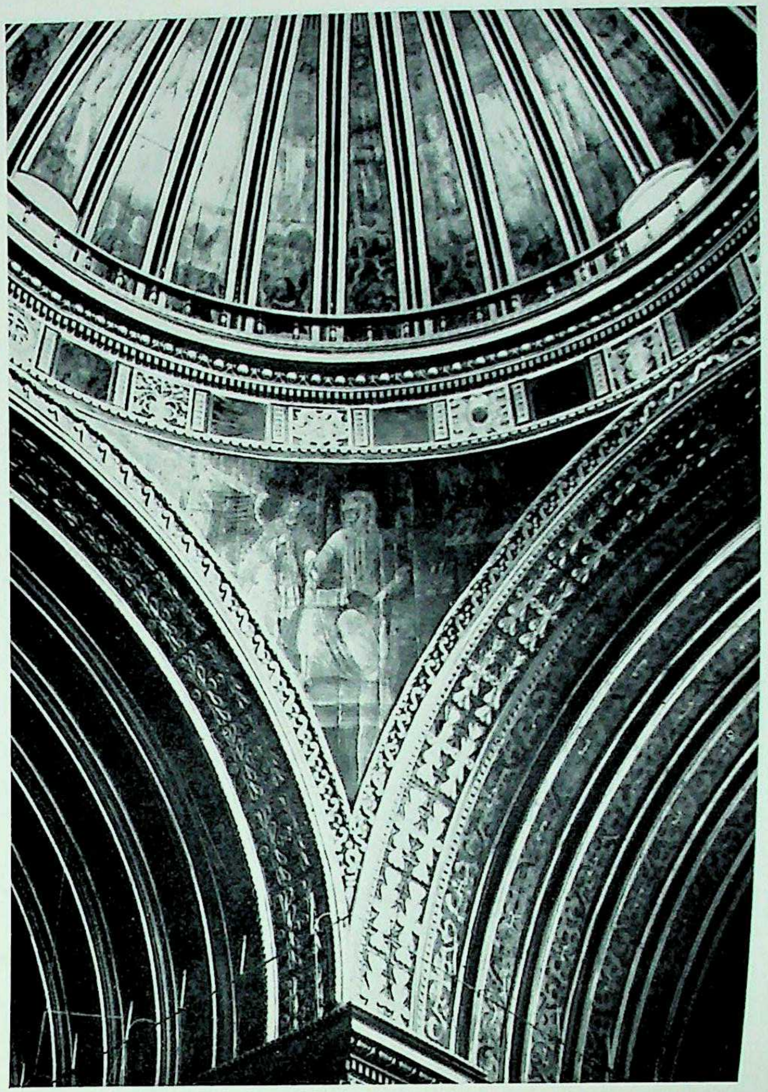
(A) Arequipa, Compañía. Façade, 1698



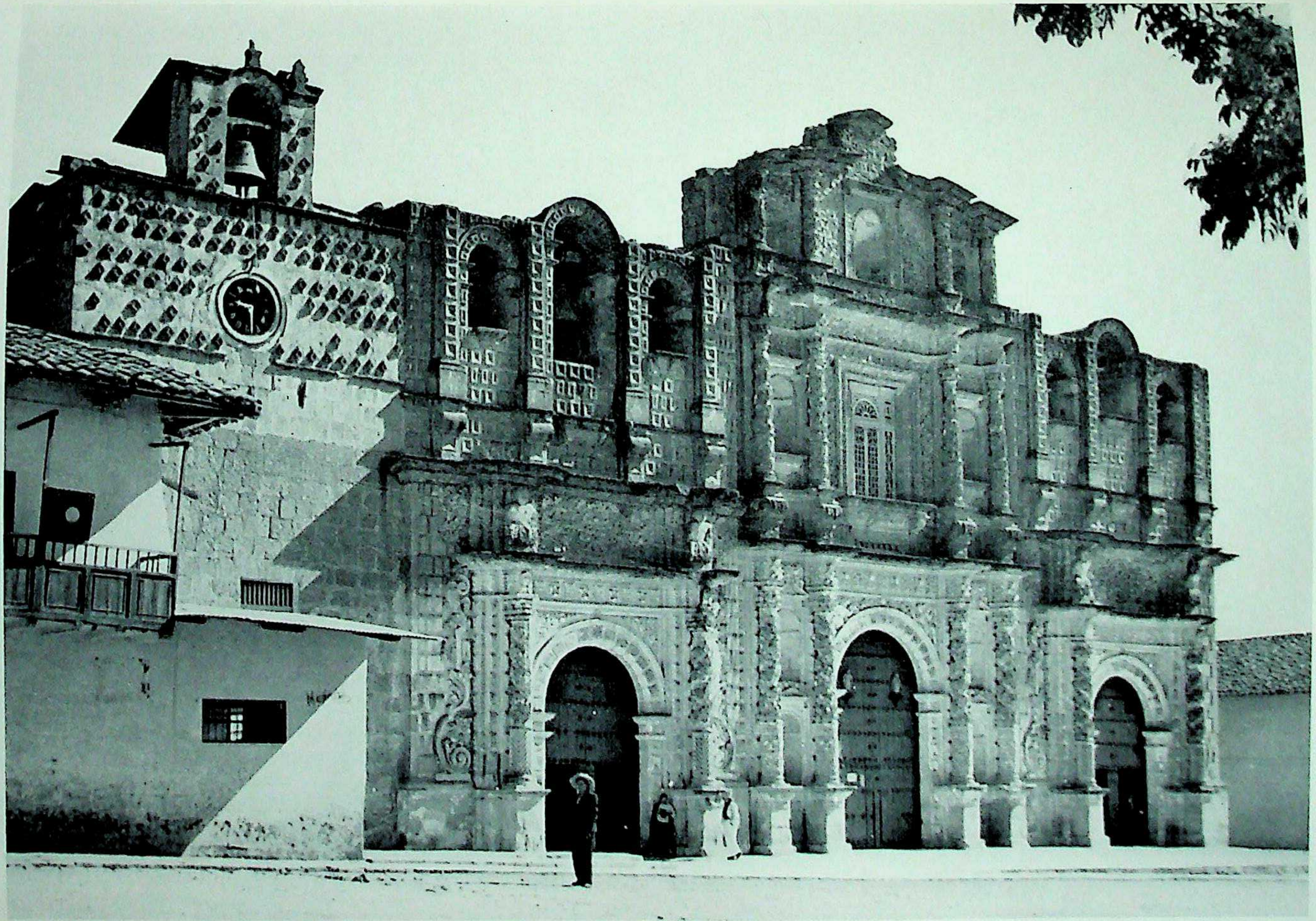
(B) Lima, Torre Tagle Palace. Façade, 1735



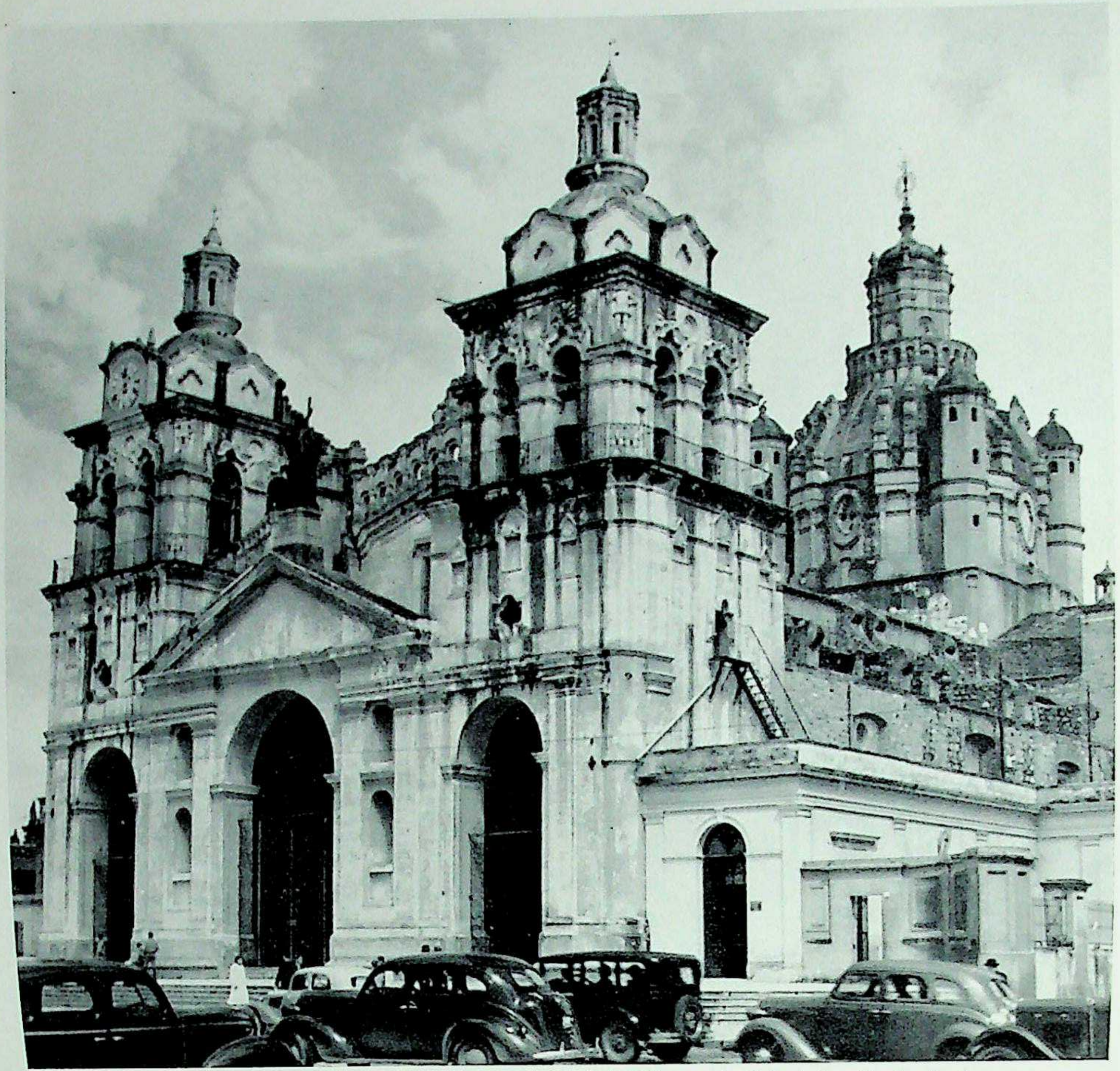
(A) Pomata, Santiago, in construction 1726. Interior



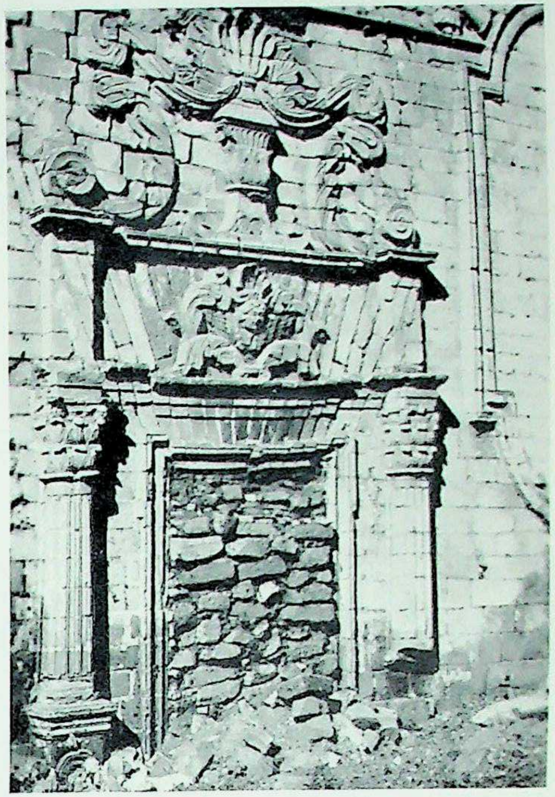
(B) Philippe Lemer: Córdoba (Argentina), Compañía, before 1671. Wooden crossing roof



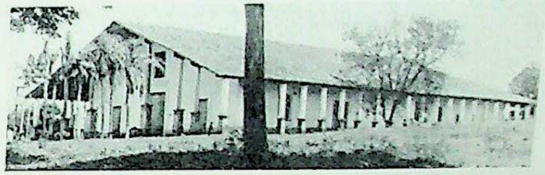
Cajamarca Cathedral. Façade, begun 1699



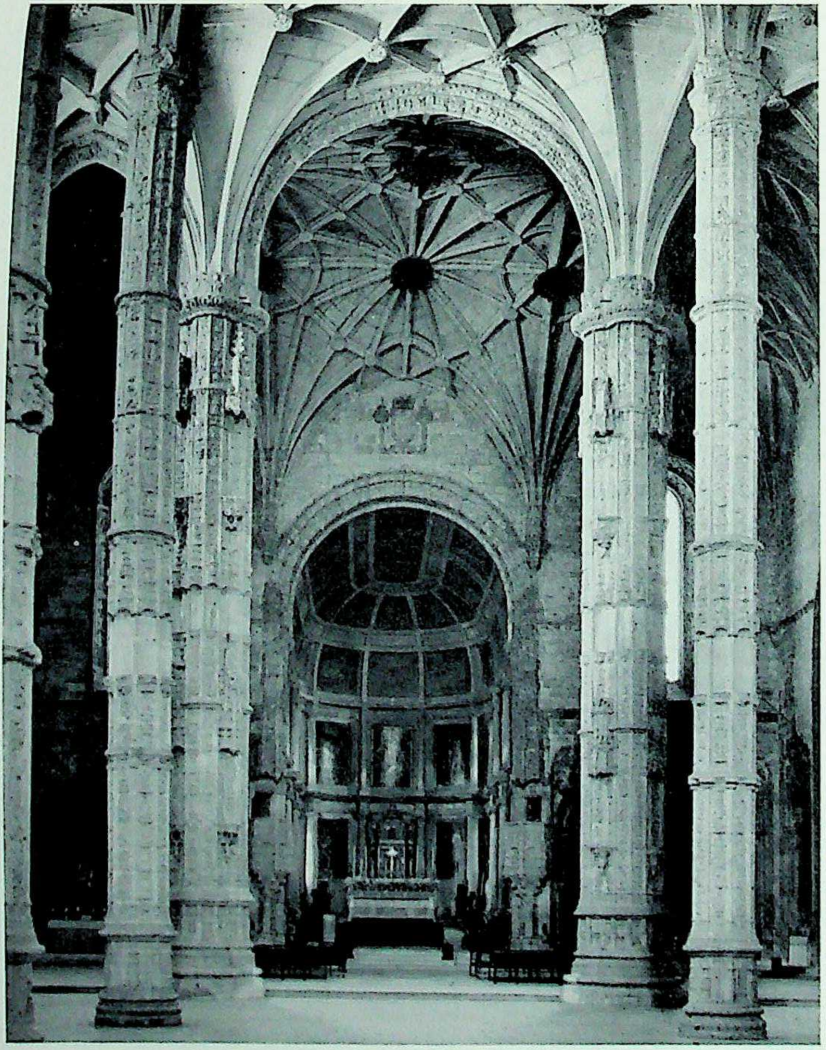
(A) José González Merguete and Andrés Blanqui: Córdoba Cathedral, *c.* 1687–1729. General view



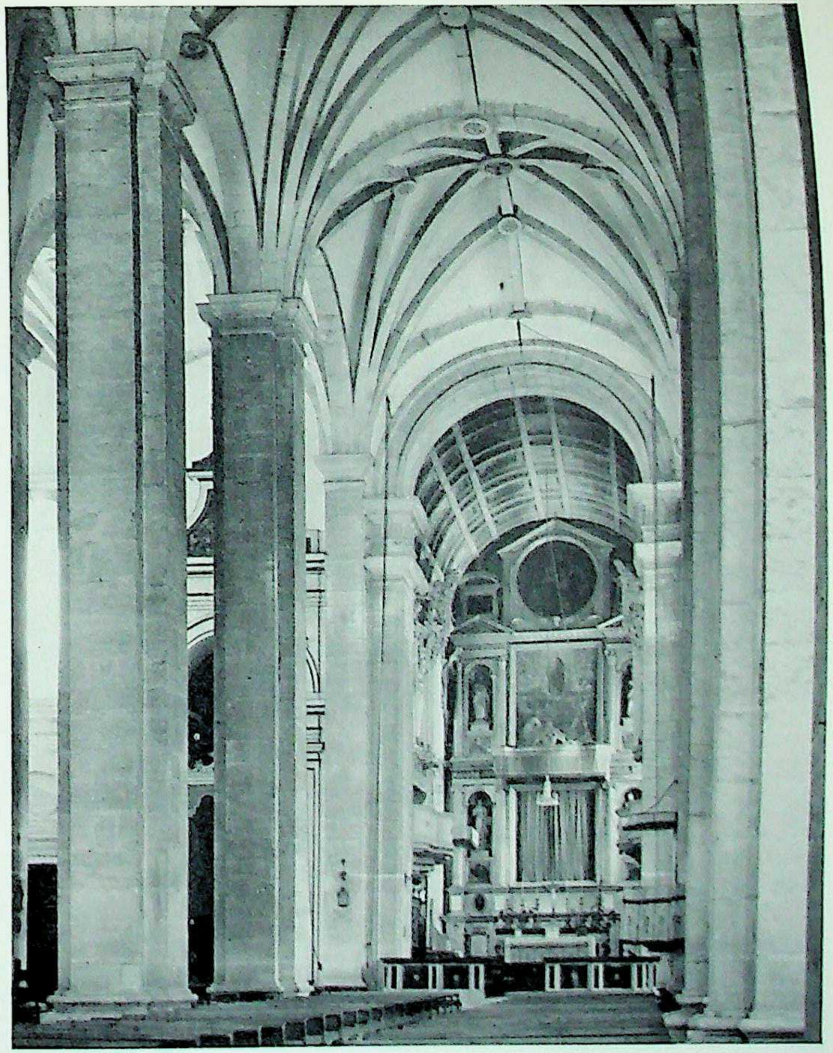
(B) G. B. Primoli: Trinidad Mission (Paraguay), *c.* 1740. Sacristy doorway



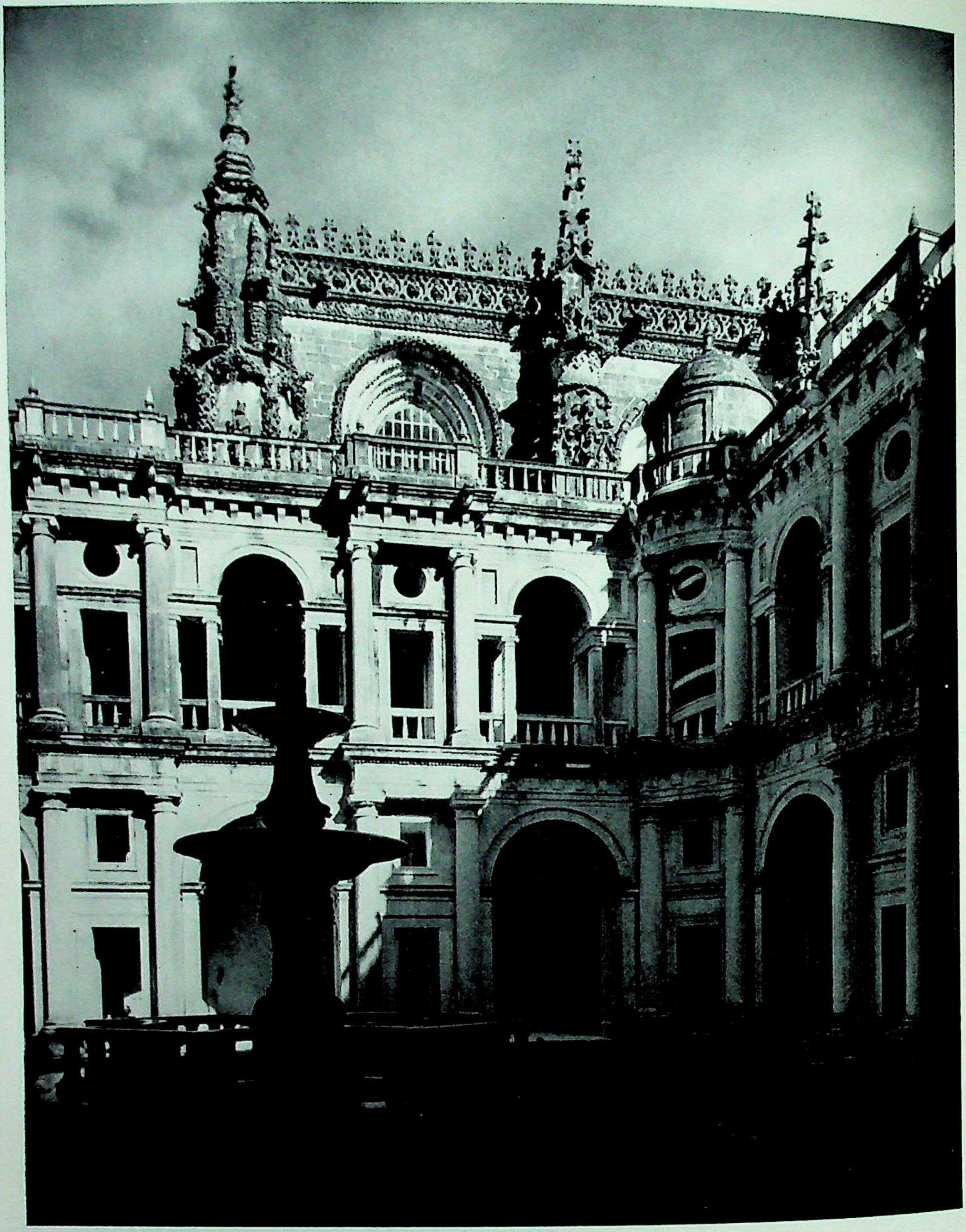
(C) Yaguarón (Paraguay), *parish church,* *1761–84 Exterior*



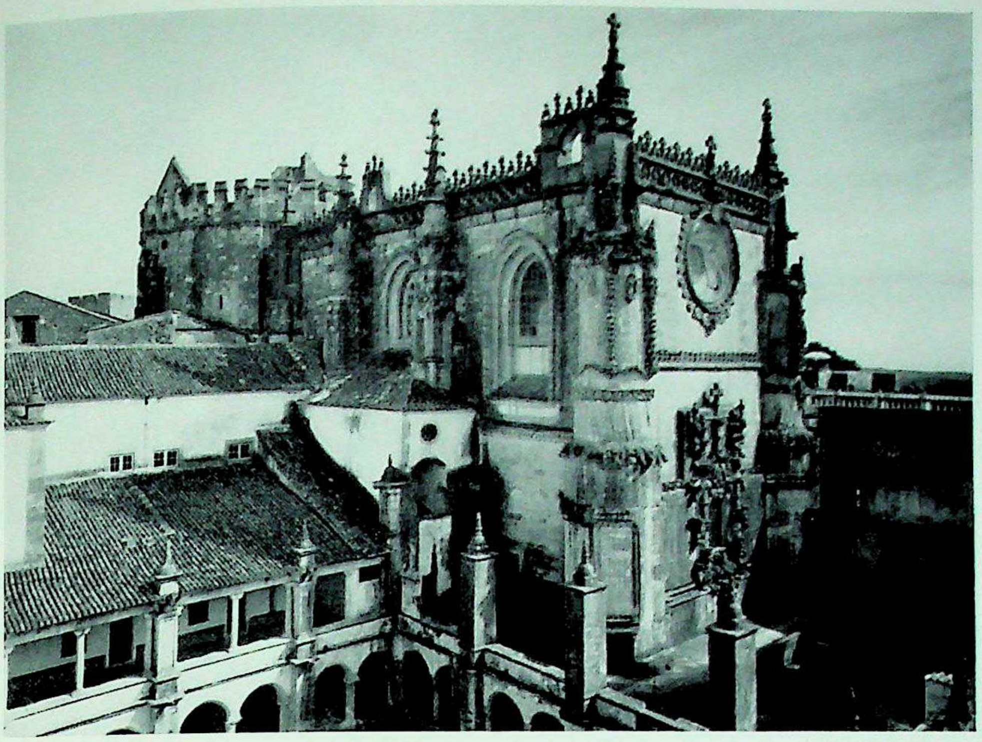
(A) Diogo Boytac and João Castilho: Belem, Jeronymite Church, 1502–19. Nave



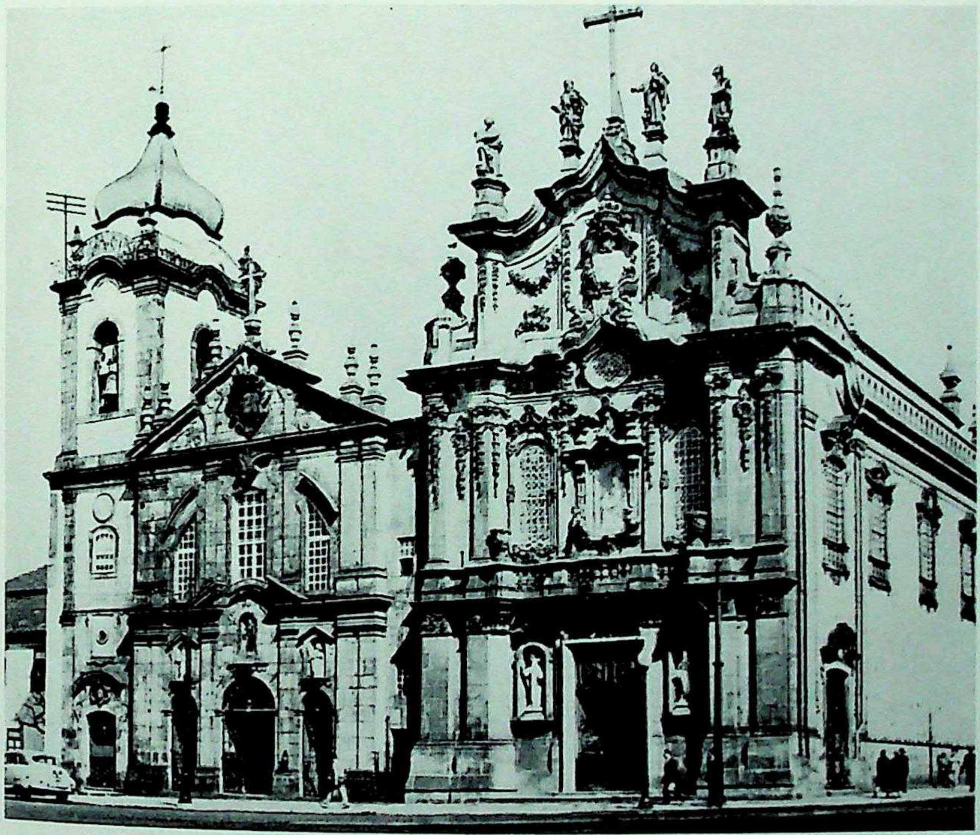
(B) Afonso Álvares: Leiria Cathedral, 1559–74. Interior



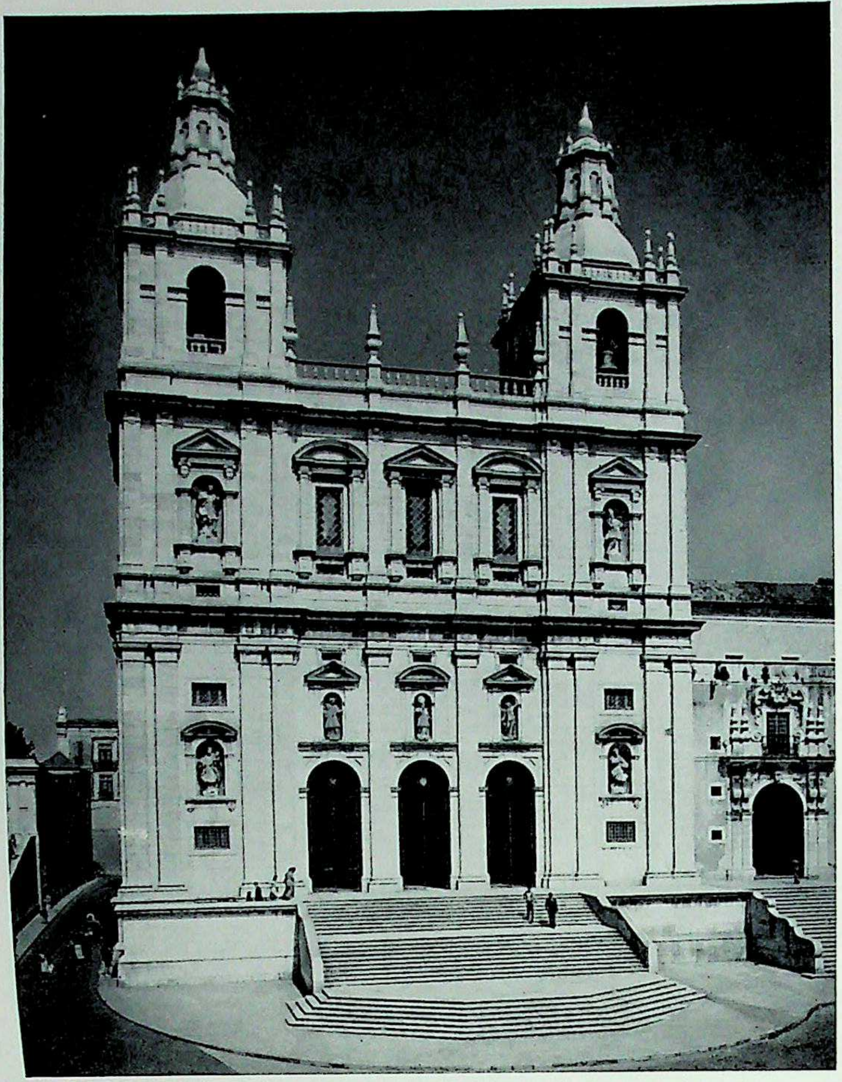
Diogo de Torralva: Tomar, Cristo Monastery. Main cloister, 1557



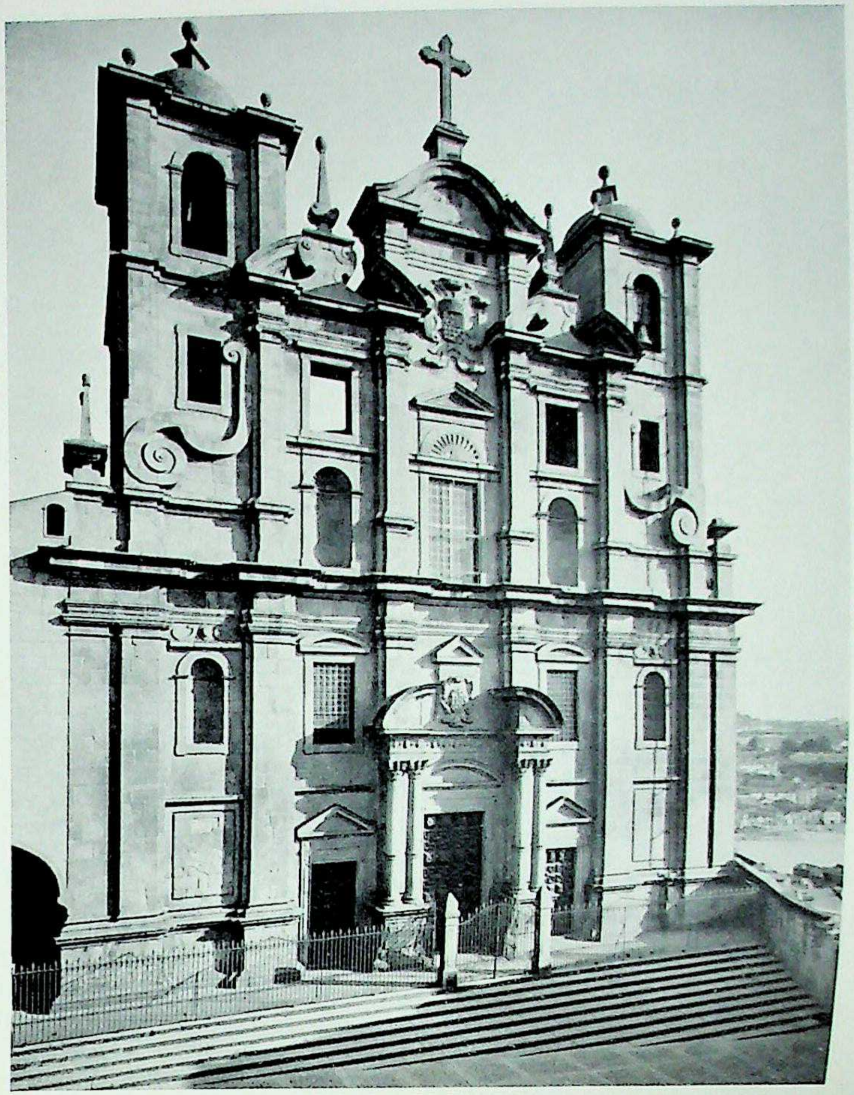
(A) Diogo Arruda: Tomar, Cristo Monastery. Exterior of chapter-room, 1510–14



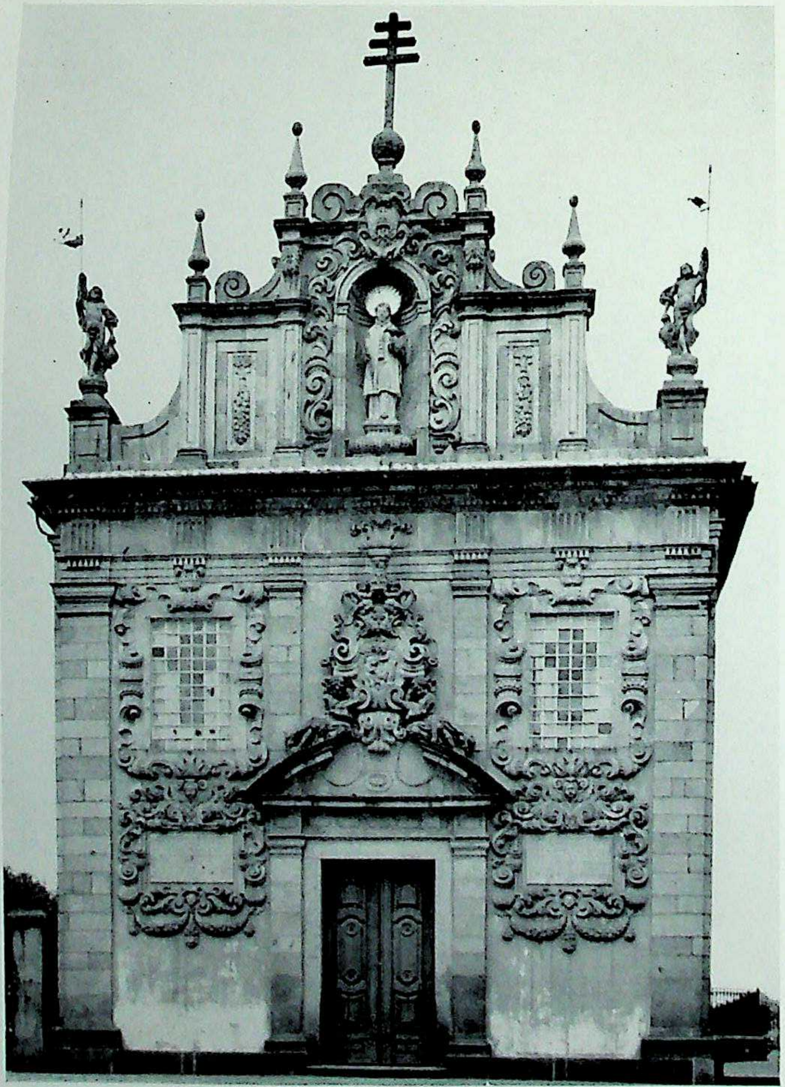
(B) Oporto, Carmelite Church, 1619–28 (*left*); Terceiros do Carmo, 1756–68 (*right*). Façades



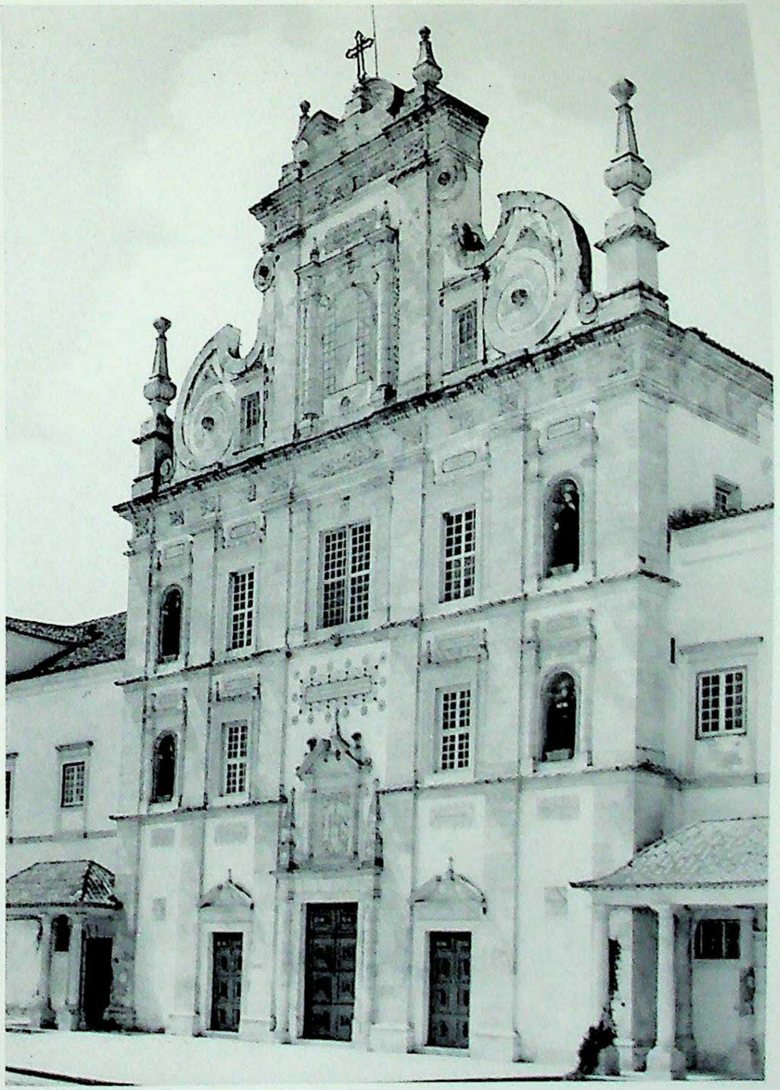
(A) Filippo Terzi: Lisbon, São Vicente de Fora, 1582–1605. Façade



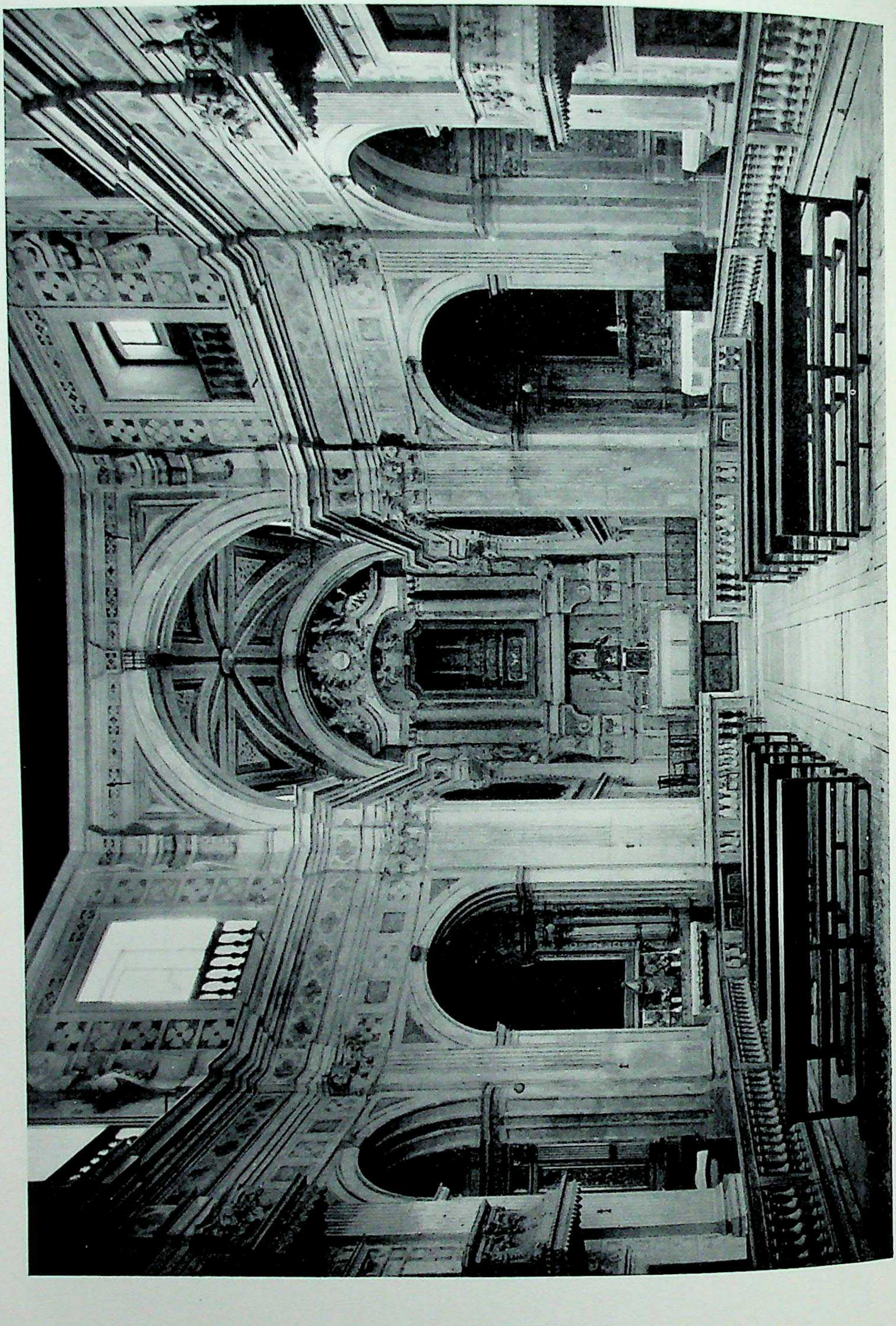
(B) Baltasar Álvares: Oporto, São Lourenço (or Grilos) Church, 1614–22. Façade



(A) Braga, São Vicente. Façade, 1691

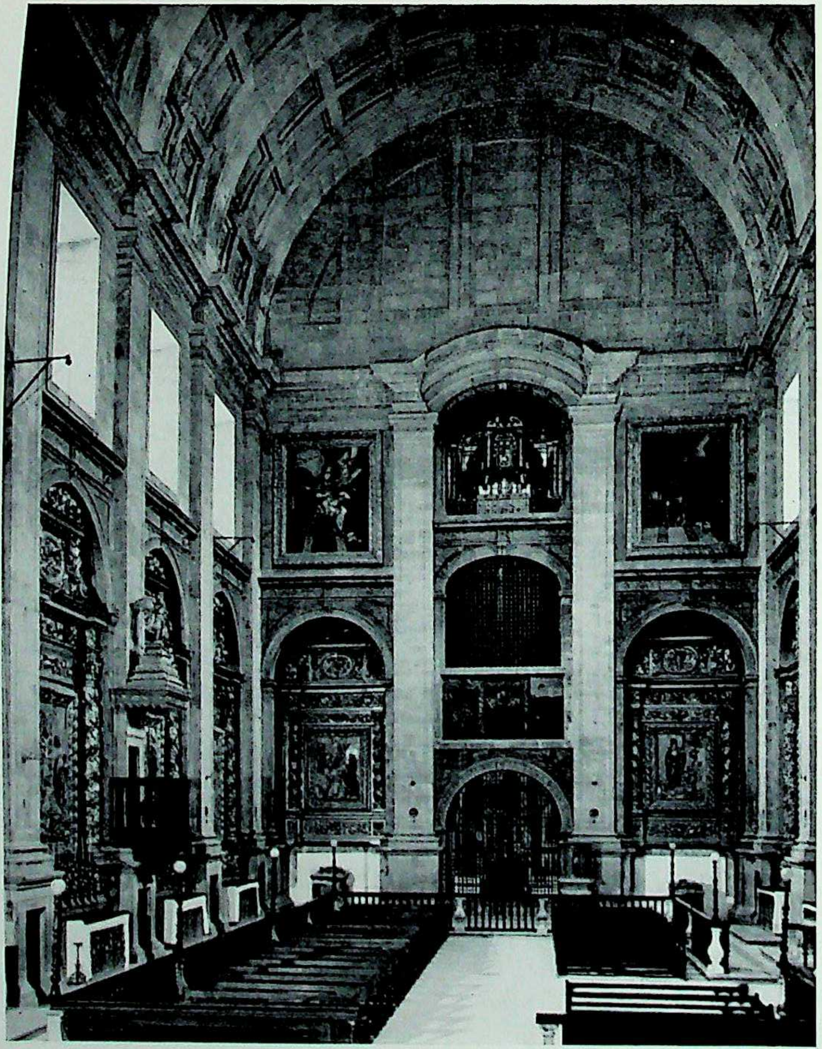


(B) João Nunes Tinoco(?): Santarém, Seminary, 1676. Façade

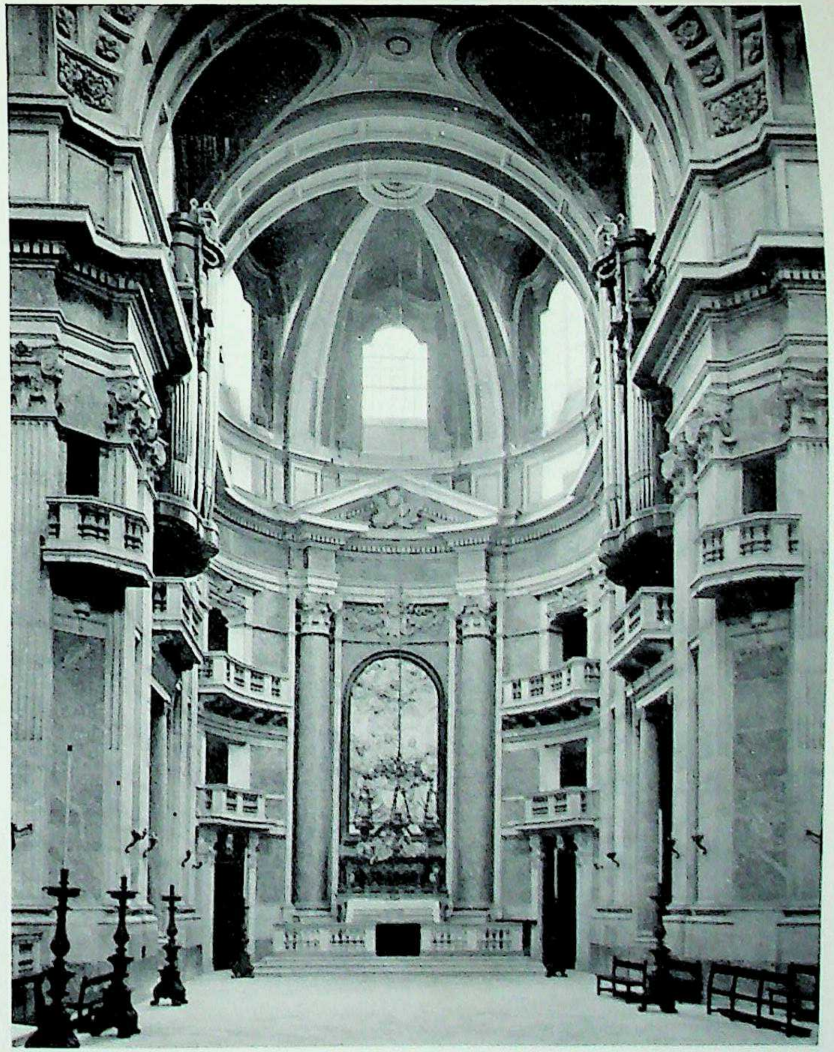


João Antunes: Lisbon, Menino Deus Church, 1711–37. Interior

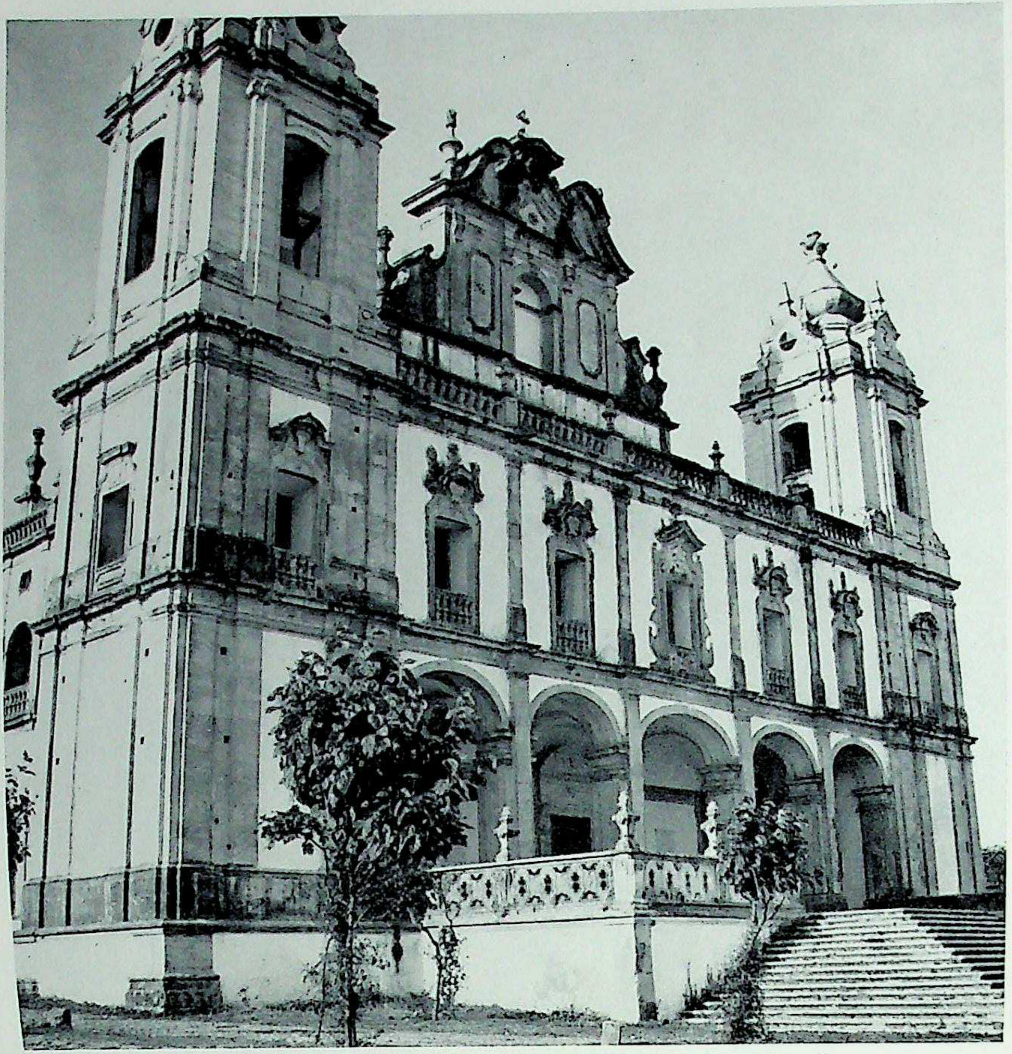
João Antunes: Lisbon, Menino Deus Church, 1711–37. Interior



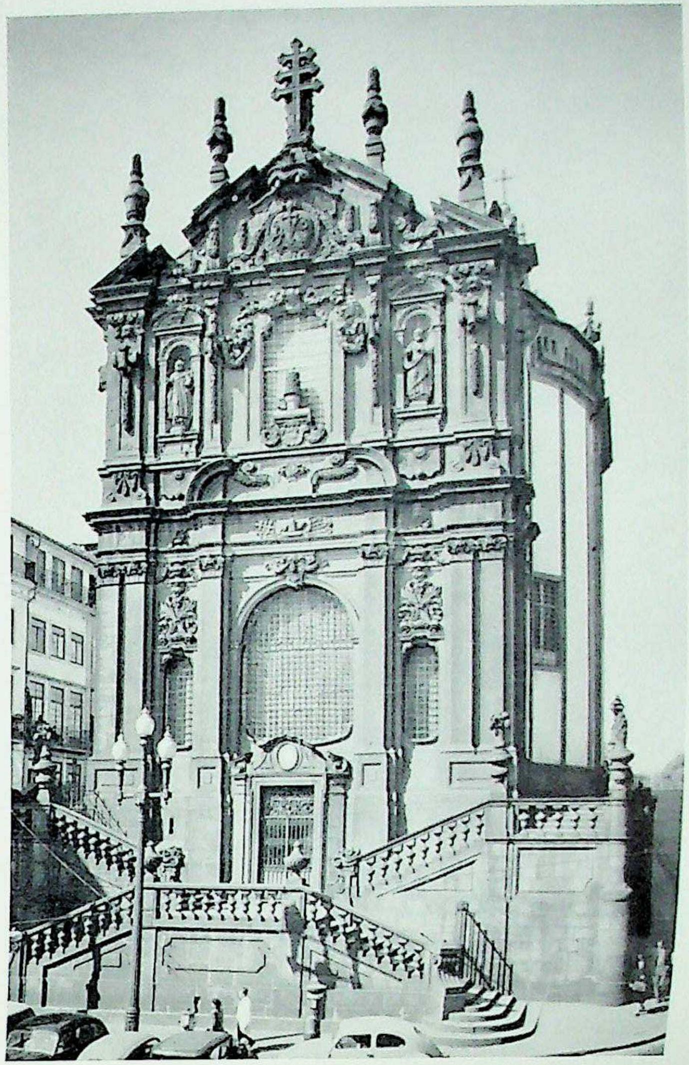
(A) João Turriano(?): Coimbra, Santa Clara-a-Nova, 1649–96.
Interior



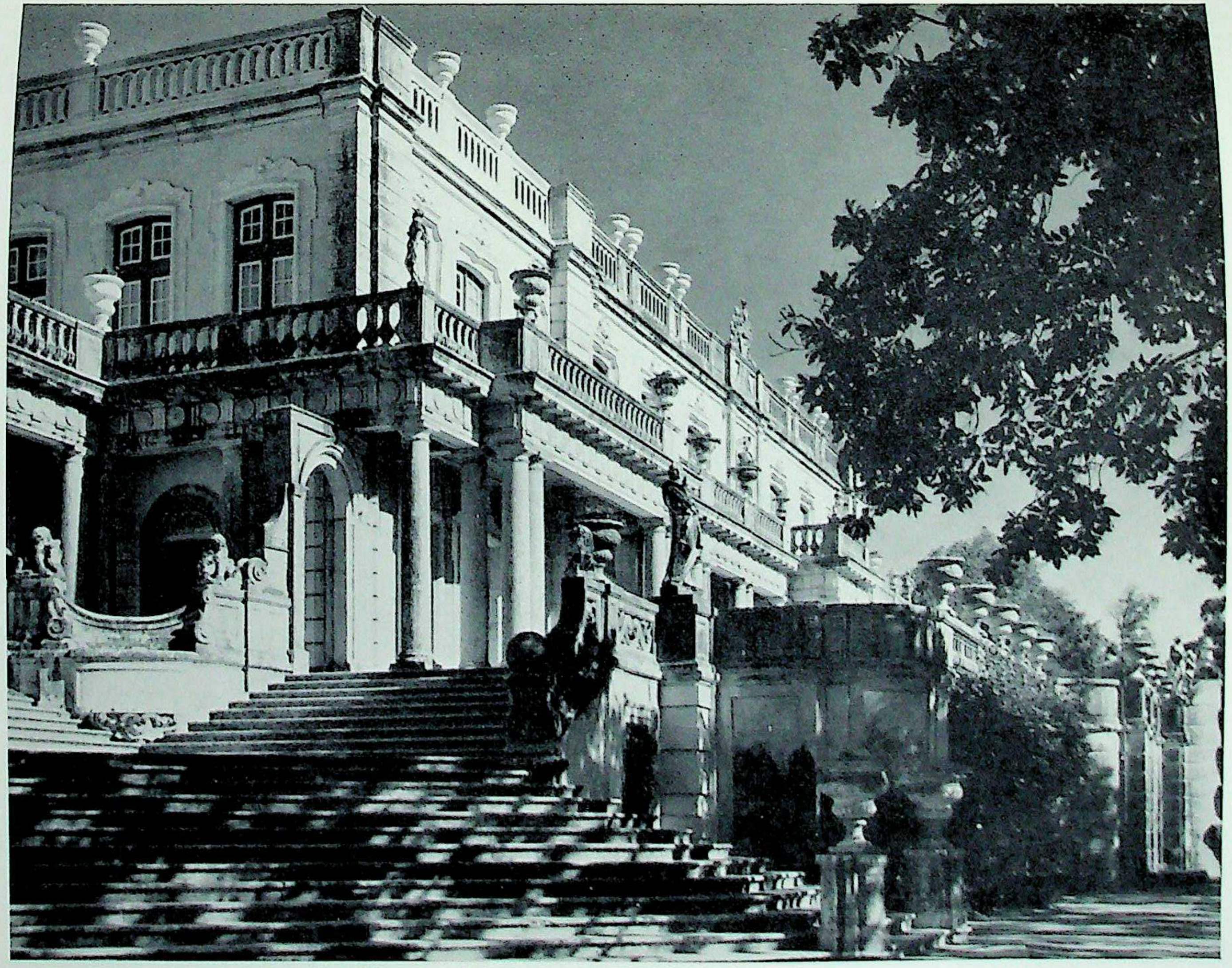
(B) J. F. Ludovice: Mafra, church, 1717–30.
Interior



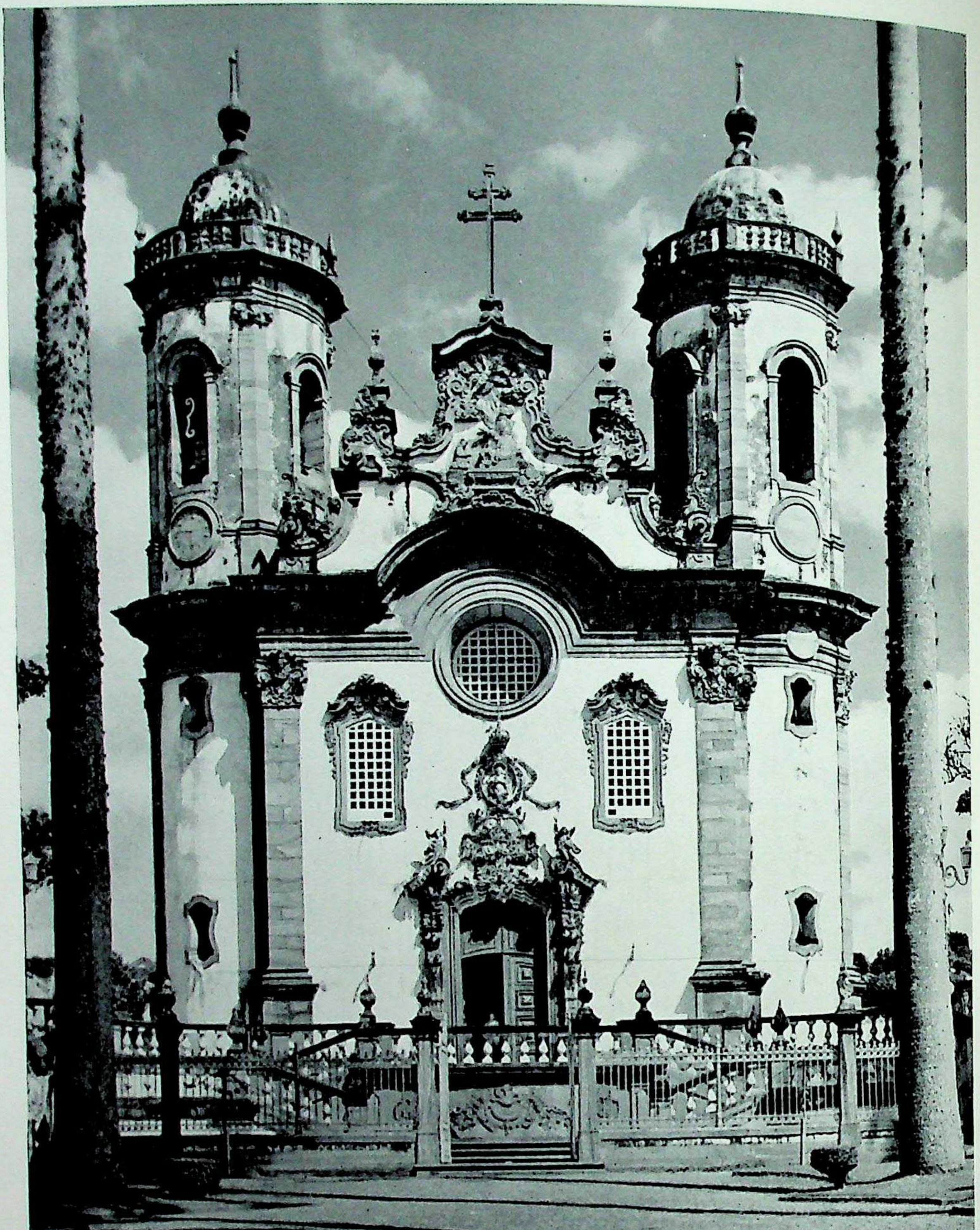
(A) José and Joaquim da Silva: Milagres, votive church, 1732–95. Exterior



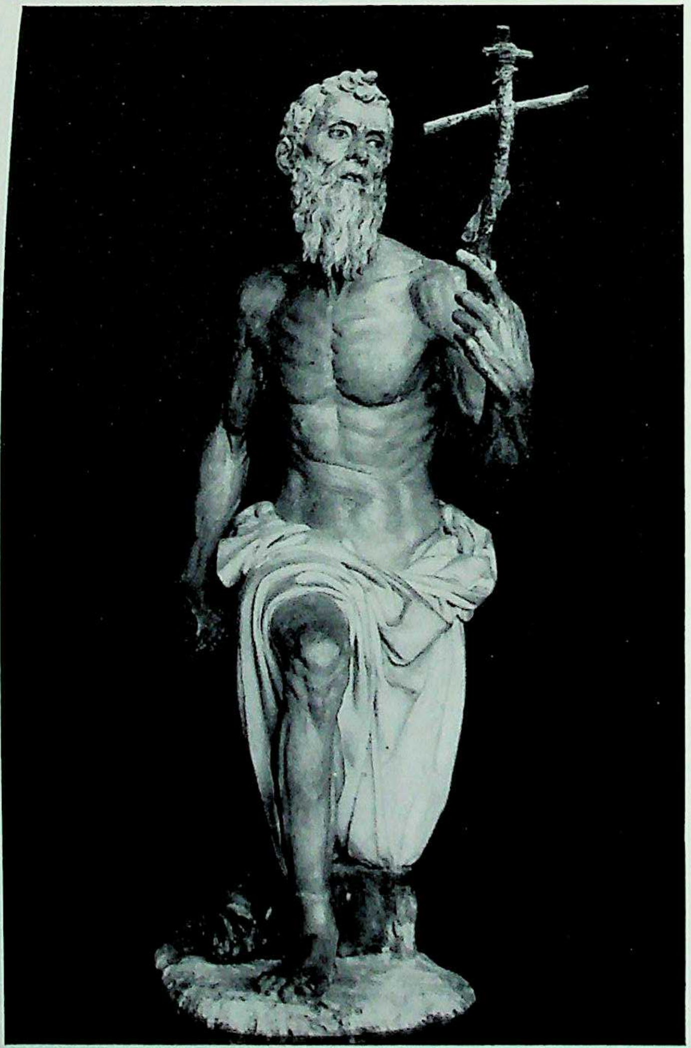
(B) Niccolò Nasoni: Oporto, São Pedro dos Clérigos, 1732–50. Façade



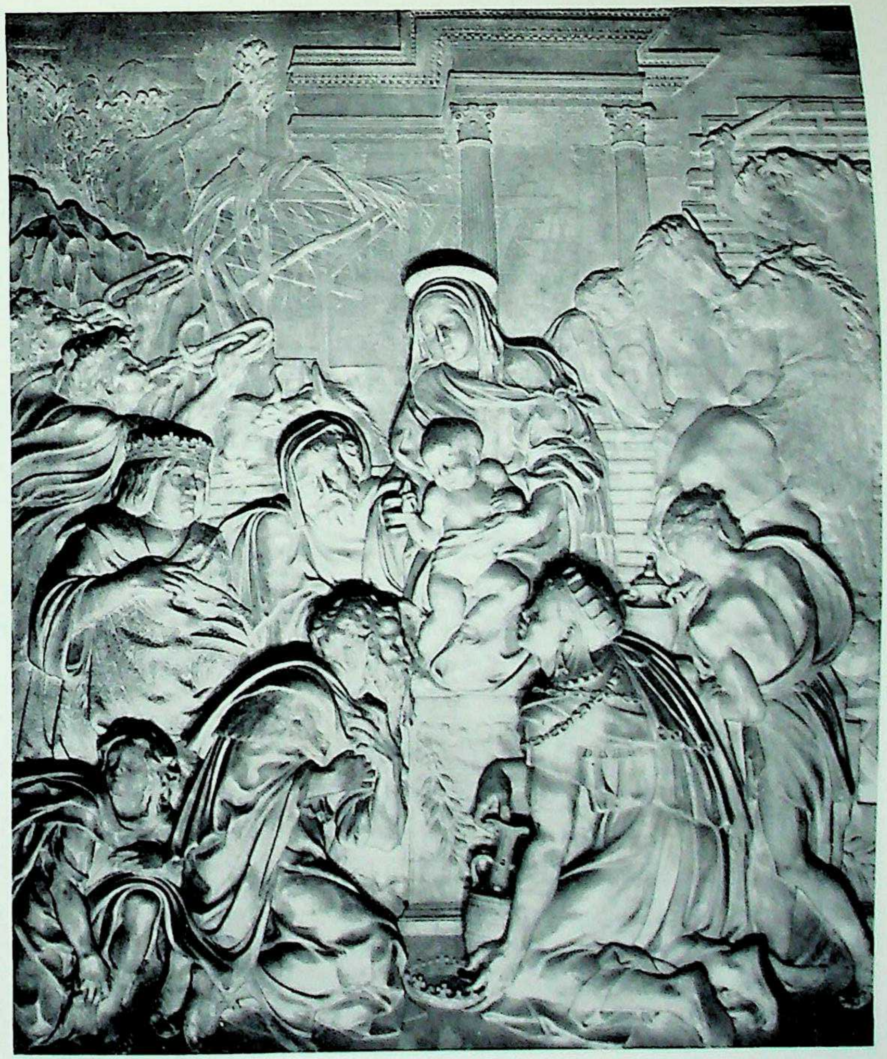
J.-B. Robillion: Queluz Palace, west wing, 1759–60. North-west stair



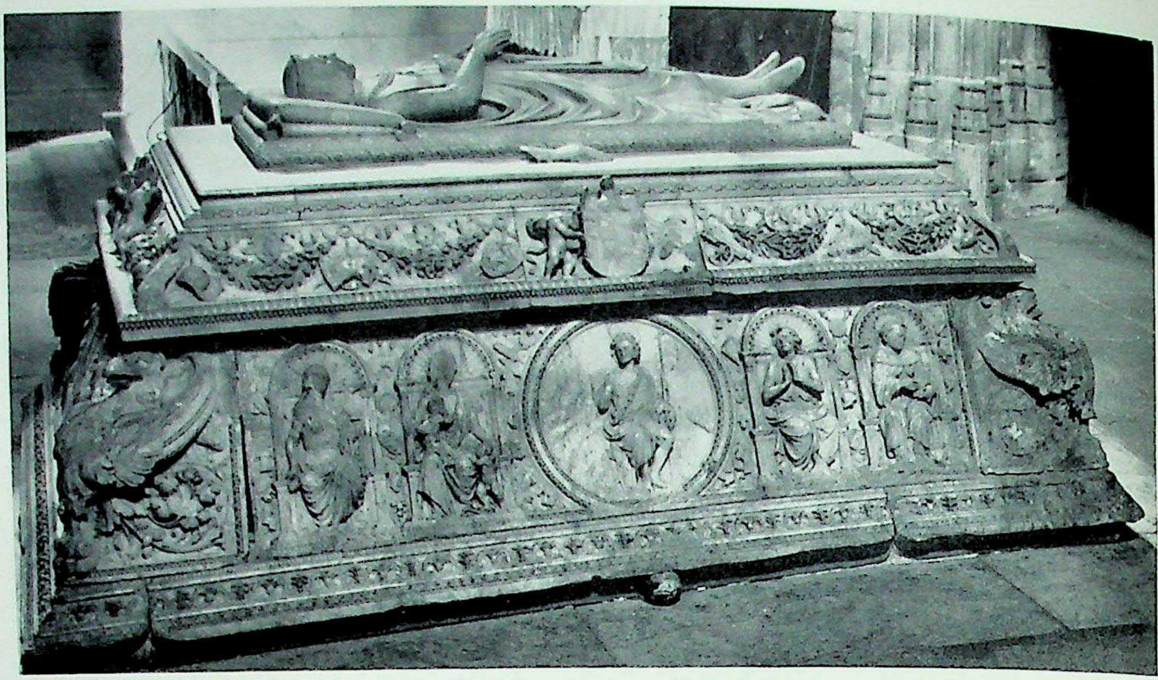
A. F. Lisboa and F. de Lima Cerqueira: São João d'El Rei, São Francisco, Third Order, 1774–1804. Façade



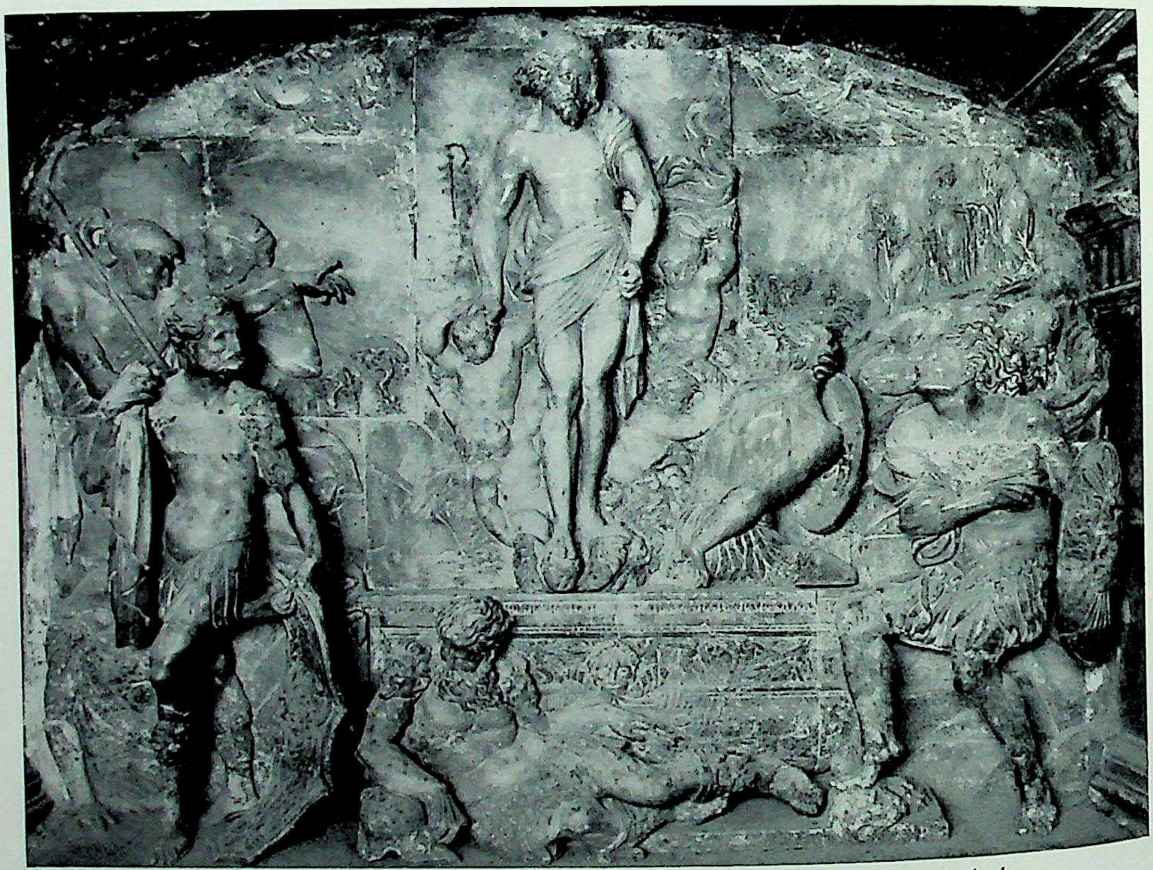
(A) Pietro Torrigiani: St Jerome, *c.* 1525.
Seville, Museum



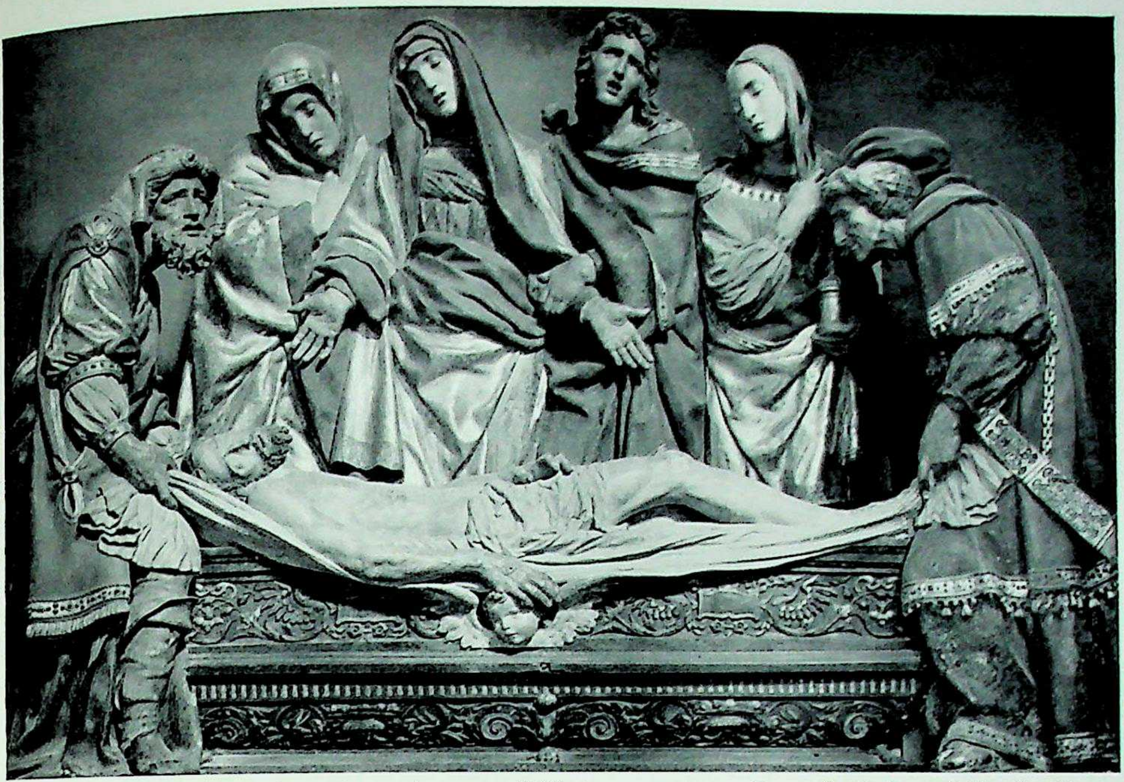
(B) Bartolomé Ordóñez: The Epiphany; *c.* 1514–15.
Naples, S. Giovanni a Carbonara



(A) Domenico Alessandro Fancelli: Monument to Prince Juan, 1511. *Avila, Santo Tomás*

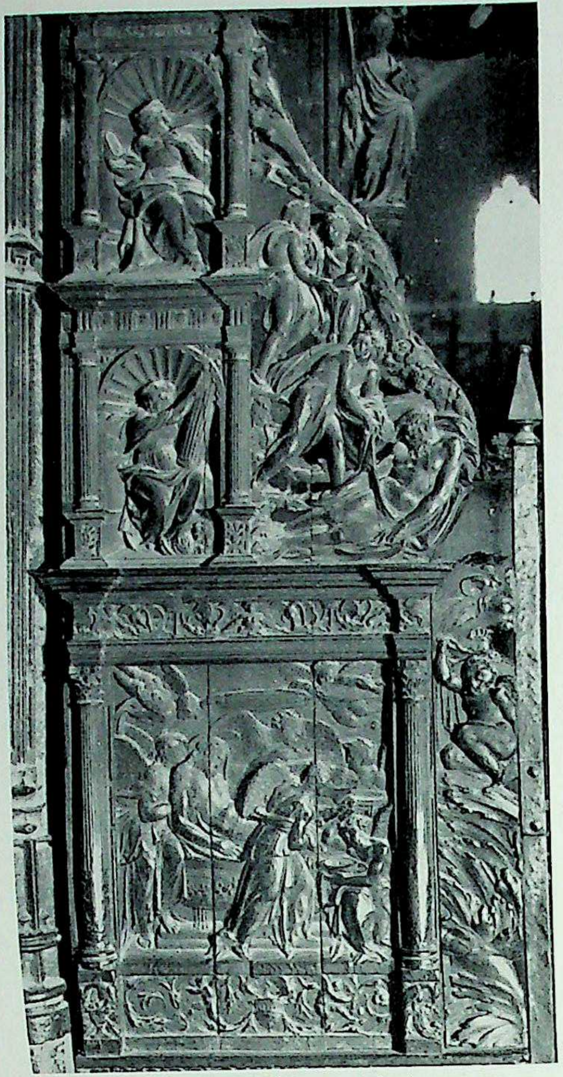


(B) Alonso Berruguete: The Resurrection, *c.* 1517. *Valencia Cathedral*

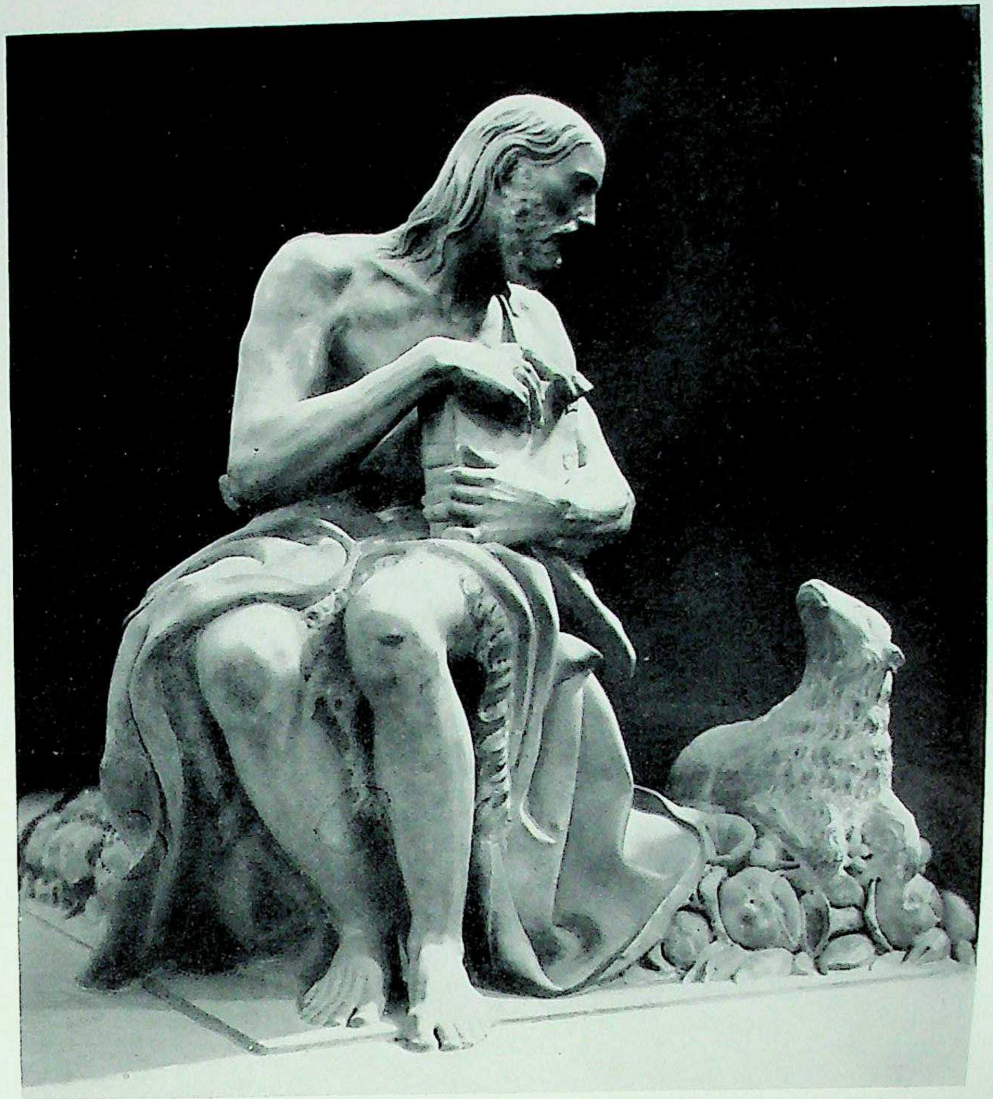


(A) Jacopo Florentino: Entombment of Christ, *c.* 1520–5. *Granada, Palace of Charles V*

(B) Juan de Juni: The Pietà, 1541–4. *Valladolid, Museum*



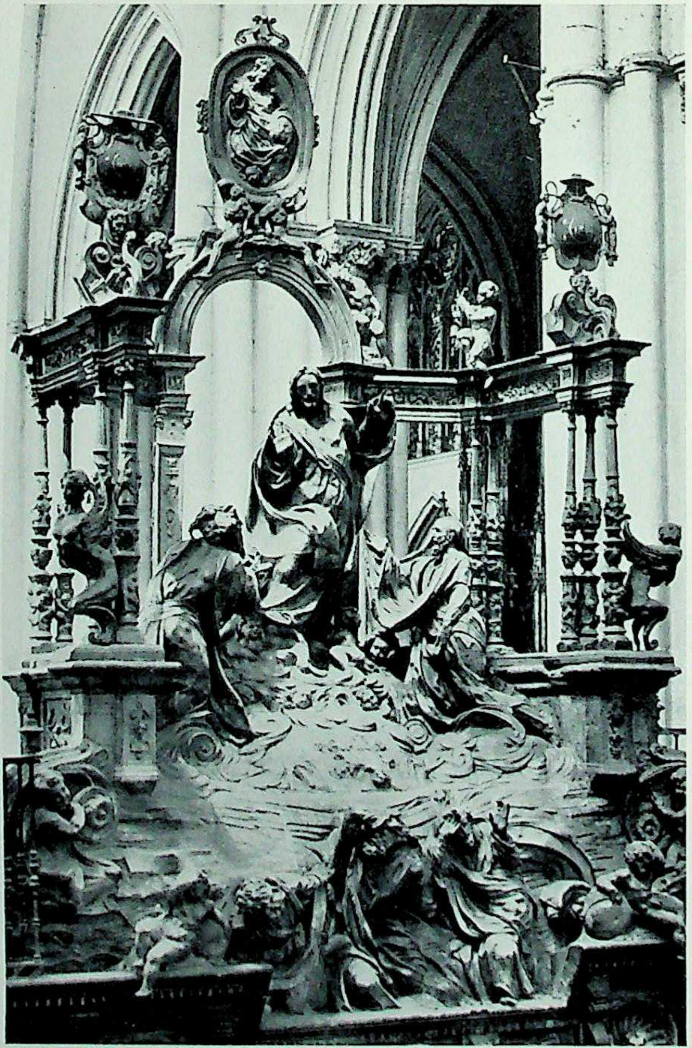
(A) Bartolomé Ordóñez: Choir entrance, 1517–19. *Barcelona Cathedral*



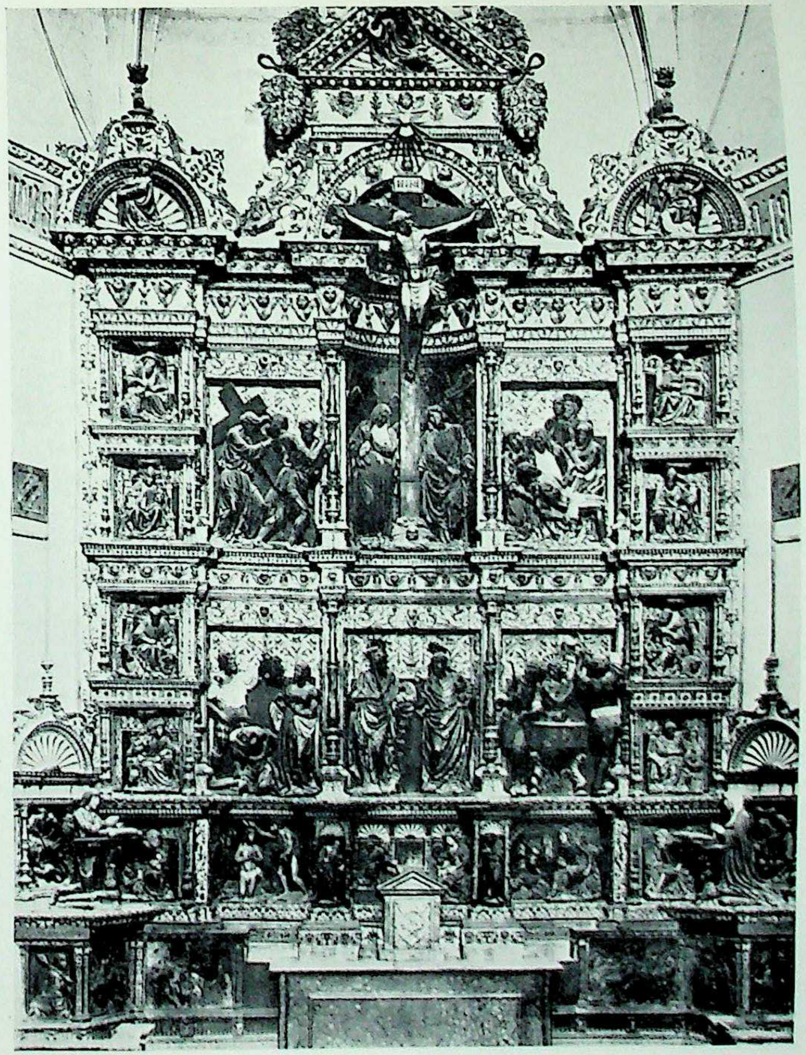
(B) Bartolomé Ordóñez: St John the Baptist, detail from the monument to Philip the Handsome, 1519–20. *Granada, Royal Chapel*

(A) Bartolomé Ordóñez: Choir entrance,
1517–19. *Barcelona Cathedral*

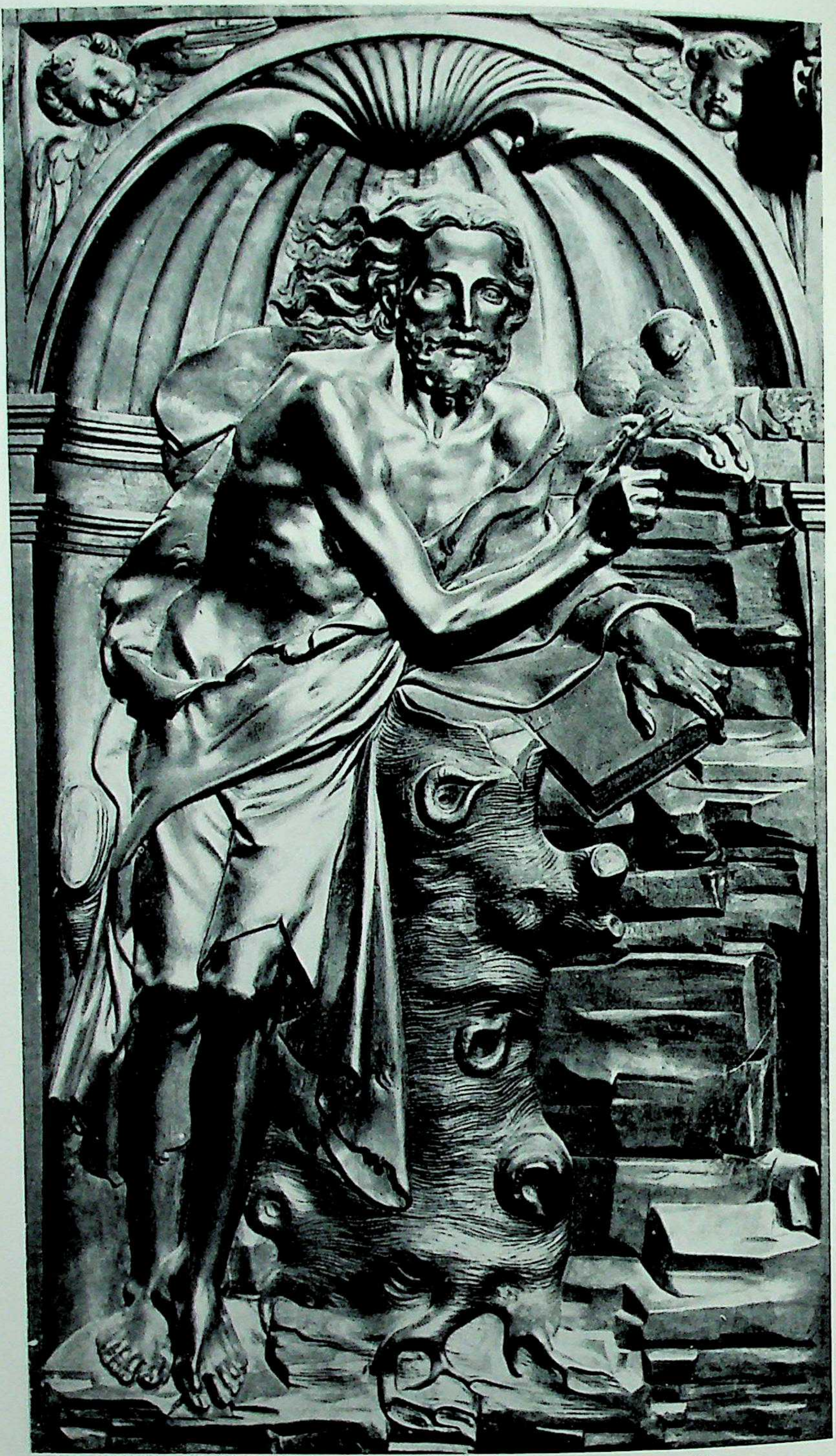
(B) Bartolomé Ordóñez: St John the Baptist, detail from the monument
to Philip the Handsome, 1519–20. *Granada, Royal Chapel*



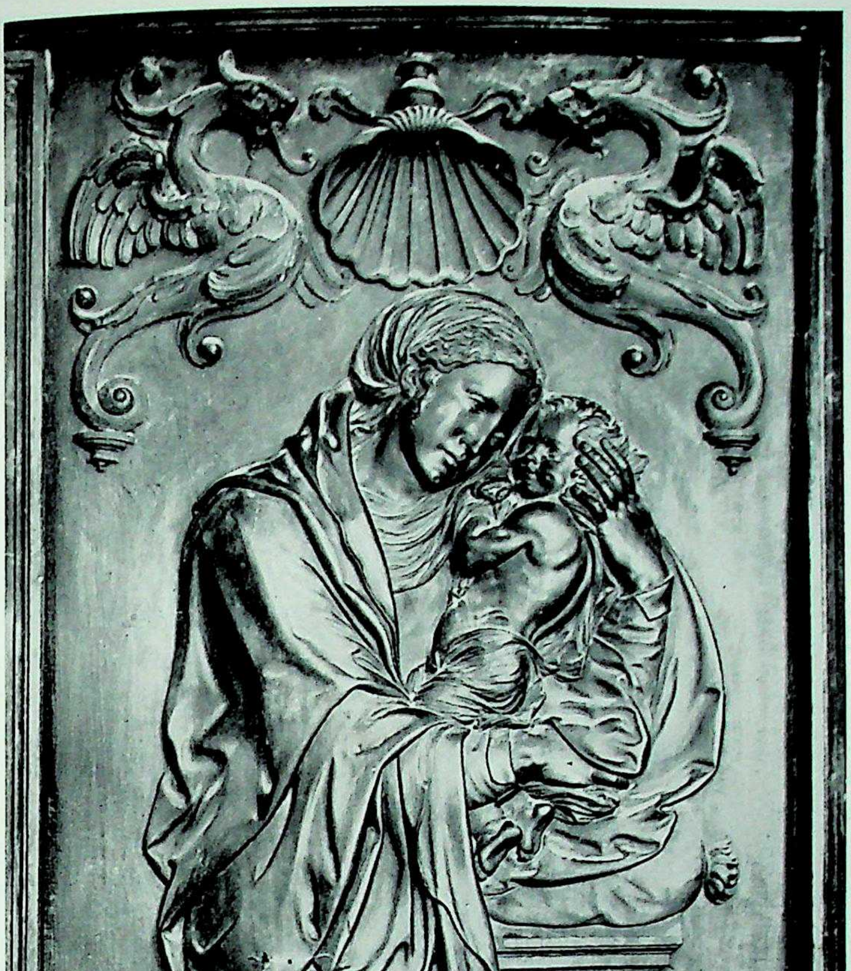
(A) Alonso Berruguete: The Transfiguration, 1543–8.
Toledo Cathedral



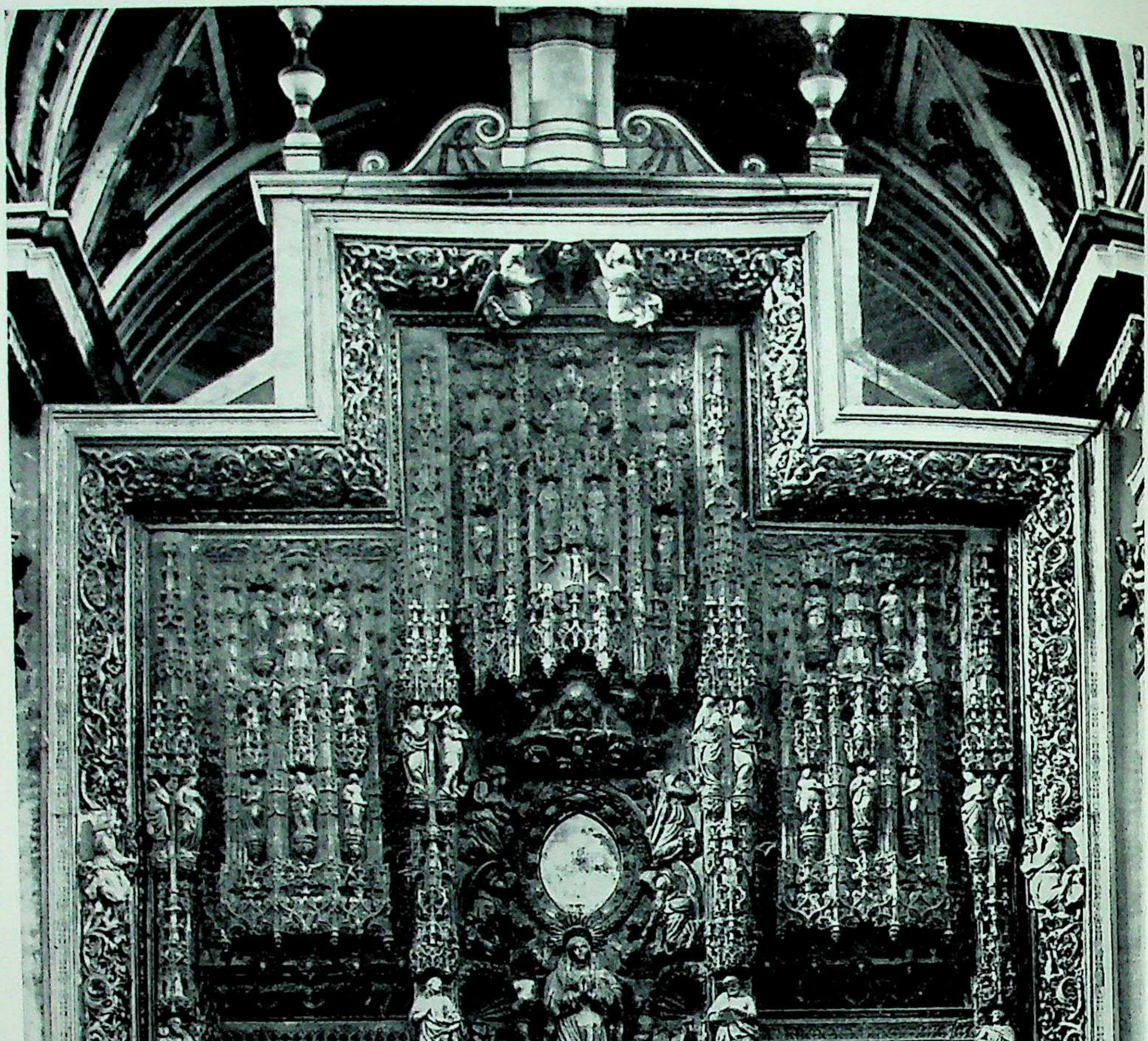
(B) Felipe Vigarny: High Altar, 1521.
Granada, Royal Chapel



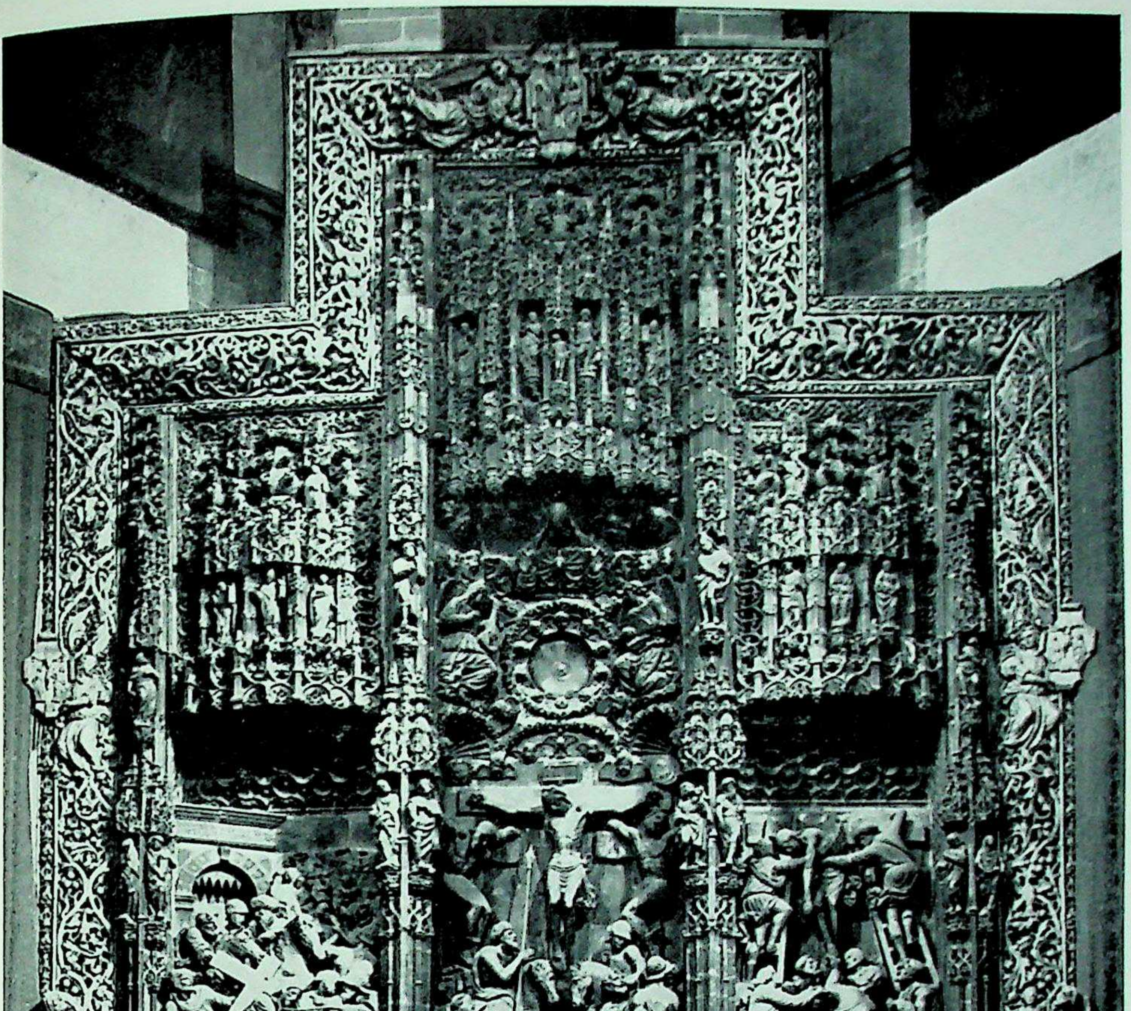
Diego de Siloe: St John the Baptist, choir stall, 1528 (?).
Valladolid, Museum



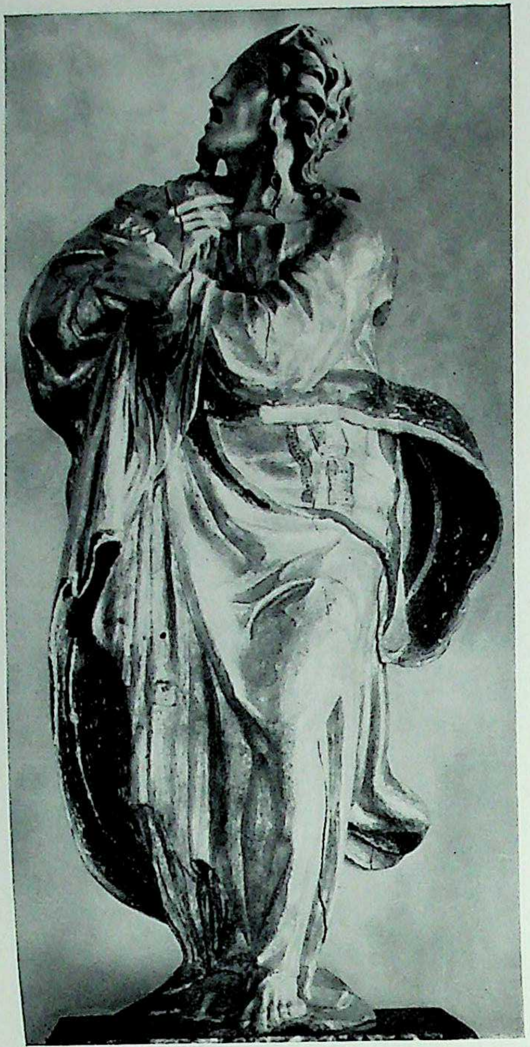
Diego de Siloe: Virgin and Child, choir stall, 1528–30.
Granada, San Jerónimo



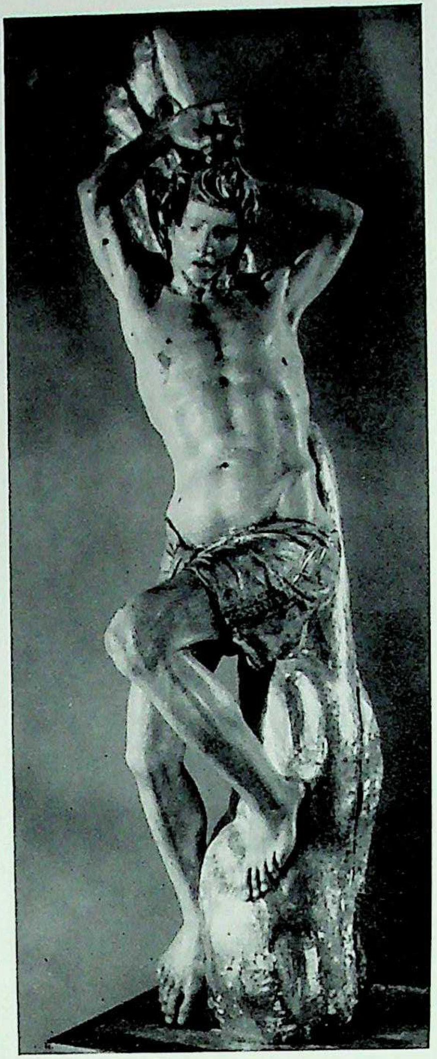
Damián Forment: High Altar, 1509–12. *Saragossa, Pilar*



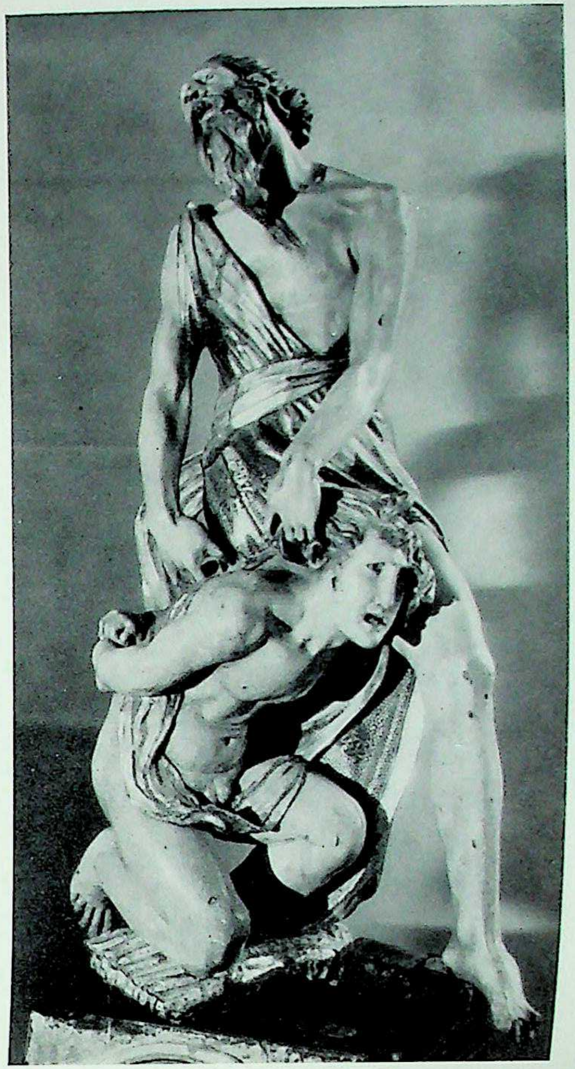
Damián Forment: High Altar, 1520–34. *Huesca Cathedral*



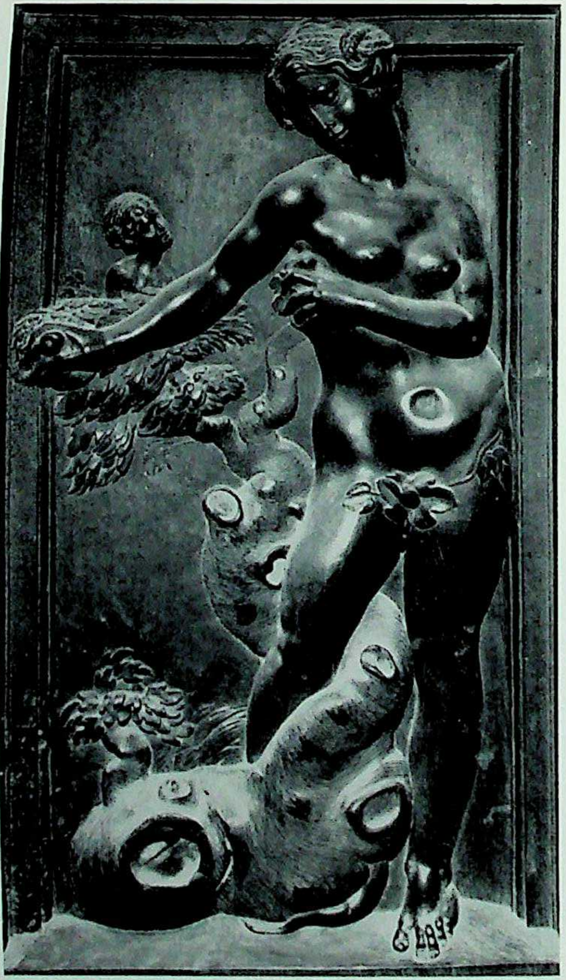
(A) Alonso Berruguete:
St John, 1527–32.
Valladolid, Museum



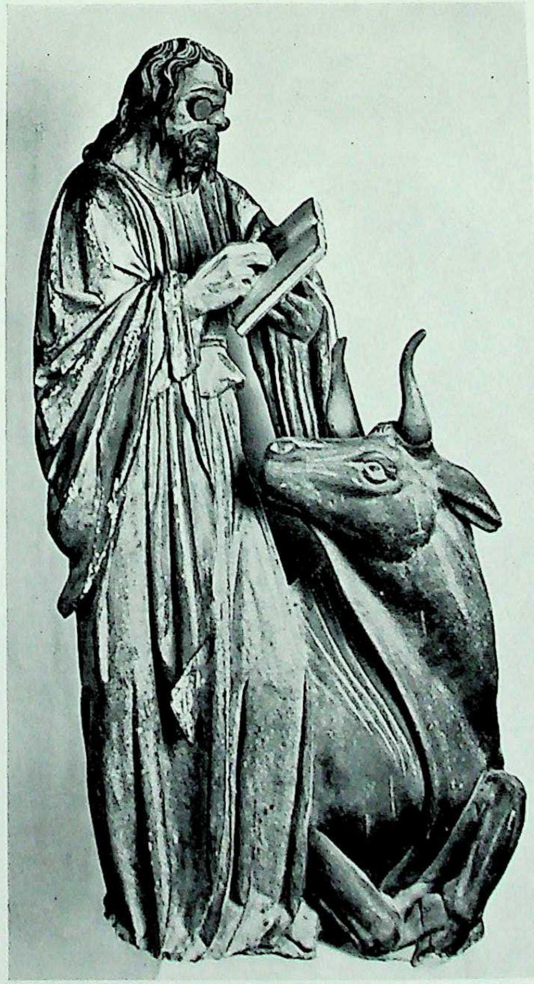
(B) Alonso Berruguete:
St Sebastian, 1527–32.
Valladolid, Museum



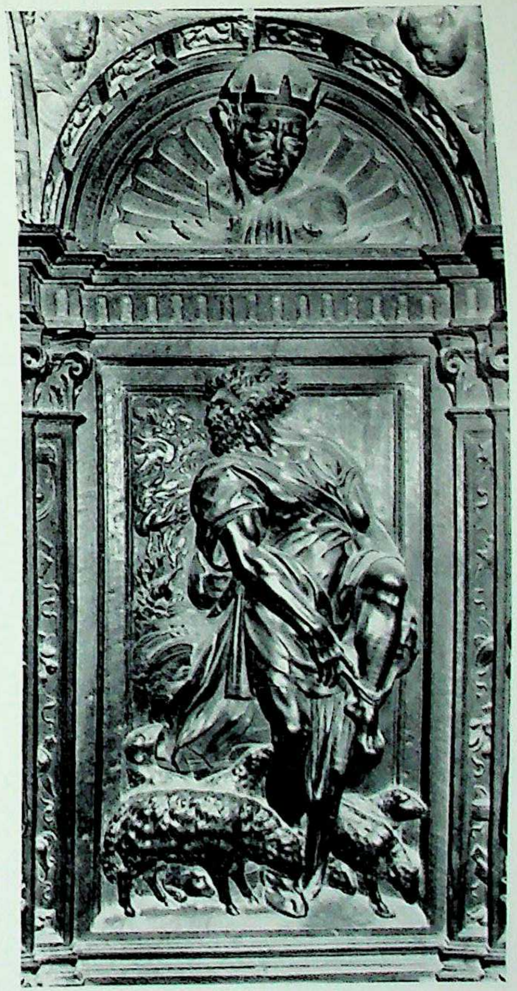
(C) Alonso Berruguete:
Abraham and Isaac, 1527–32.
Valladolid, Museum



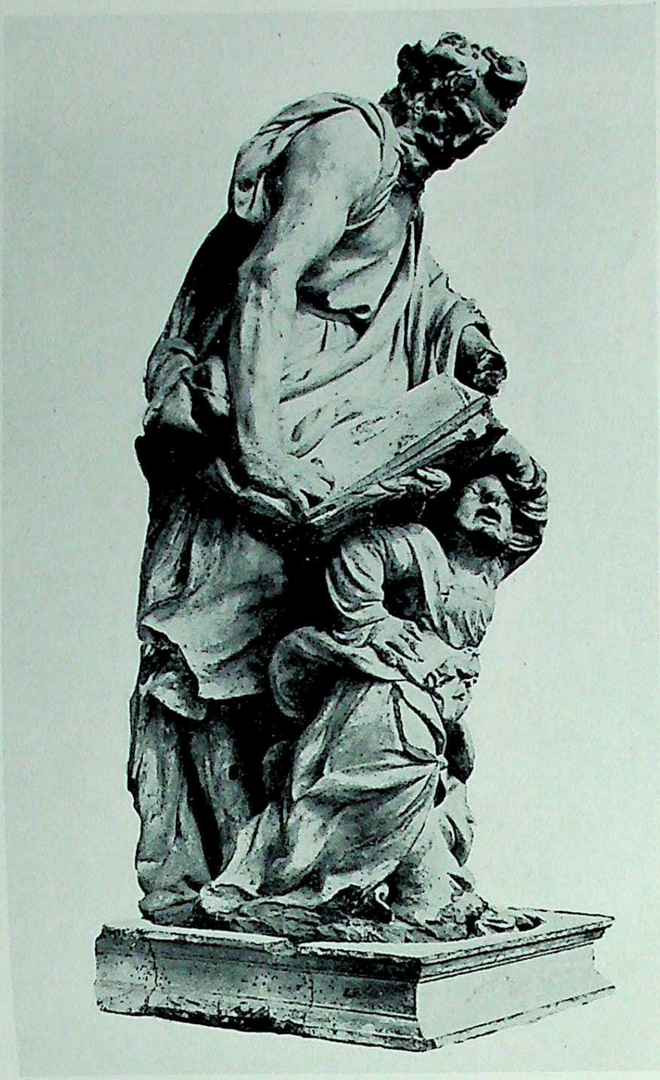
(A) Alonso Berruguete:
Eve, choir stall, 1539–43.
Toledo Cathedral



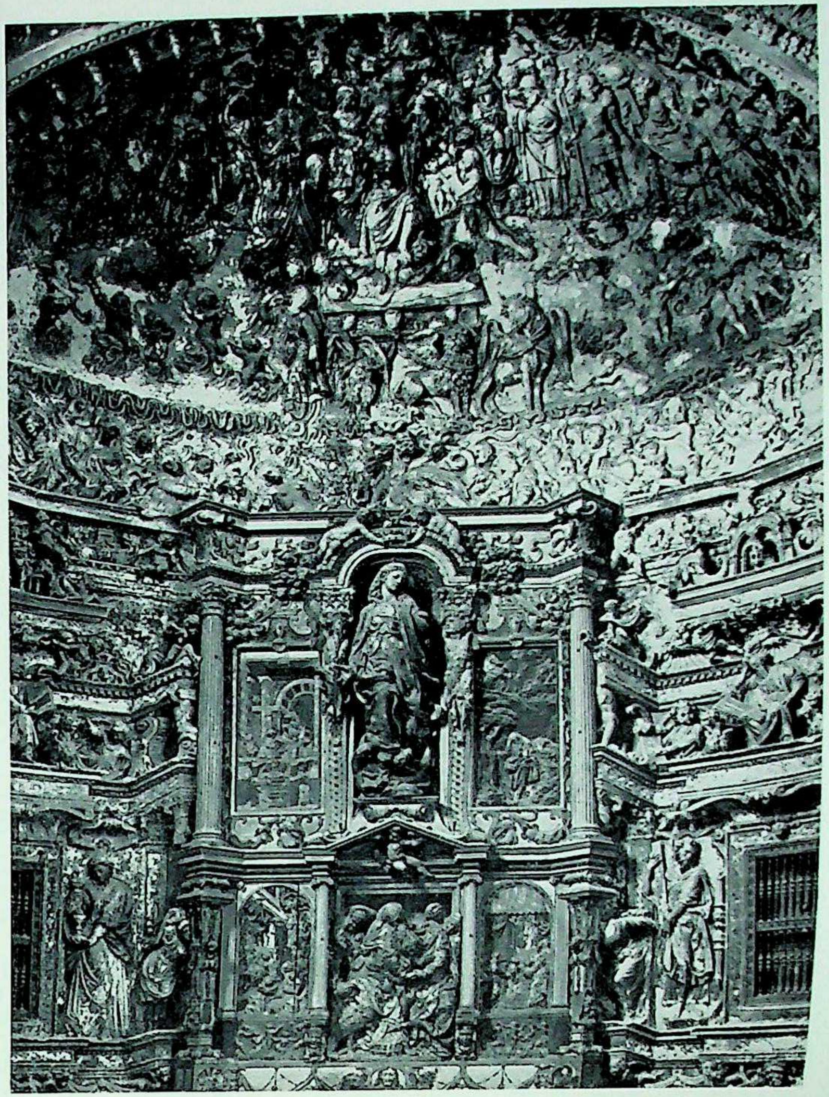
(B) Juan de Balmaseda:
St Luke, *c.* 1524–7.
Leon, San Marcos



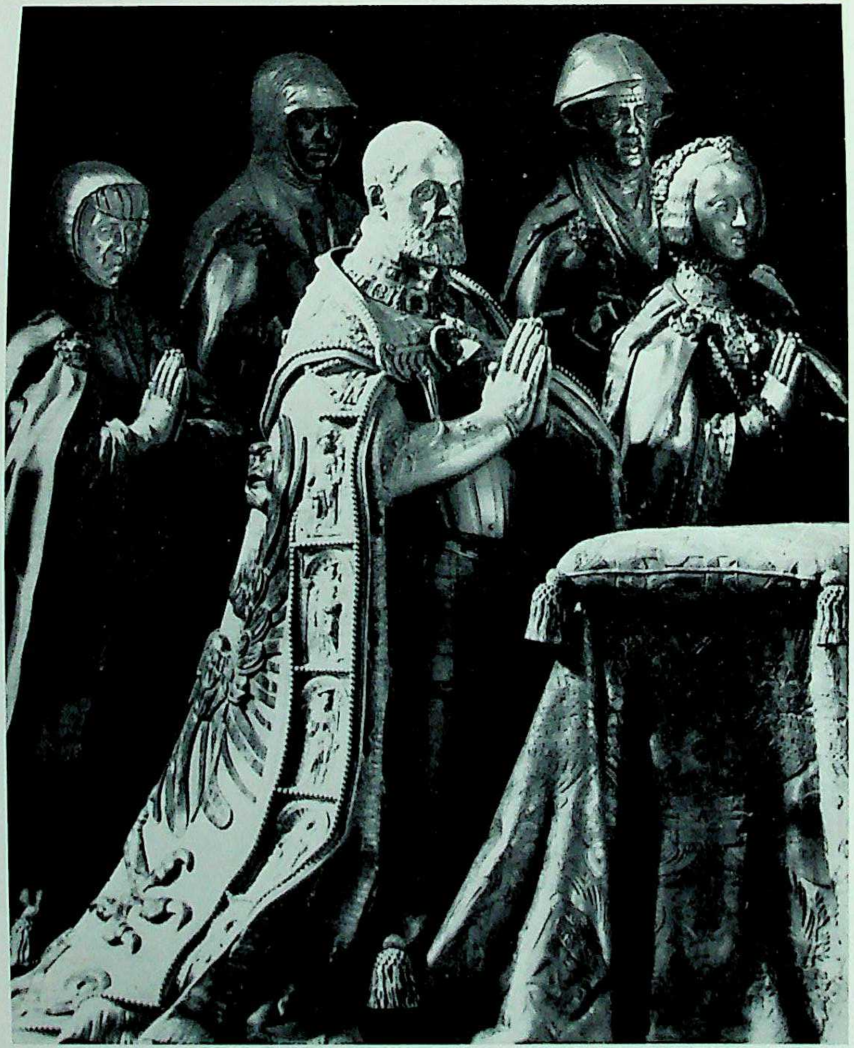
(C) Alonso Berruguete:
Moses, choir stall, 1539–43.
Toledo Cathedral



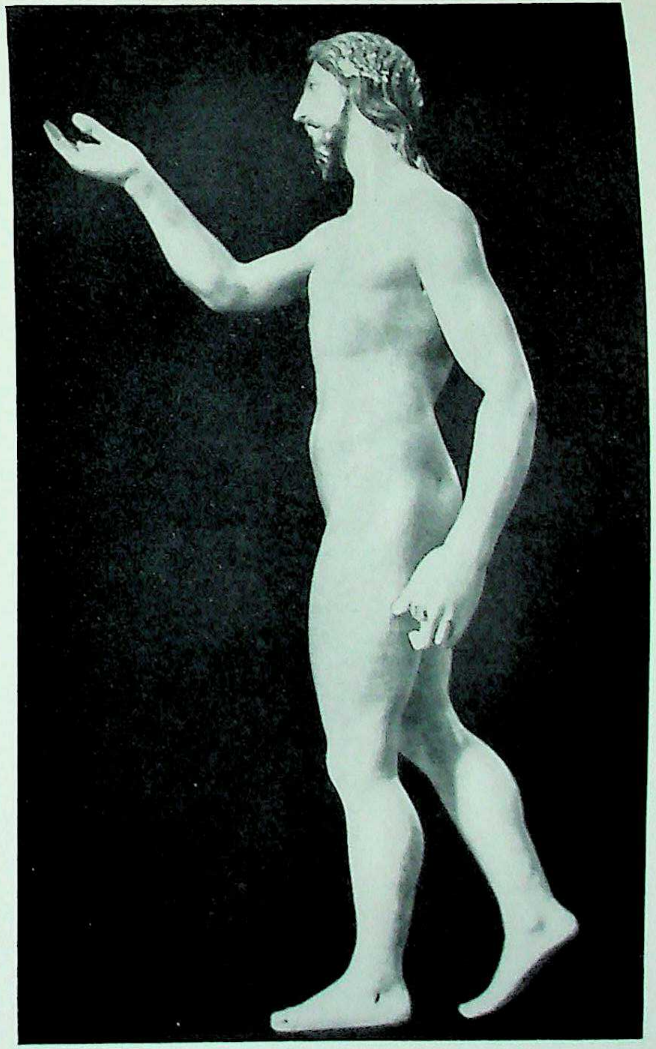
(A) Juan de Juni: St Matthew, 1540.
Leon, San Marcos



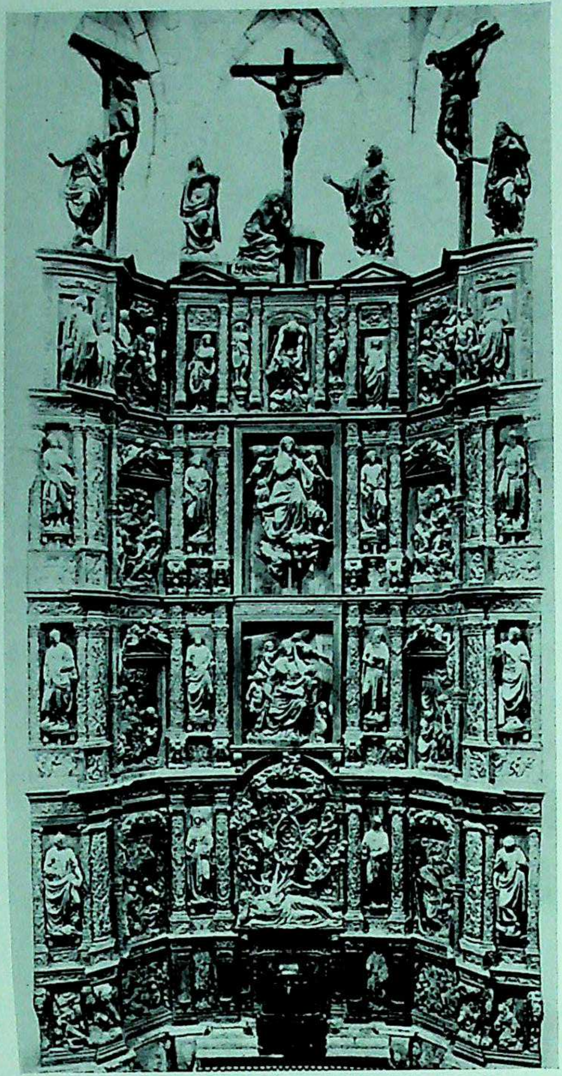
(B) Jerónimo Corral: Benavente Chapel, 1544–6, with altar by Juan de Juni, begun 1557. *Medina de Ríoseco*



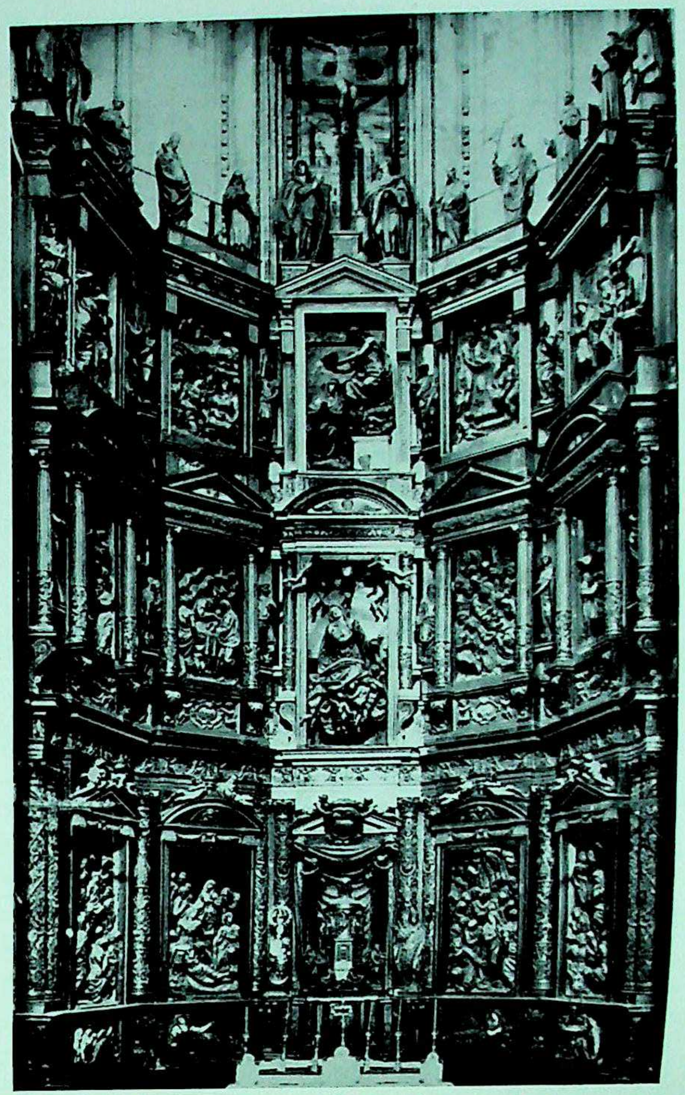
(A) Pompeo Leoni: Charles V and his Family, *c.* 1595.
Escorial



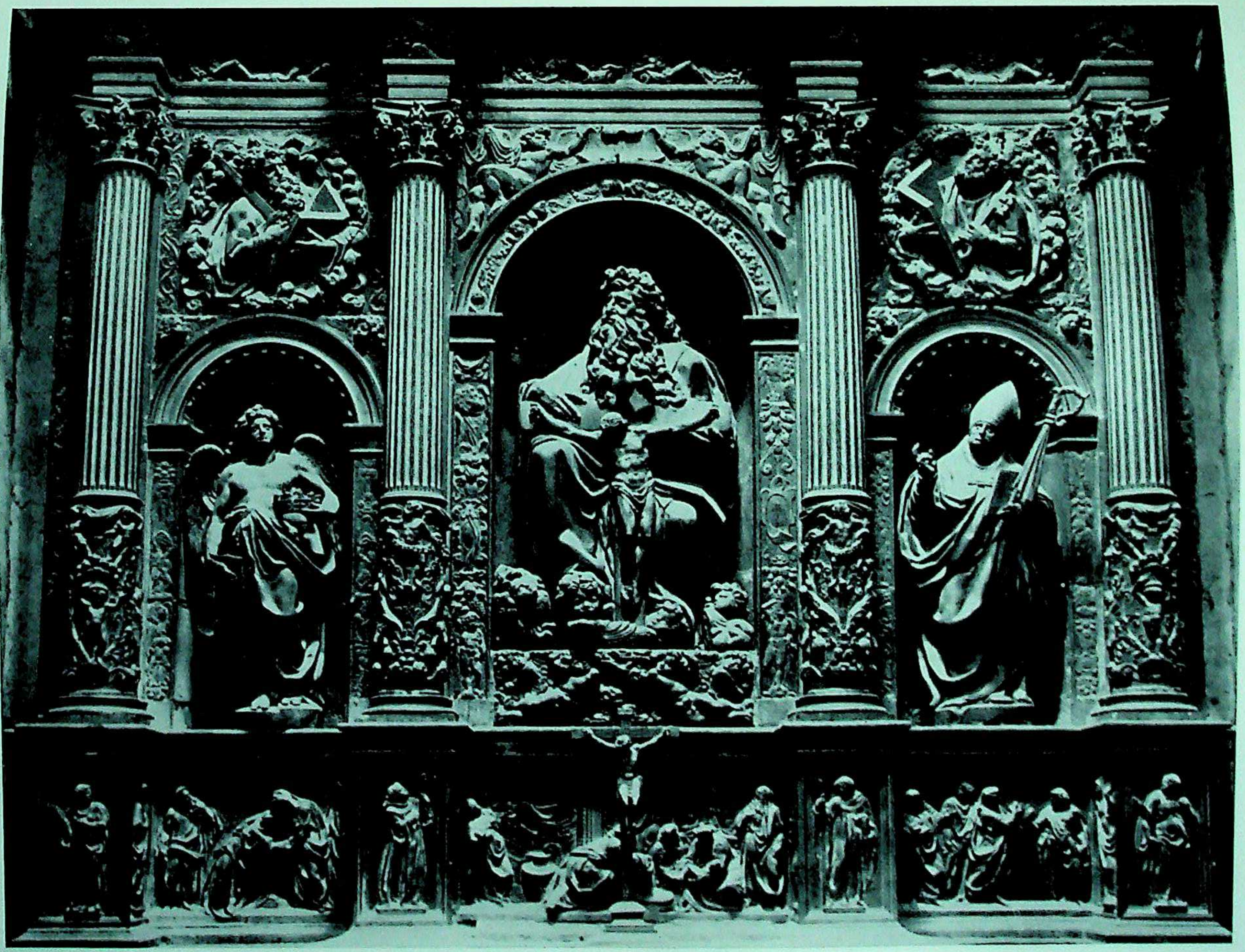
(B) El Greco: Christ resurrected, 1595–8.
Toledo, Duchess of Lerma



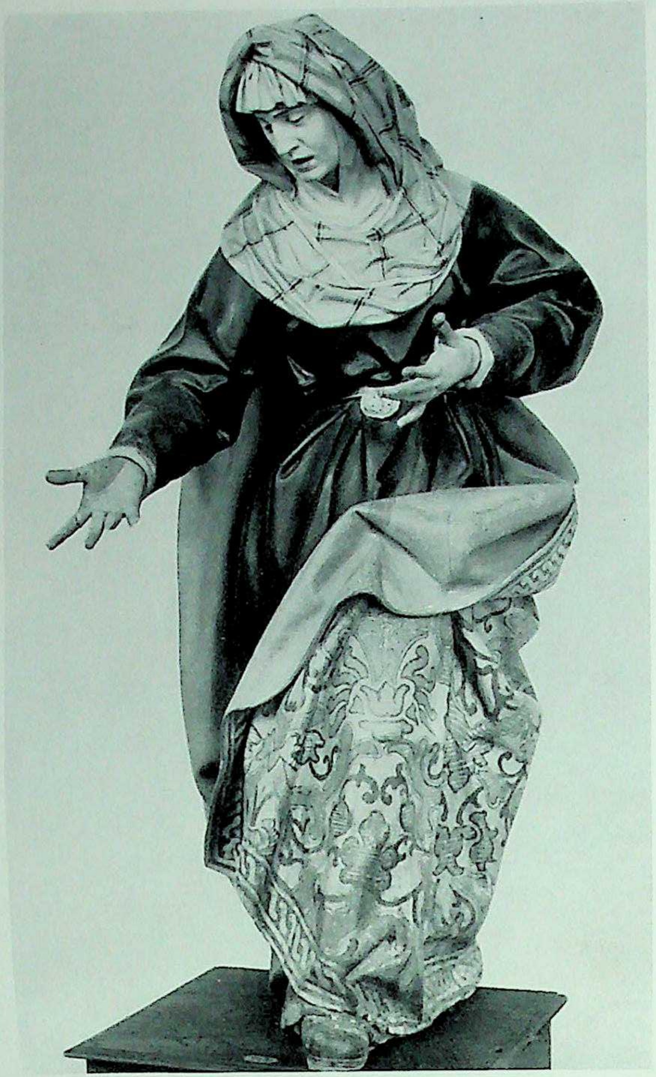
(A) Pedro López de Gámiz: High Altar, 1551–69. *Briviesca, Santa Clara*



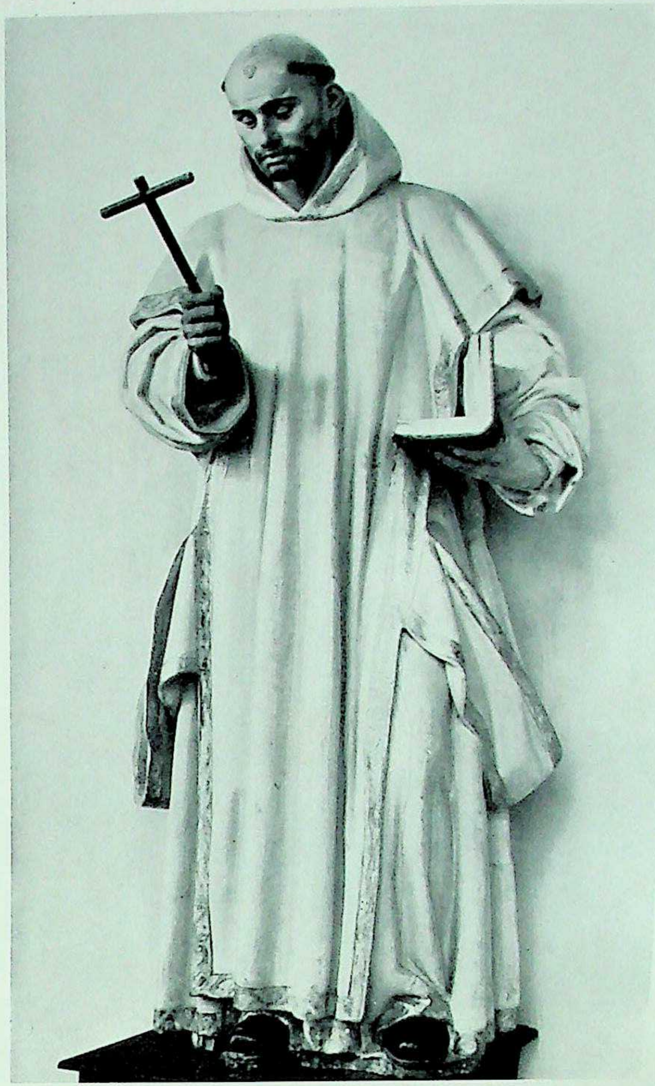
(B) Gaspar Becerra: High Altar, 1558–60. *Astorga Cathedral*



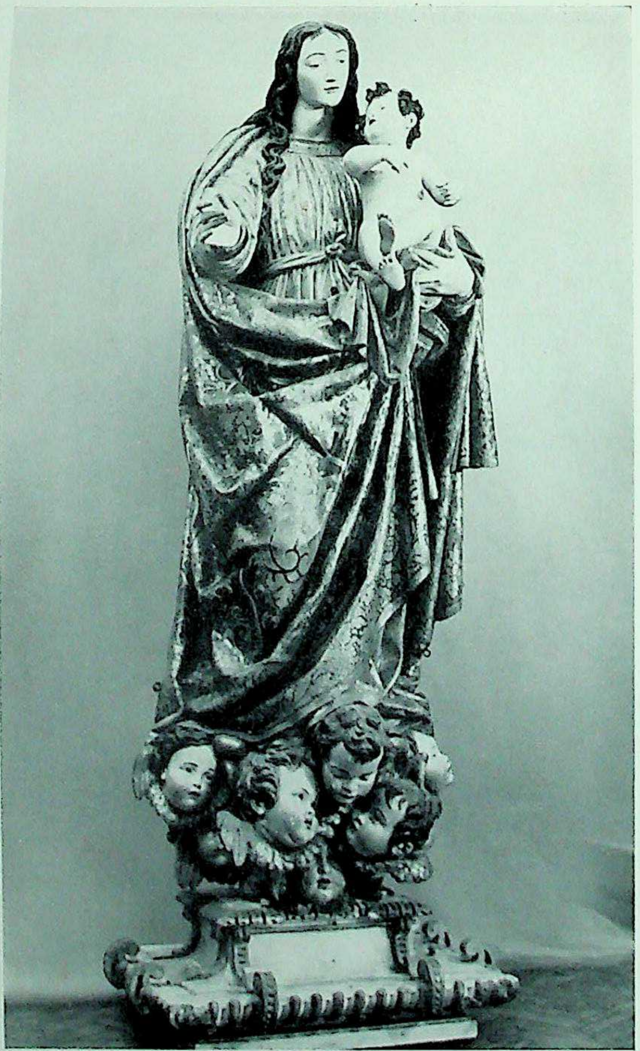
Juan de Ancheta: Trinity Altar, 1575–8. Detail. *Jaca Cathedral*



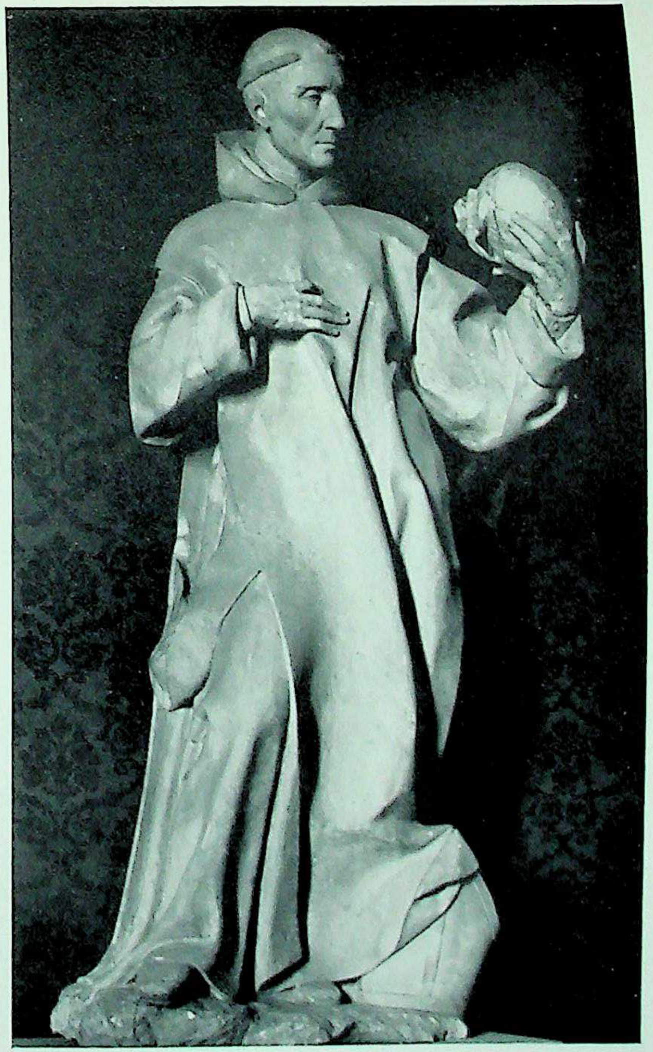
(A) Gregorio Fernández: The Veronica, 1614.
Valladolid, Museum



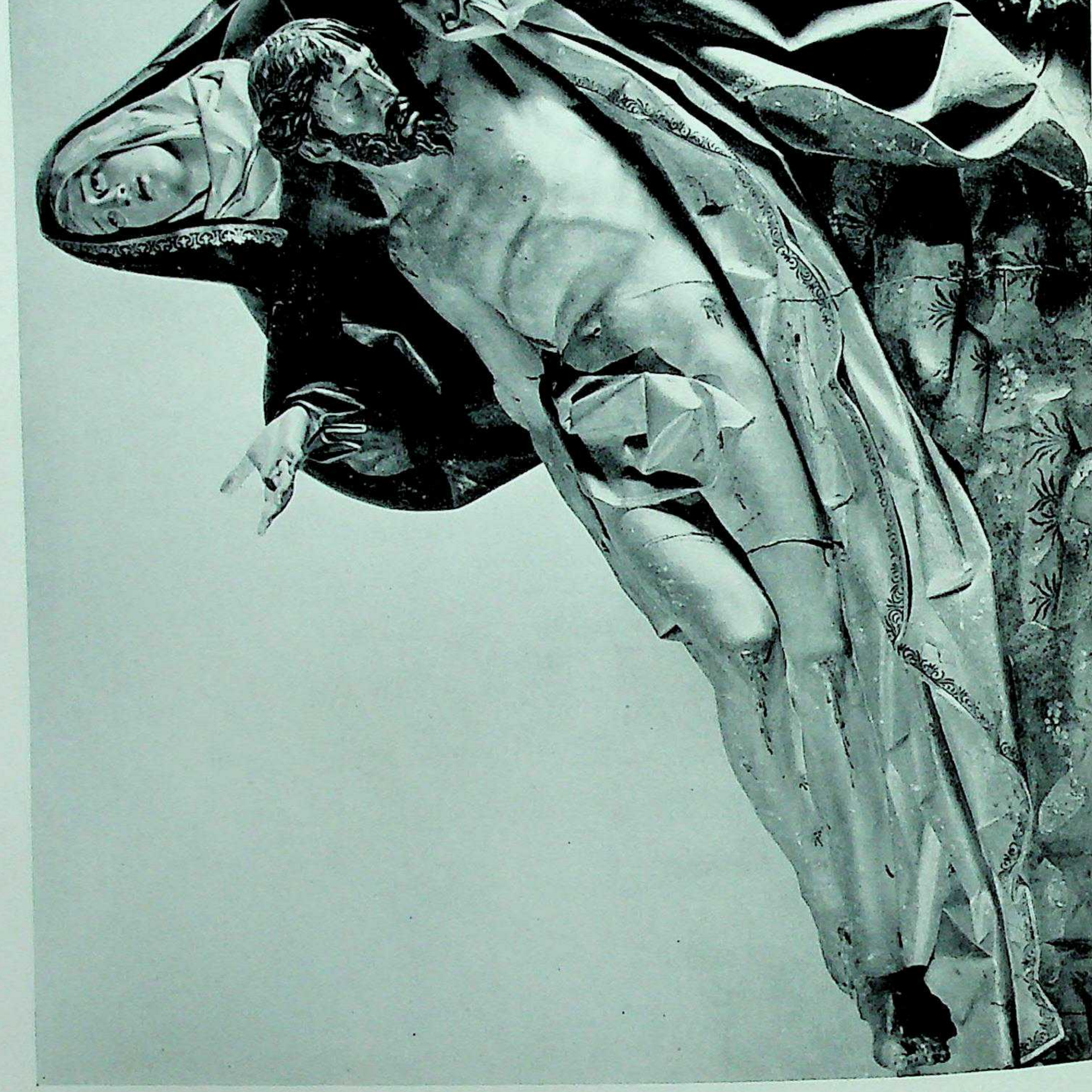
(B) Gregorio Fernández: St Bruno, 1634.
Valladolid, Museum



(A) Manuel Pereyra: Virgin of the Rosary, 1632.
Lisbon, São Domingos de Benfica

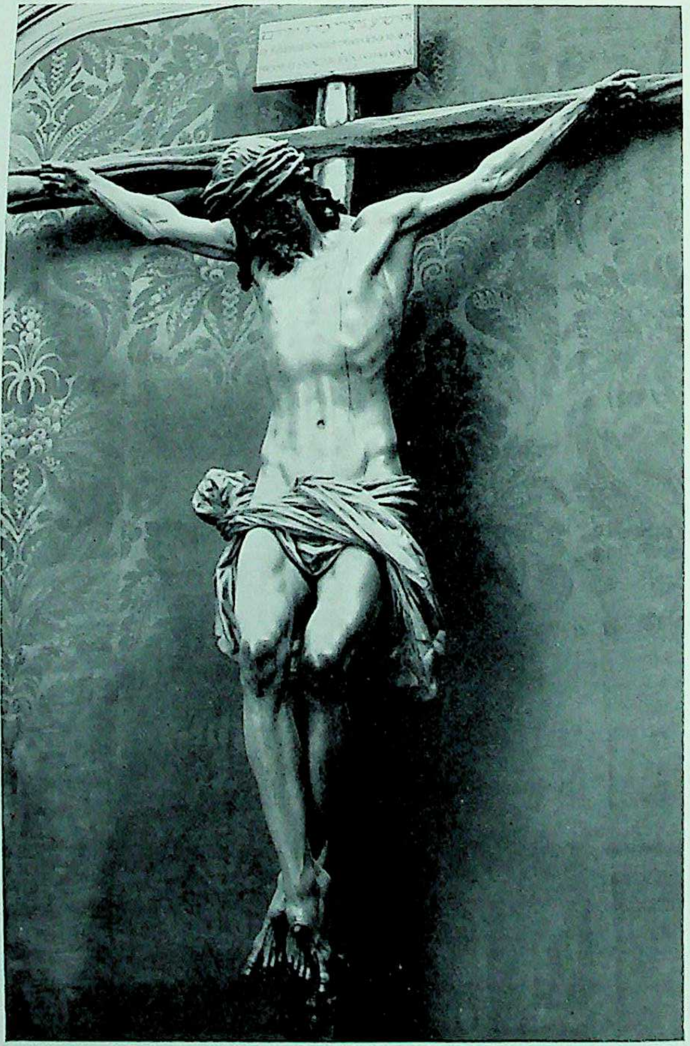


(B) Manuel Pereyra: St Bruno, *c.* 1635–40.
Madrid, Academy

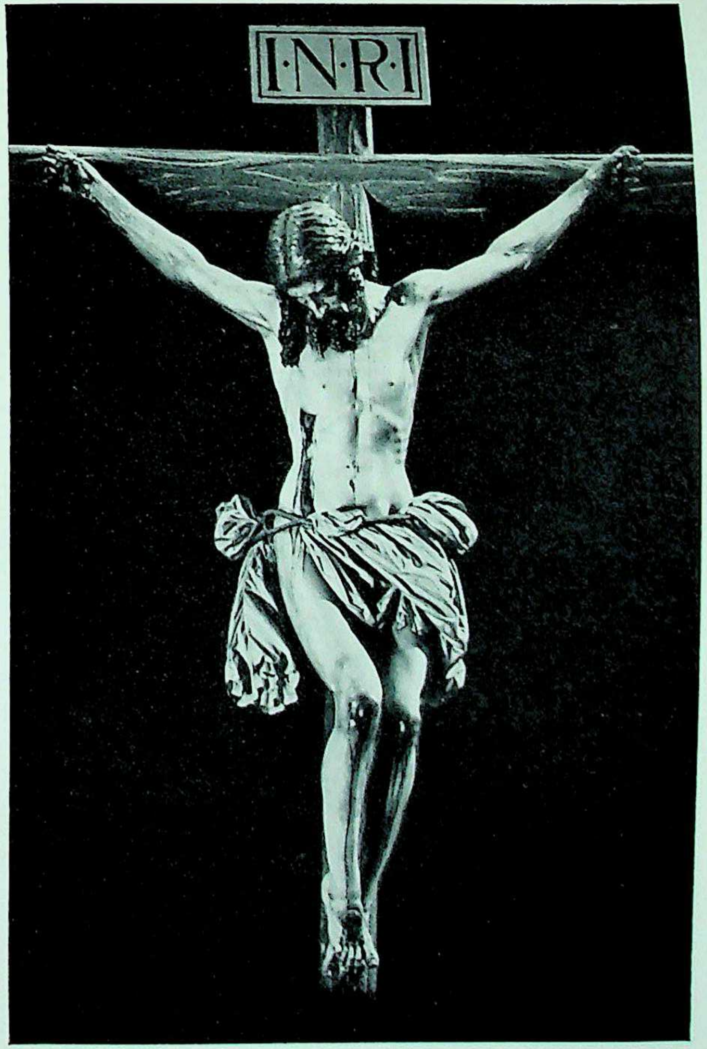


Gregorio Fernández: The Pietà, 1617. *Valladolid, Museum*

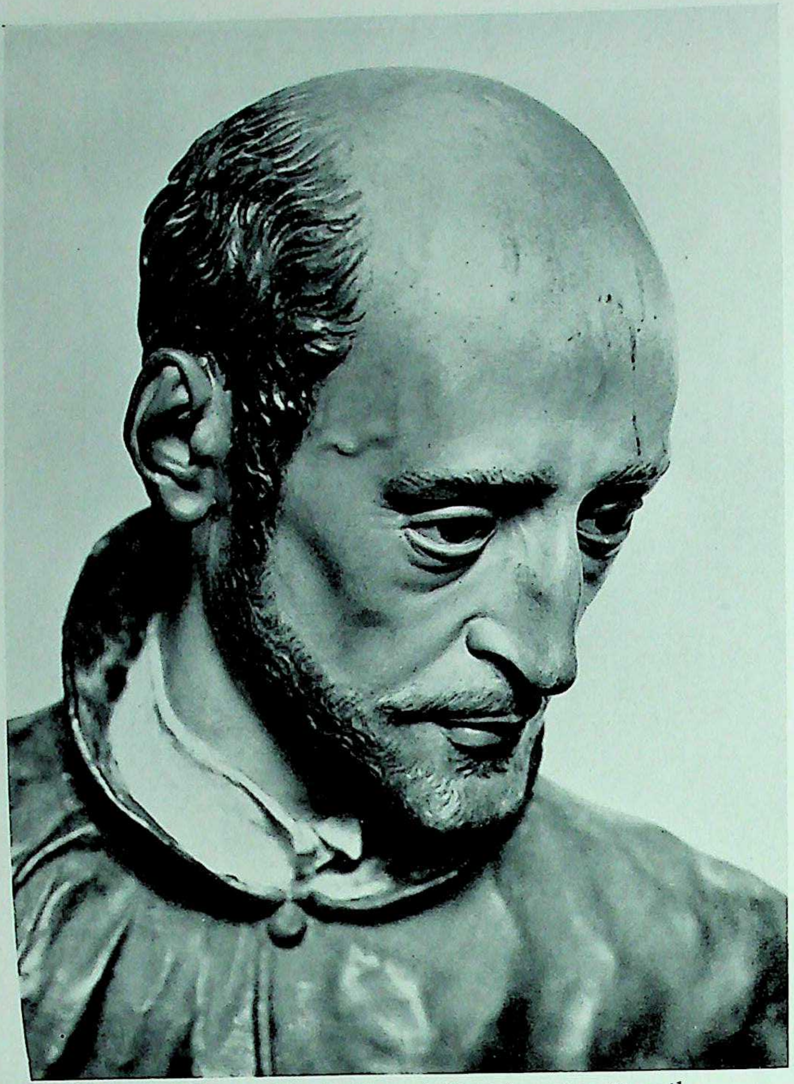
Gregorio Fernández: The Pietà, 1617. *Valladolid, Museum*



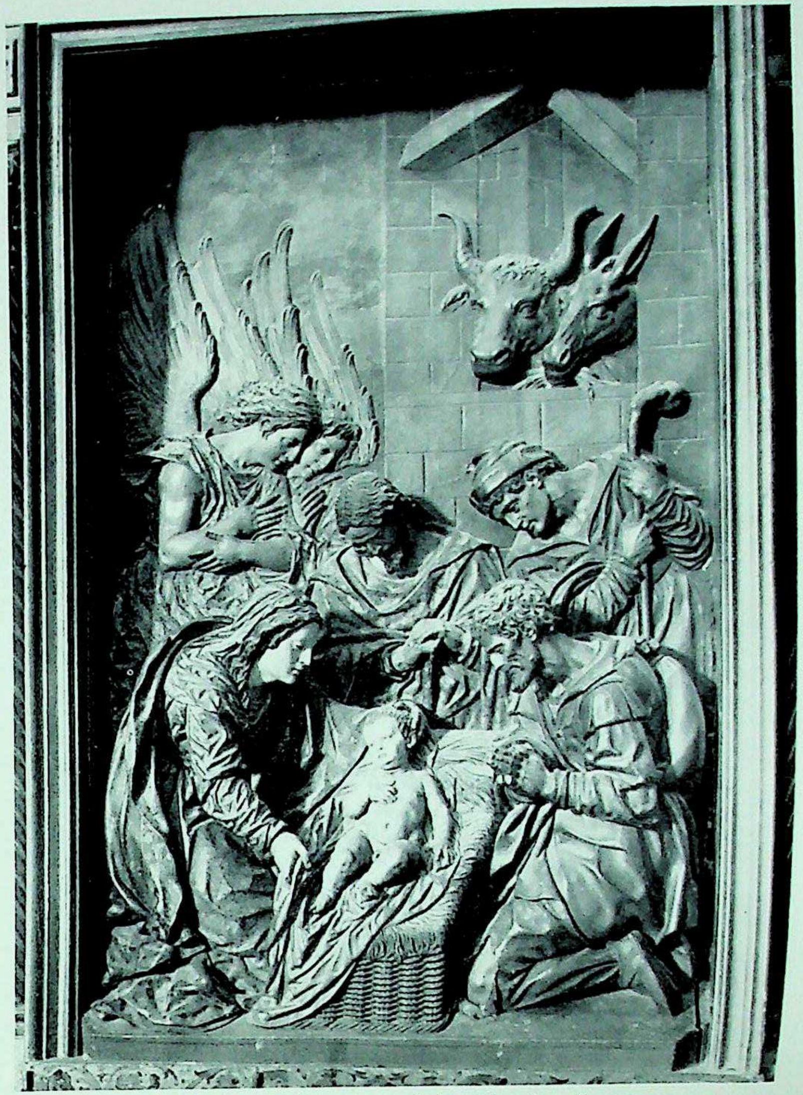
(A) Montañés: Christ of Clemency, 1603–6.
Seville Cathedral



(B) Juan de Mesa: Christ of the Good Death, *c.* 1619.
Seville, University Chapel



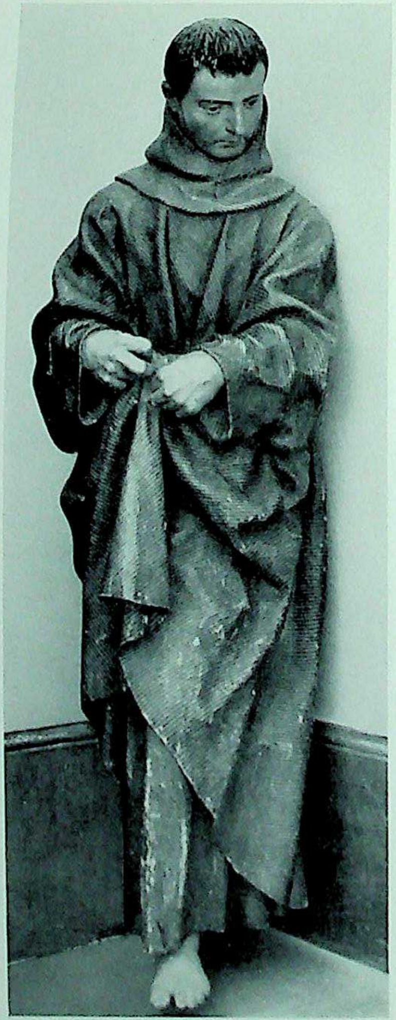
(A) Montañés: St Francis Borgia, 1610. Detail.
Seville, University Chapel



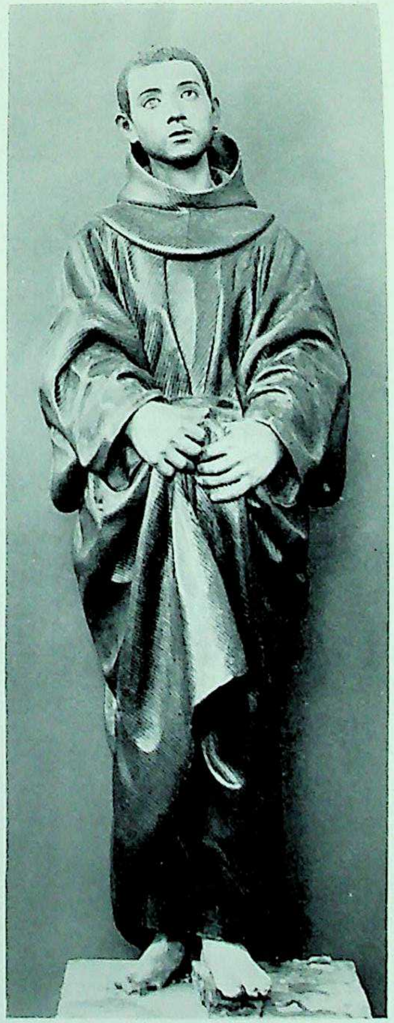
(B) Montañés: Adoration of the Shepherds, 1610–13.
Santiponce, San Isidro

(A) Montañés: St Francis Borgia, 1610. Detail.
Seville, University Chapel

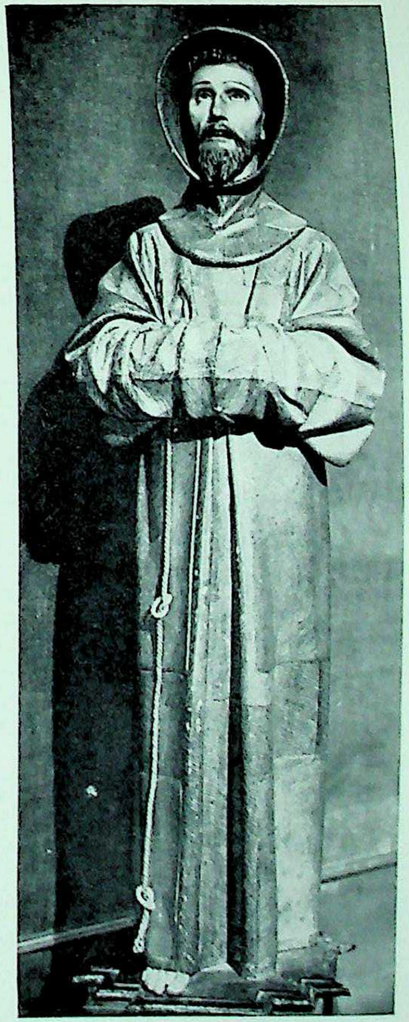
(B) Montanes: Adoration of the Shepherds, 1610–13.
Santiponce, San Isidro



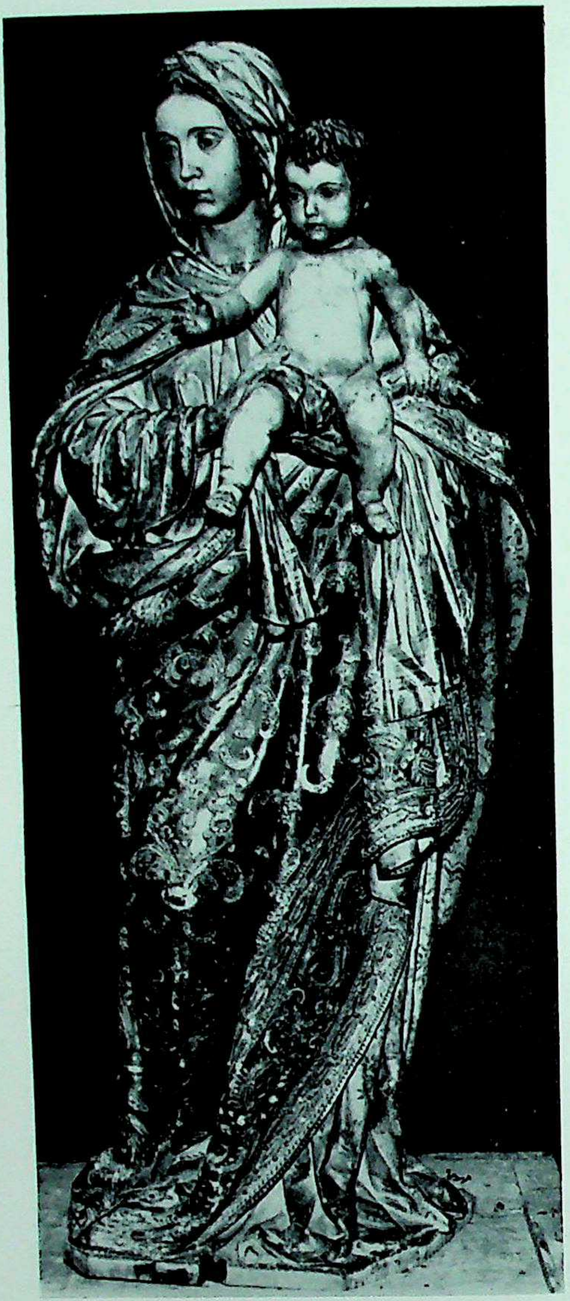
(A) Alonso Cano:
St Diego of Alcalá, 1653–7.
Granada, Palace of Charles V



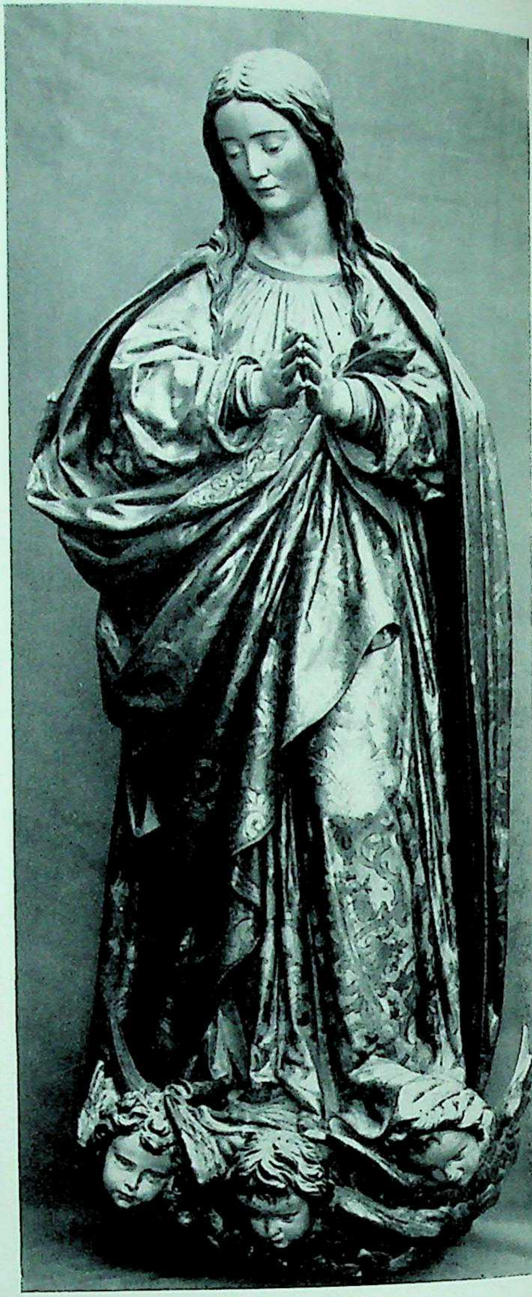
(B) Pedro de Mena:
St Diego of Alcalá, 1654–8.
Granada, San Antón



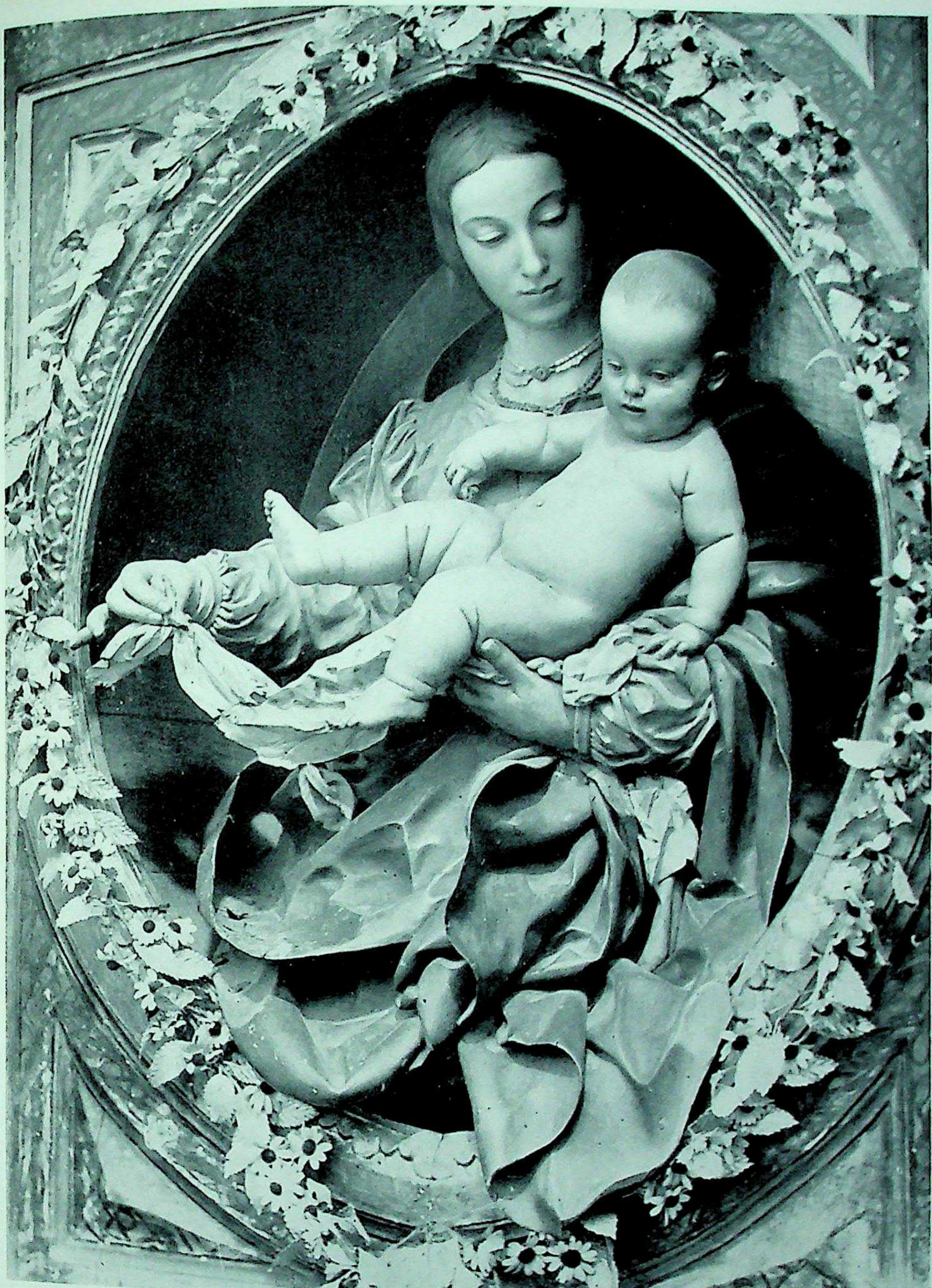
(C) Pedro de Mena:
St Francis, 1663.
Toledo Cathedral



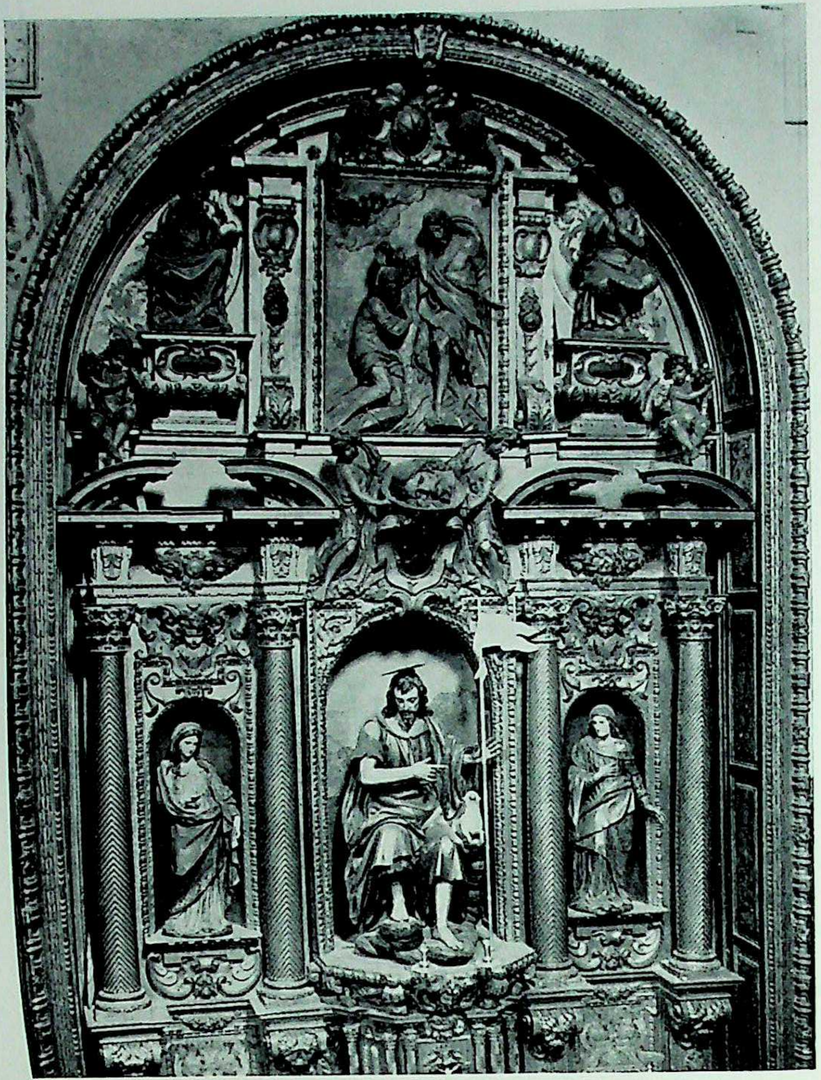
(A) Alonso Cano:
Virgin and Child, 1629–31.
Lebrija, Santa María



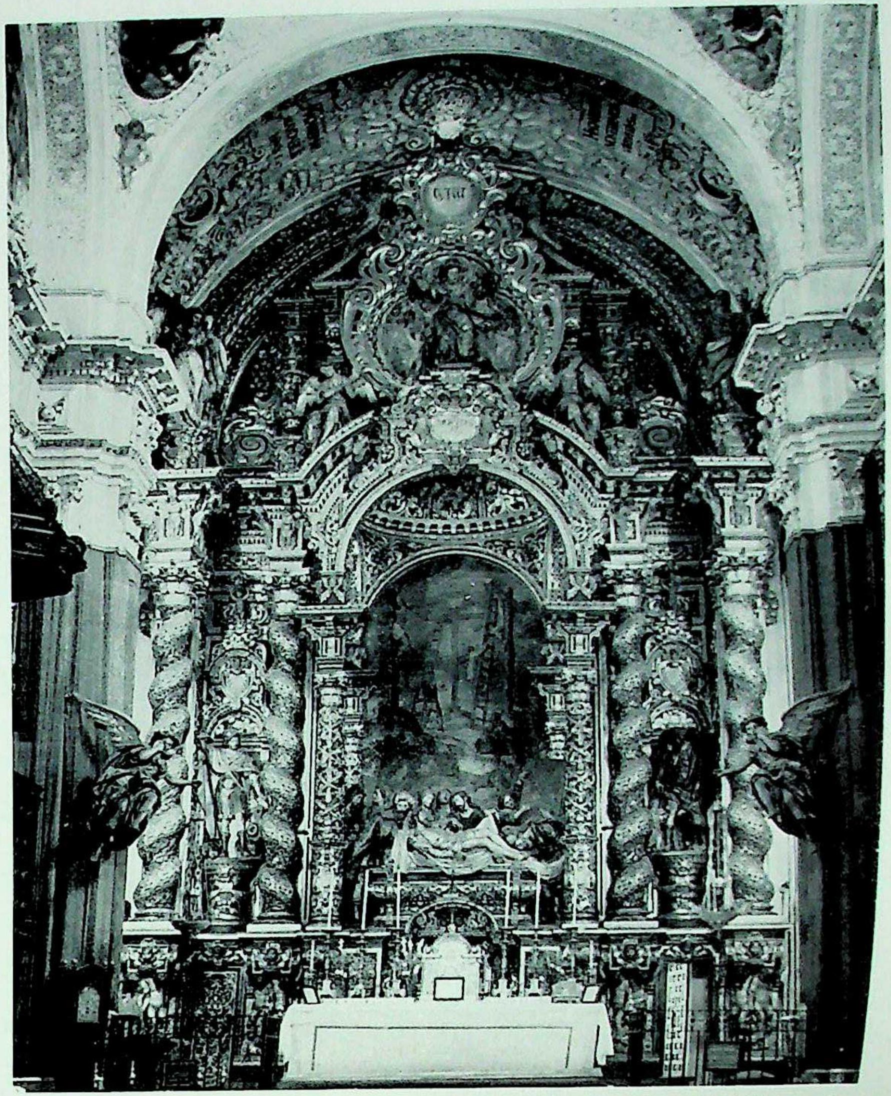
(B) Montañés:
The Immaculate Conception, 1629–31.
Seville Cathedral



Pedro de Mena: Virgin of Bethlehem, *c.* 1664. *Malaga, Santo Domingo (destroyed 1931)*



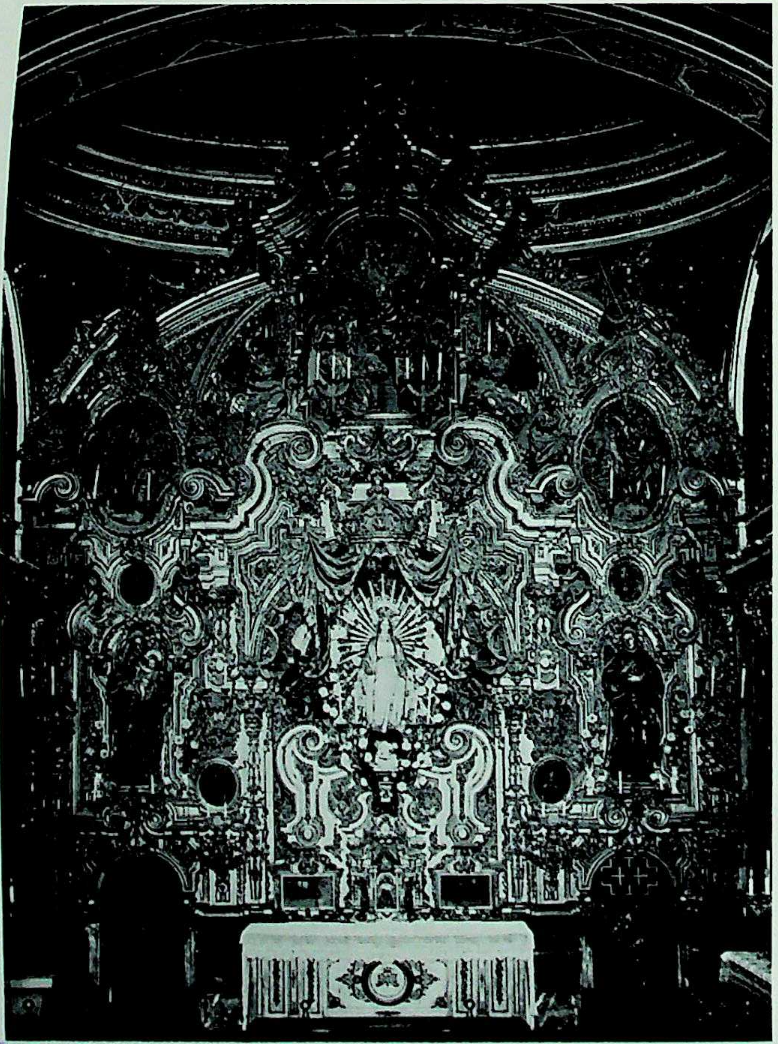
(A) Montañés and Felipe de Ribas: Altar of St John the Baptist, 1637–8. *Seville, Santa Paula*



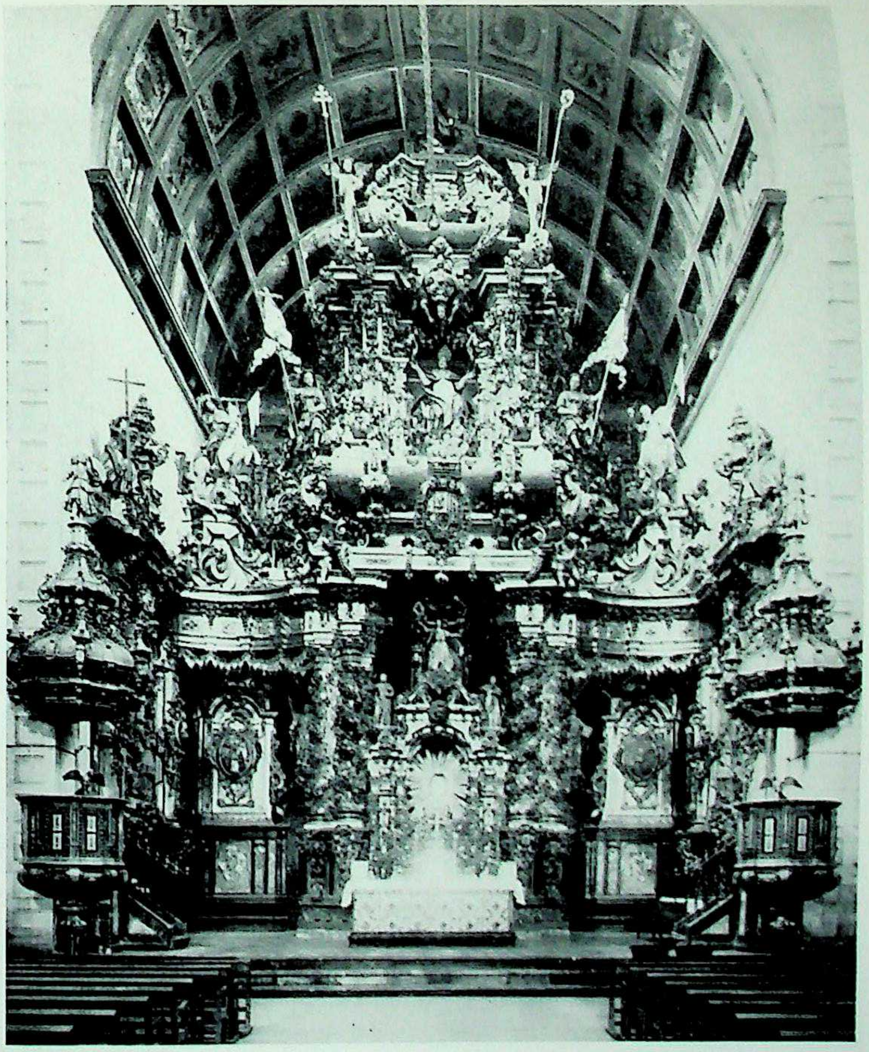
(B) Bernardo Simón de Pineda, Pedro Roldán, and Juan Valdés Leal: High Altar, 1670–3. *Seville, Caridad*

(A) Montañés and Felipe de Ribas: Altar of St John the Baptist, 1637–8. *Seville, Santa Paula*

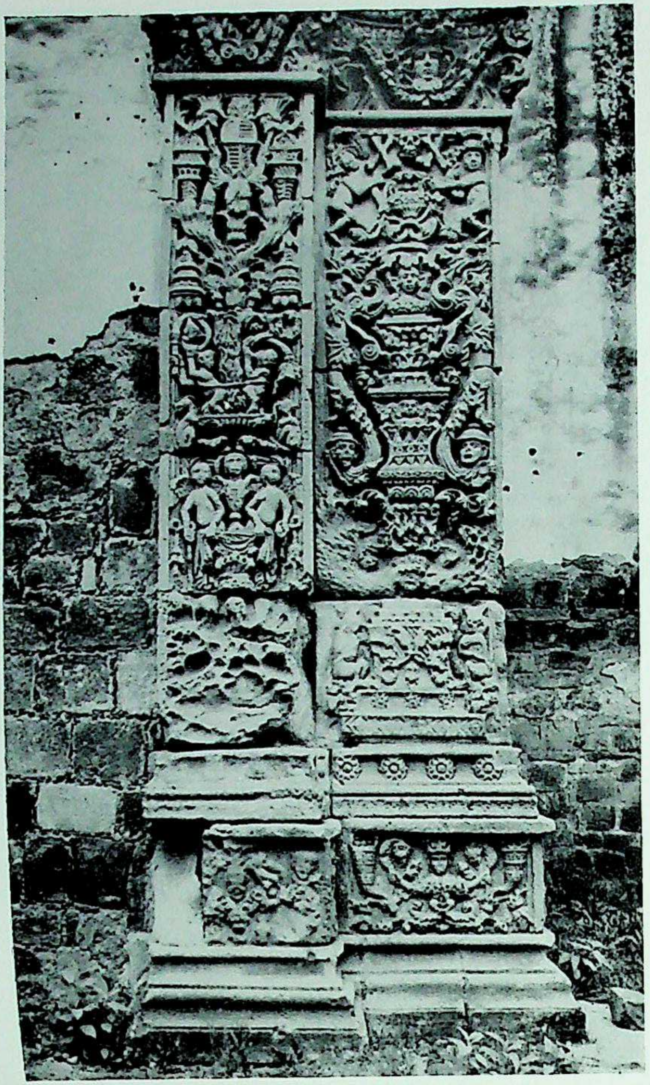
(B) Bernardo Simón de Pineda, Pedro Roldan, and Juan Valdes Leal: High Altar, 1670–3. *Seville, Caridad*



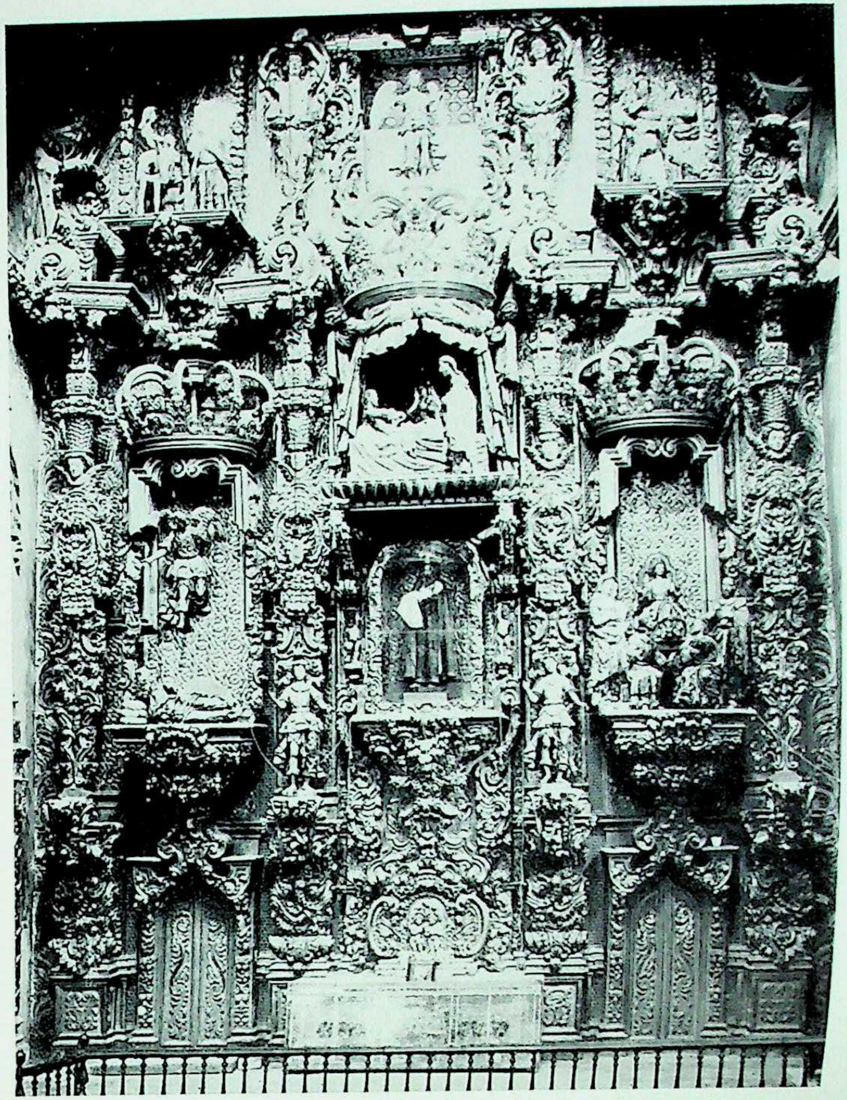
(A) Pedro Duque Cornejo: Altar, Novitiate Chapel, *c.* 1730. *Seville, San Luis*



(B) Fernando de Casas: High Altar, 1730–3. *Santiago de Compostela, San Martín Pinario*



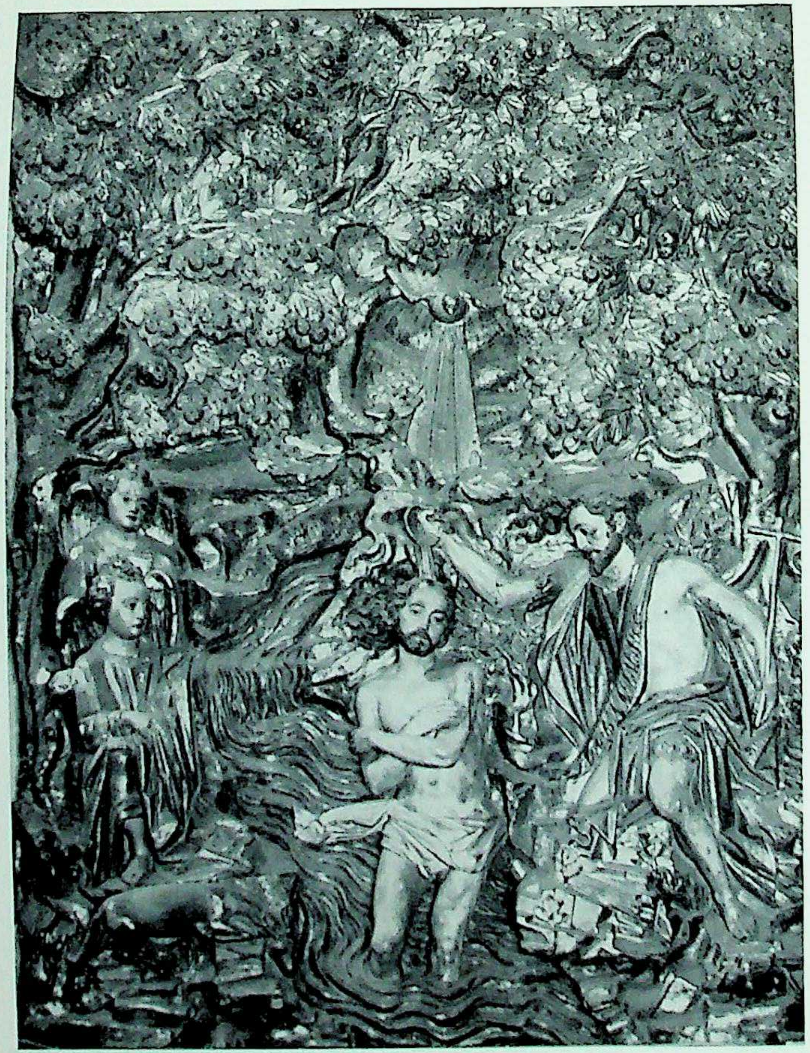
(A) *Tequitqui* decoration, early 1560s.
Jamb of open chapel, *Tlalmanalco, Mexico*



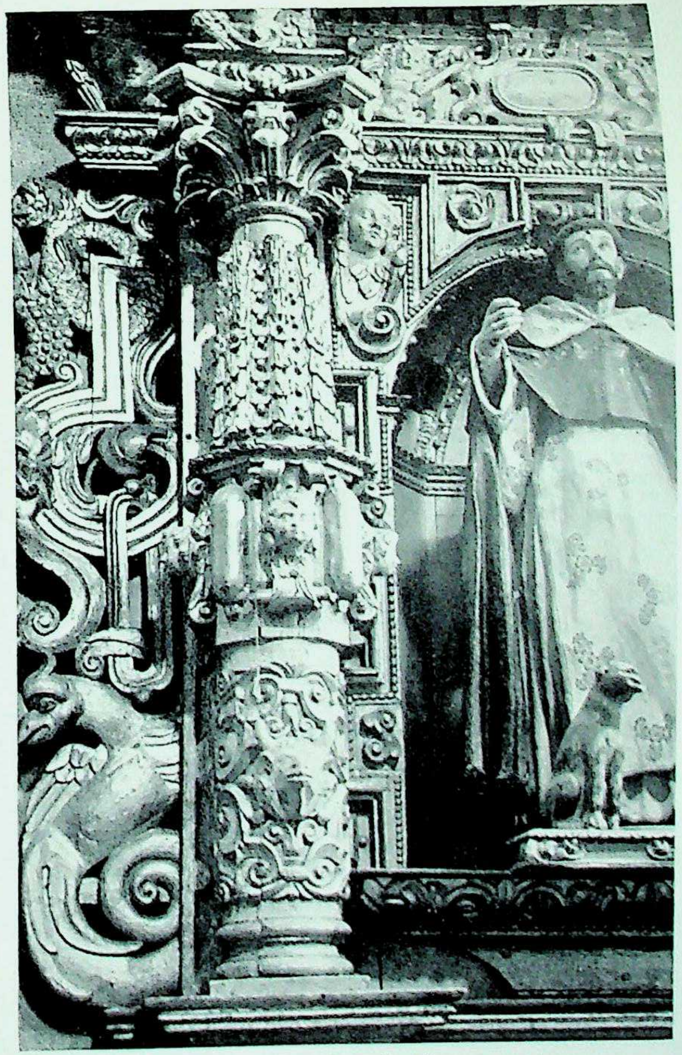
(B) Pedro Joseph de Roxas (?): Altar of St Joseph, *c.* 1768–70.
Salamanca, Gto., San Agustín

(A) *Tequitqui* decoration, early 1560s.
Jamb of open chapel, *Tlalmanalco, Mexico*

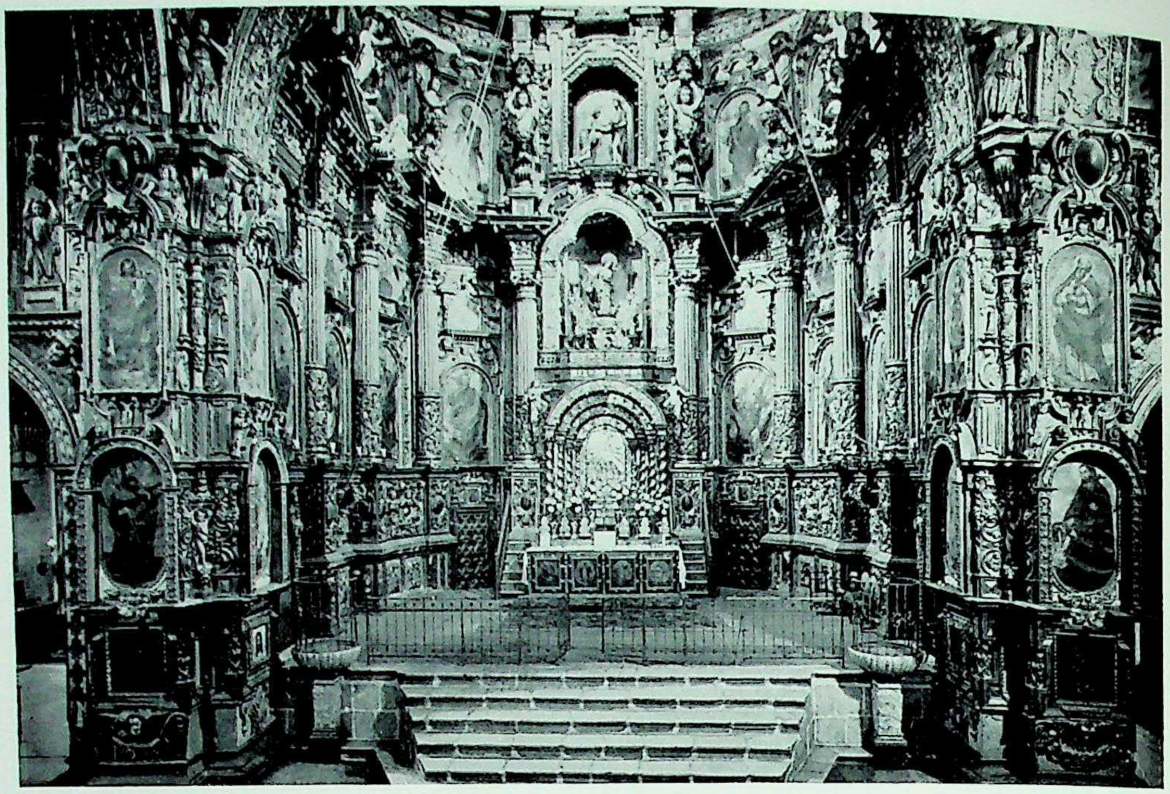
(B) Pedro Joseph de Roxas (?): Altar of St Joseph, *c.* 1768–70.
Salamanca, Gto., San Agustín



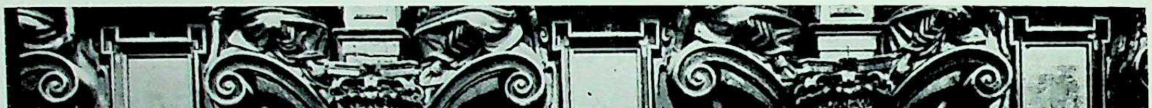
(A) The Baptism of Christ, 1622–33. High altar,
Bogotá, San Francisco



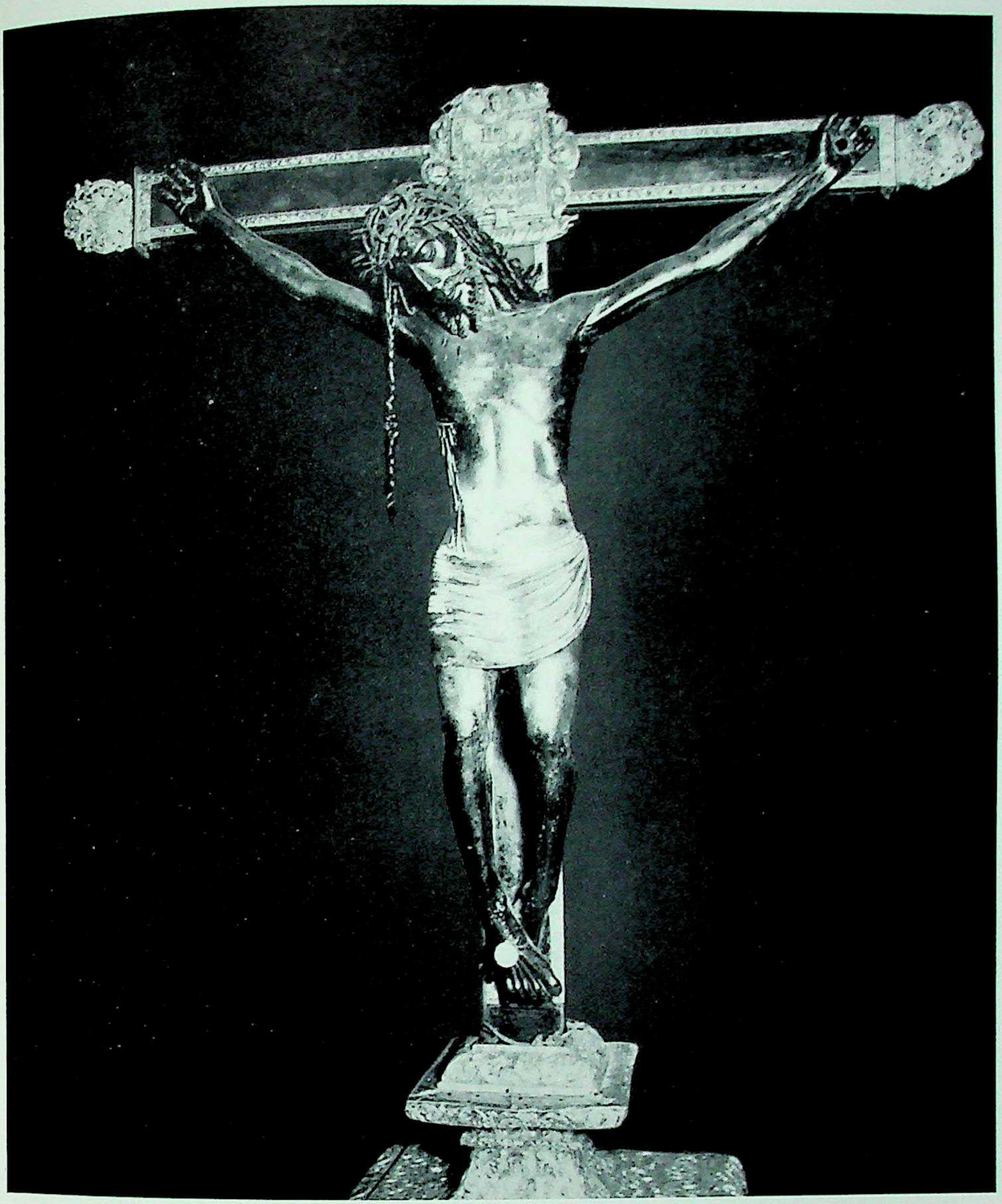
(B) Quito School: Side Flap, *c.* 1680.
Quito, Santa Clara



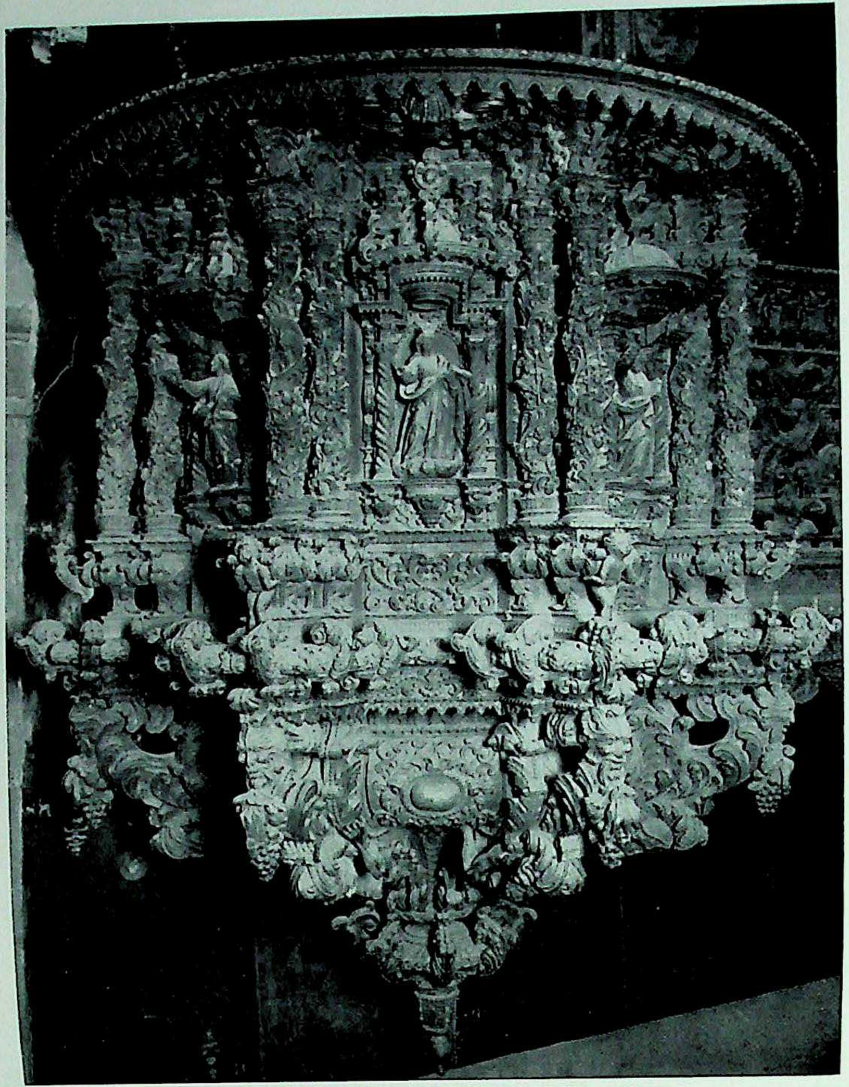
(A) Quito School: Main Altar, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *Quito, San Francisco*



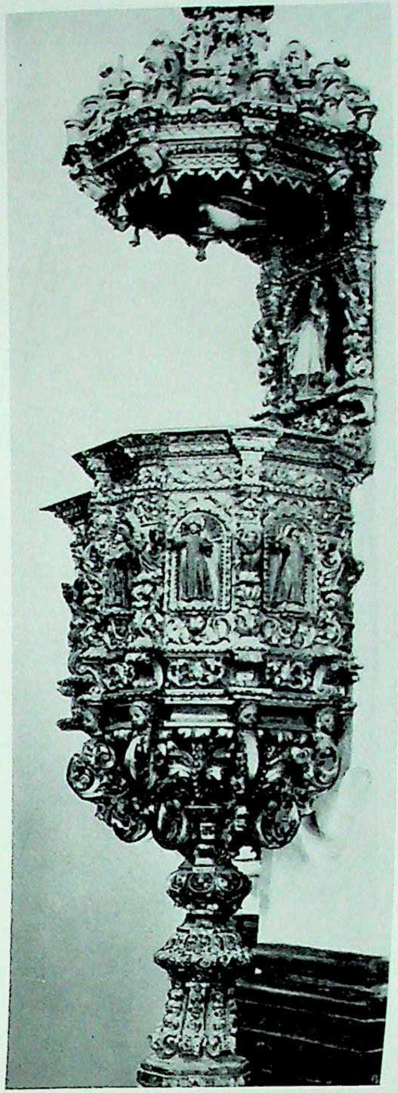
(B) Pedro de Noguera and assistants: St Luke, St Sebastian, and St Augustine, choir stalls, 1624–6. *Lima Cathedral*



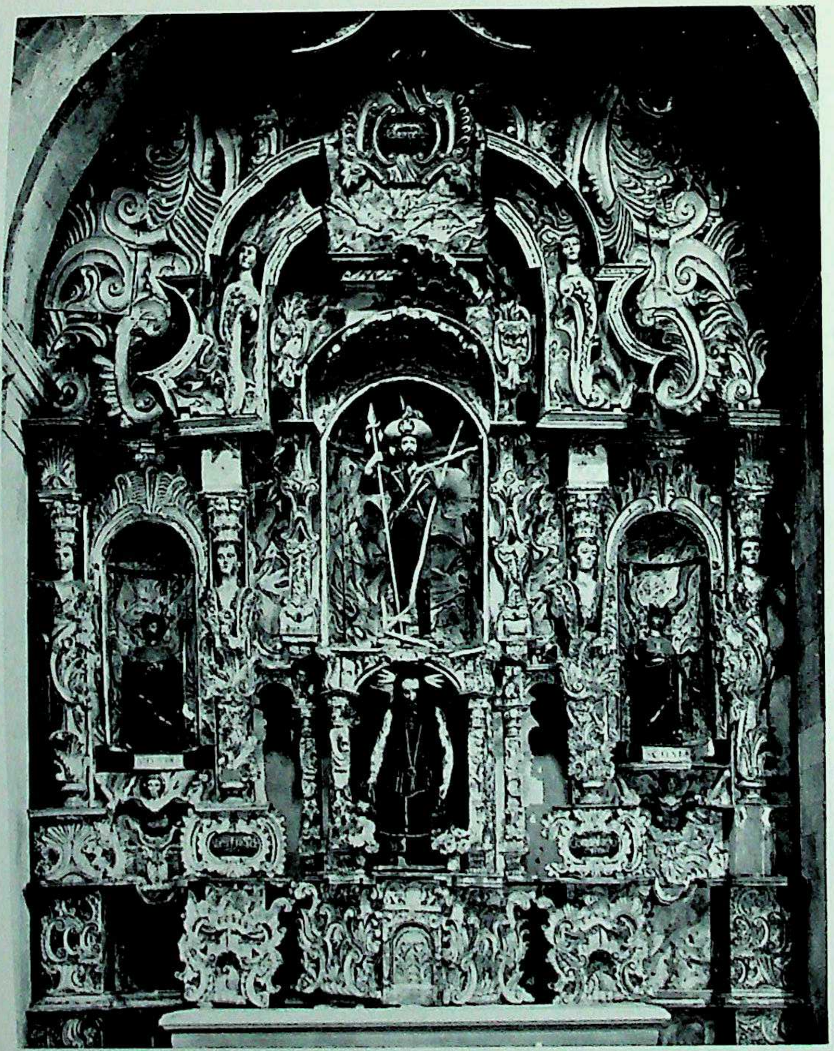
The Christ of the Earthquakes, early seventeenth century. *Cuzco Cathedral*



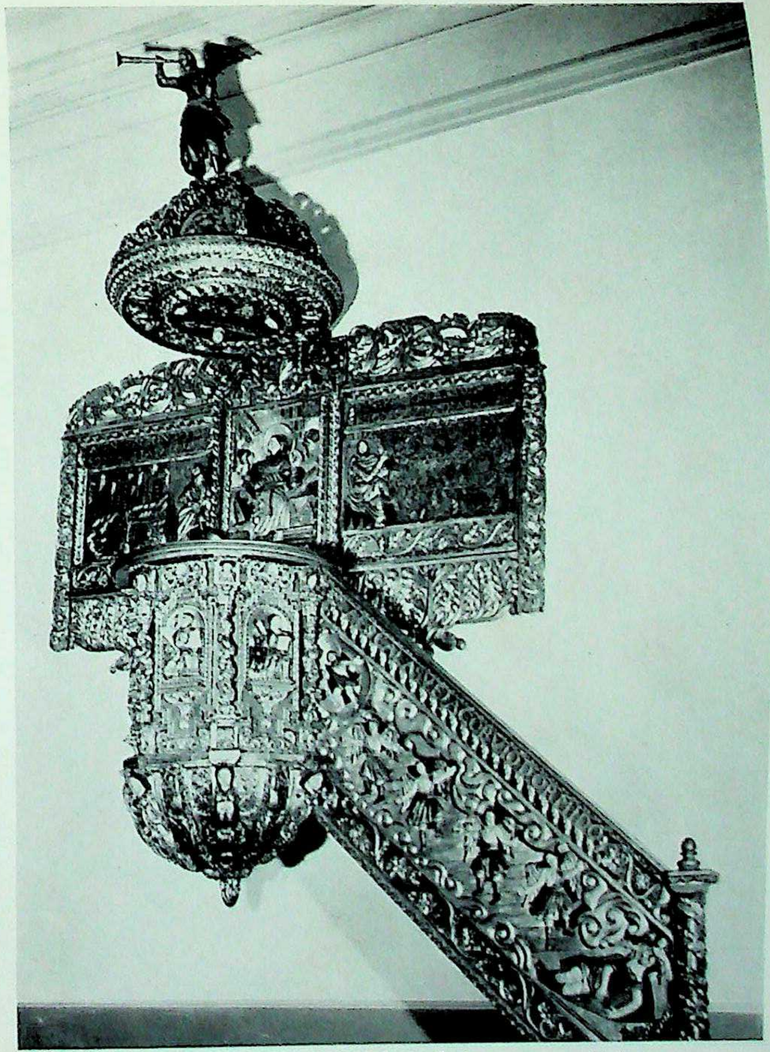
(A) Pulpit, *c.* 1680–95. *Cuzco, San Blas*



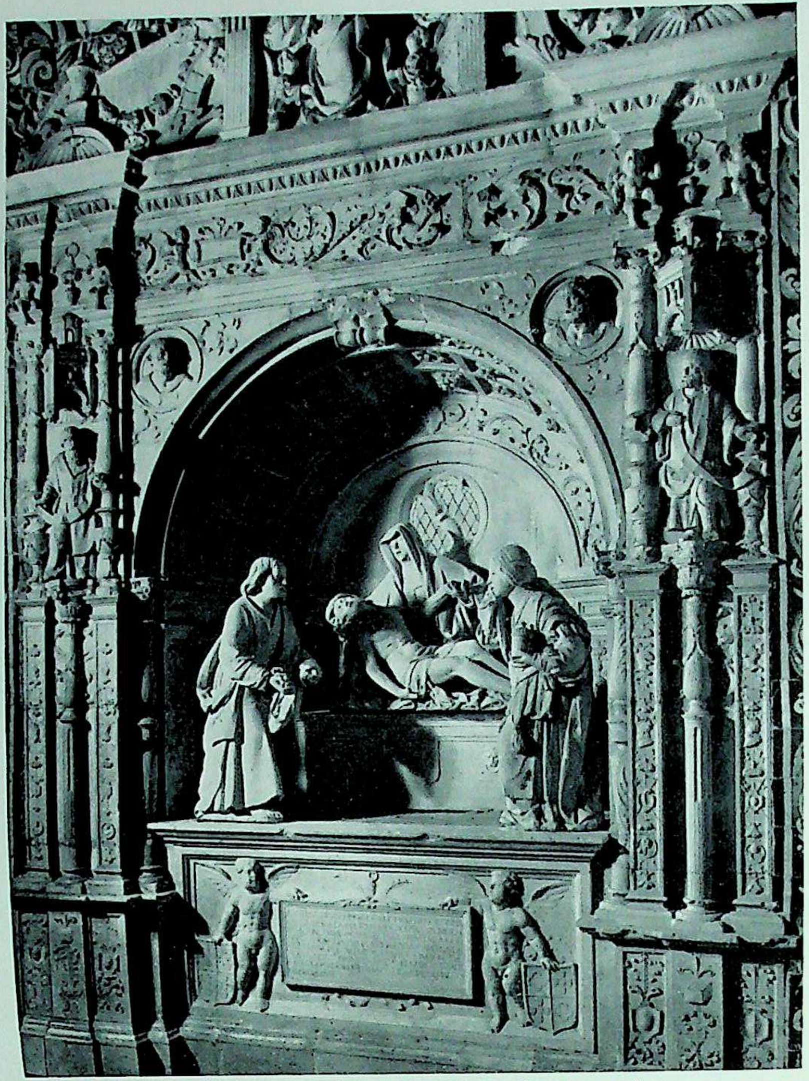
(B) Pulpit, early eighteenth century. *Popayán, San Francisco*



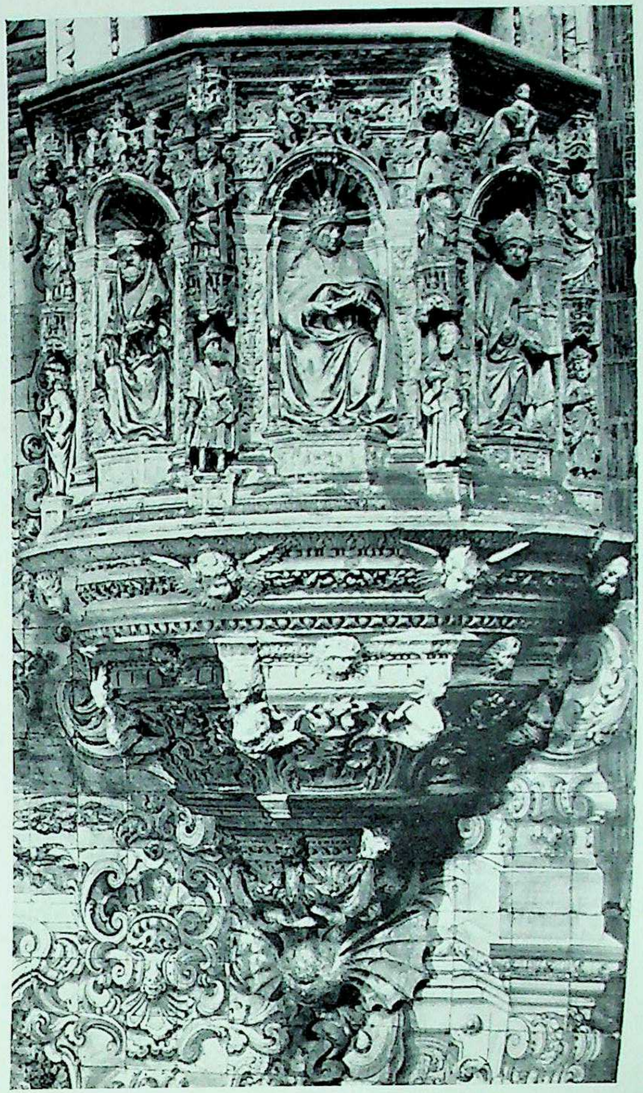
(A) Altar of Our Lady of the Consolation, *c.* 1760–80.
Cuzco, Compañía



(B) Argentine School: Pulpit, *c.* 1700. *Jujuy*



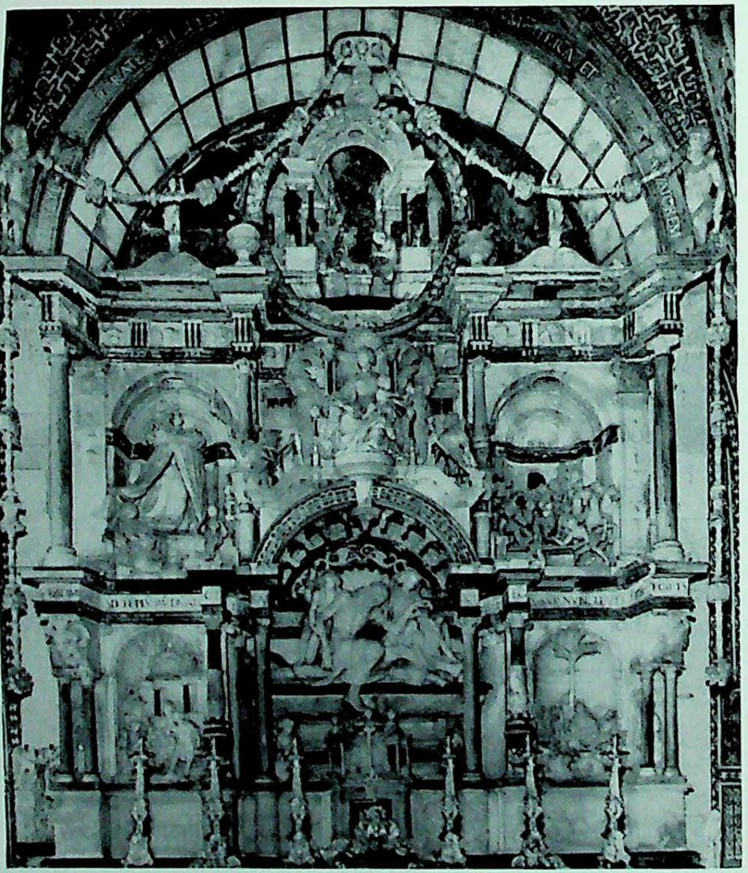
(A) Nicolas Chanterene: Tomb of João de Noronha, *c.* 1526–8.
Óbidos, Santa Maria



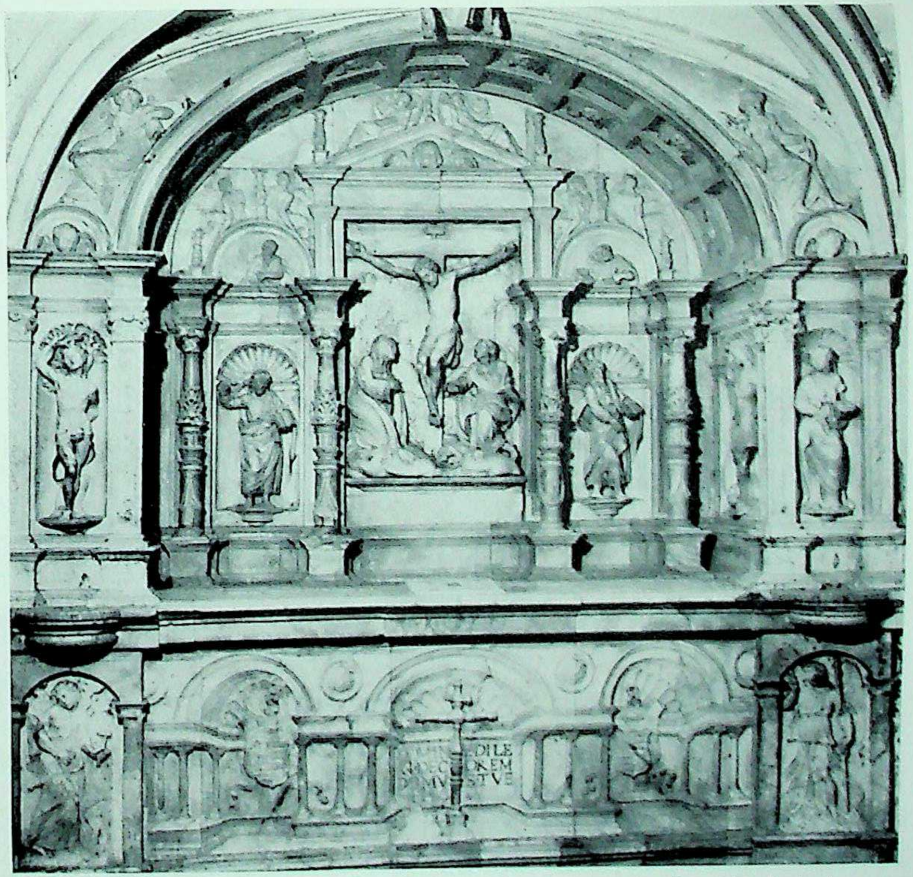
(B) Jacques Loguin (?): Pulpit, 1520–2.
Coimbra, Santa Cruz

(A) Nicolas Chanterene: Tomb of Joao de Noronha, *c.* 1526–8.
Óbidos, Santa Maria

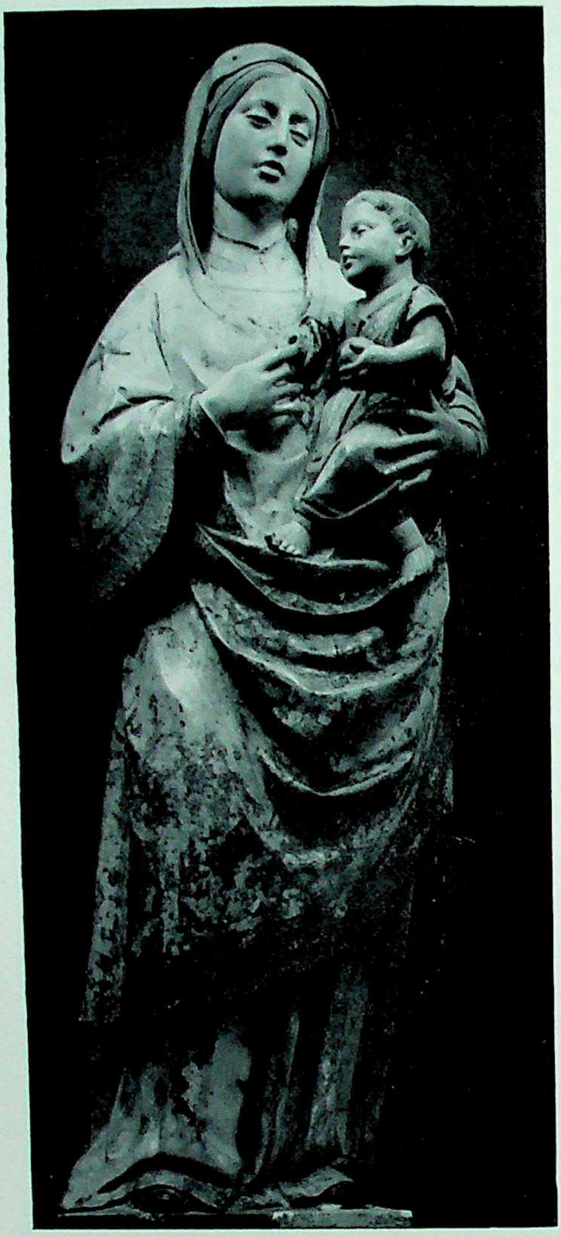
(B) Jacques Loguin (?): Pulpit, 1520–2.
Coimbra, Santa Cruz



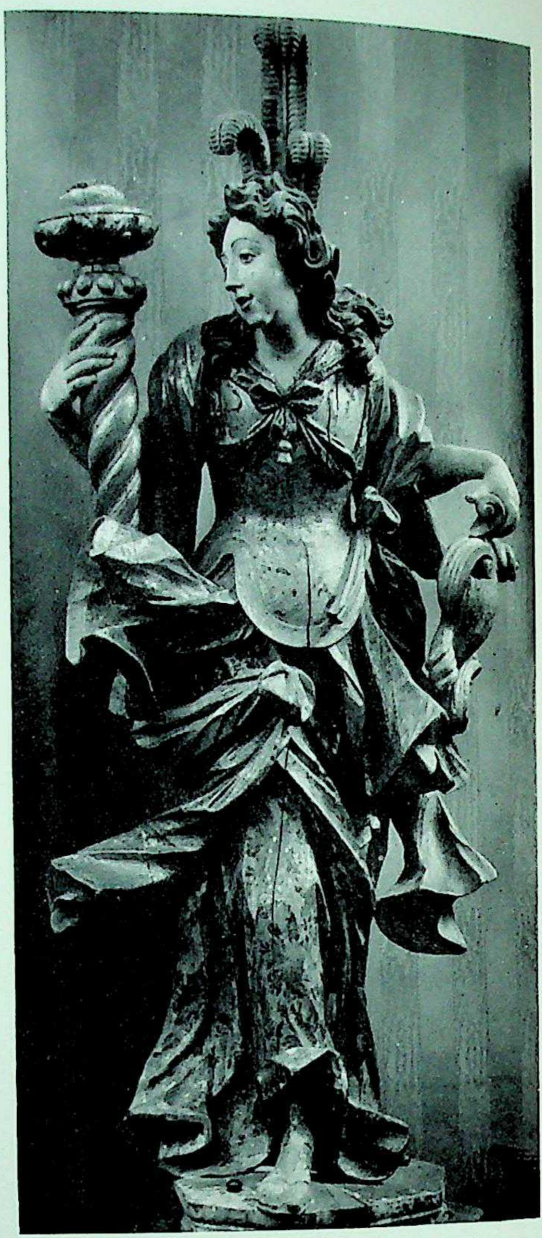
(A) Nicolas Chanterene: Altar, 1529–32. *Sintra, Palace Chapel*



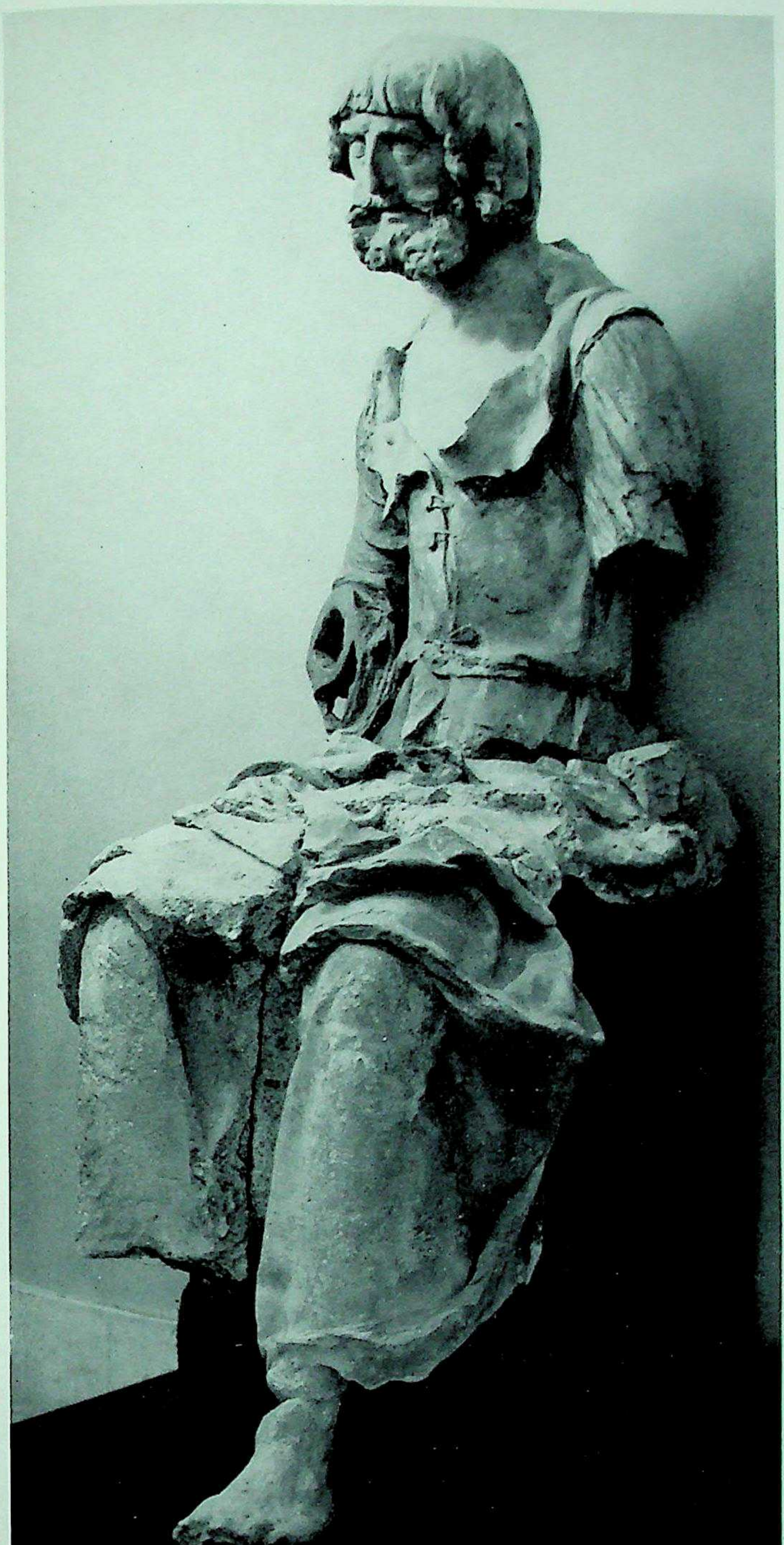
(B) Jacques Loguin: Crucifixion Altar, 1541. *Cordova Cathedral*



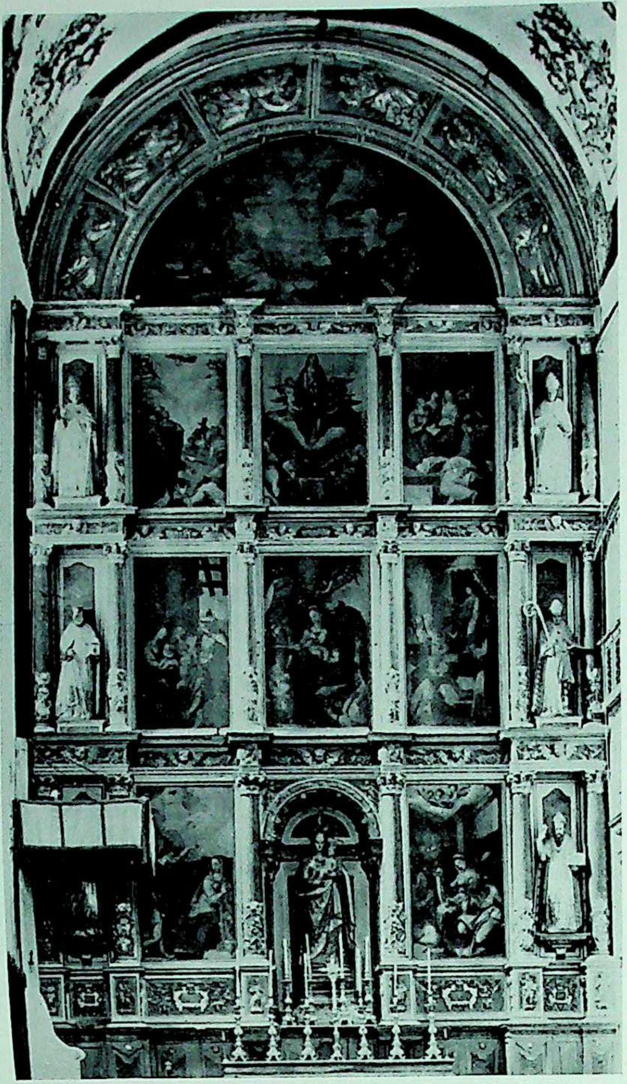
(A) João de Ruão:
Virgin and Child, *c.* 1535–50.
Lisbon, Ernesto de Vilhena



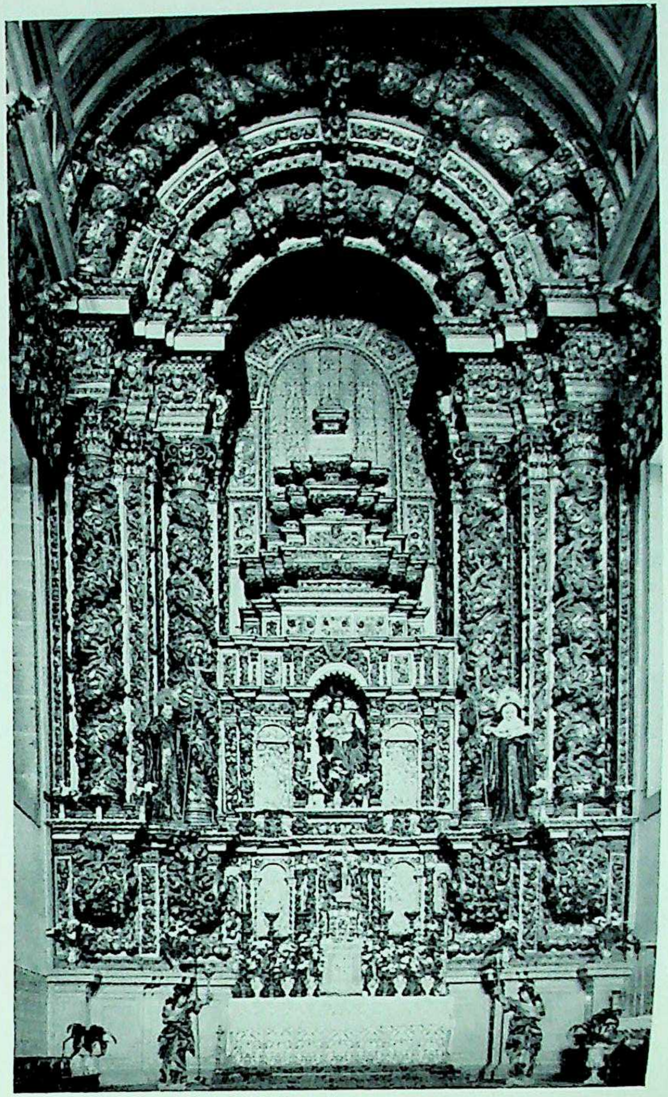
(B) Angel as Candlebearer, 1726.
Lisbon, Ernesto de Vilhena



Filipe Hodart: Apostle, 1530–4.
Coimbra, Museu Machado de Castro



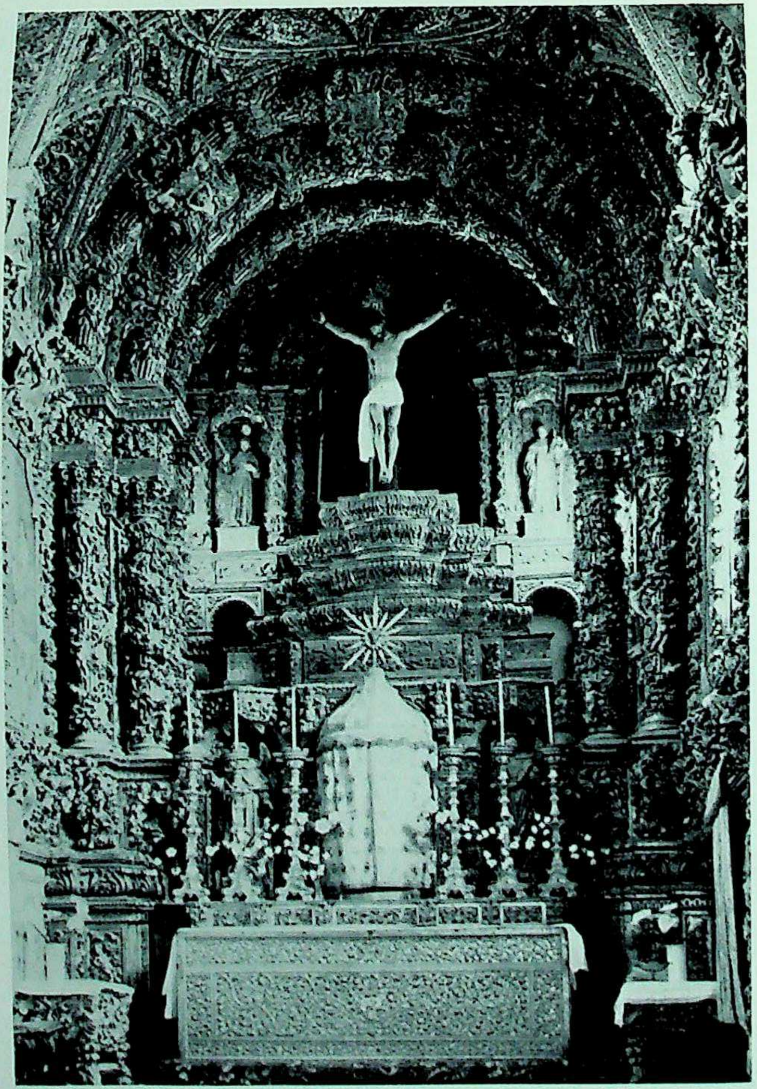
(A) Gaspar and Domingos Coelho: High Altar, *c.* 1590. *Portalegre Cathedral*



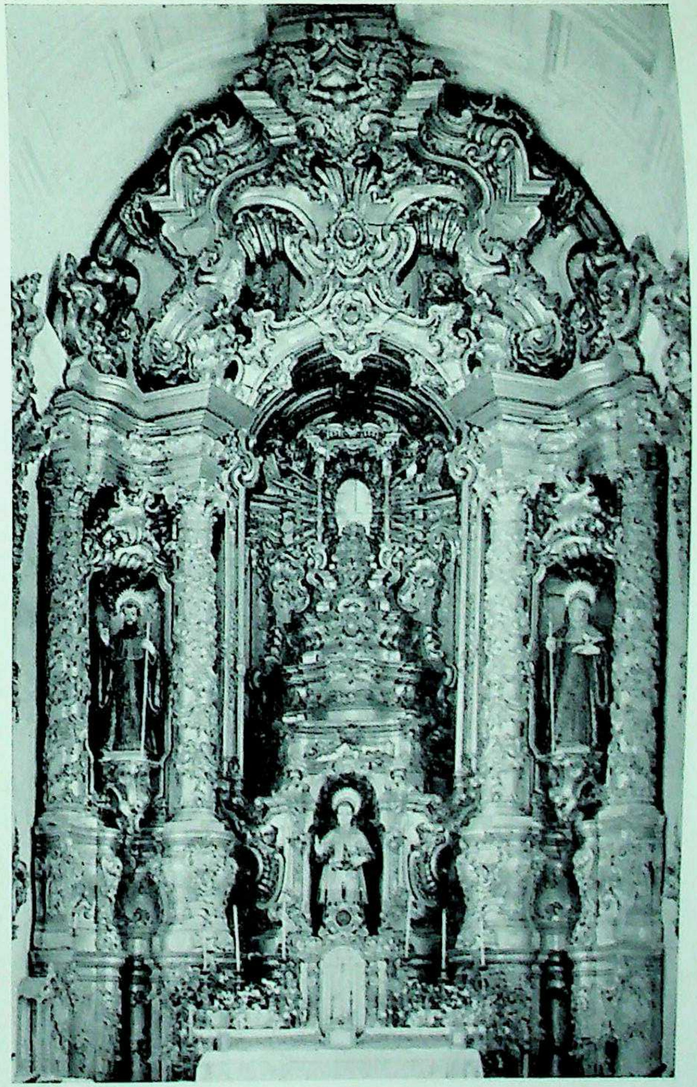
(B) High Altar, *c.* 1704. *Oporto, São Bento da Vitória*

(A) Gaspar and Domingos Coelho: High Altar,
c. 1590. *Portalegre Cathedral*

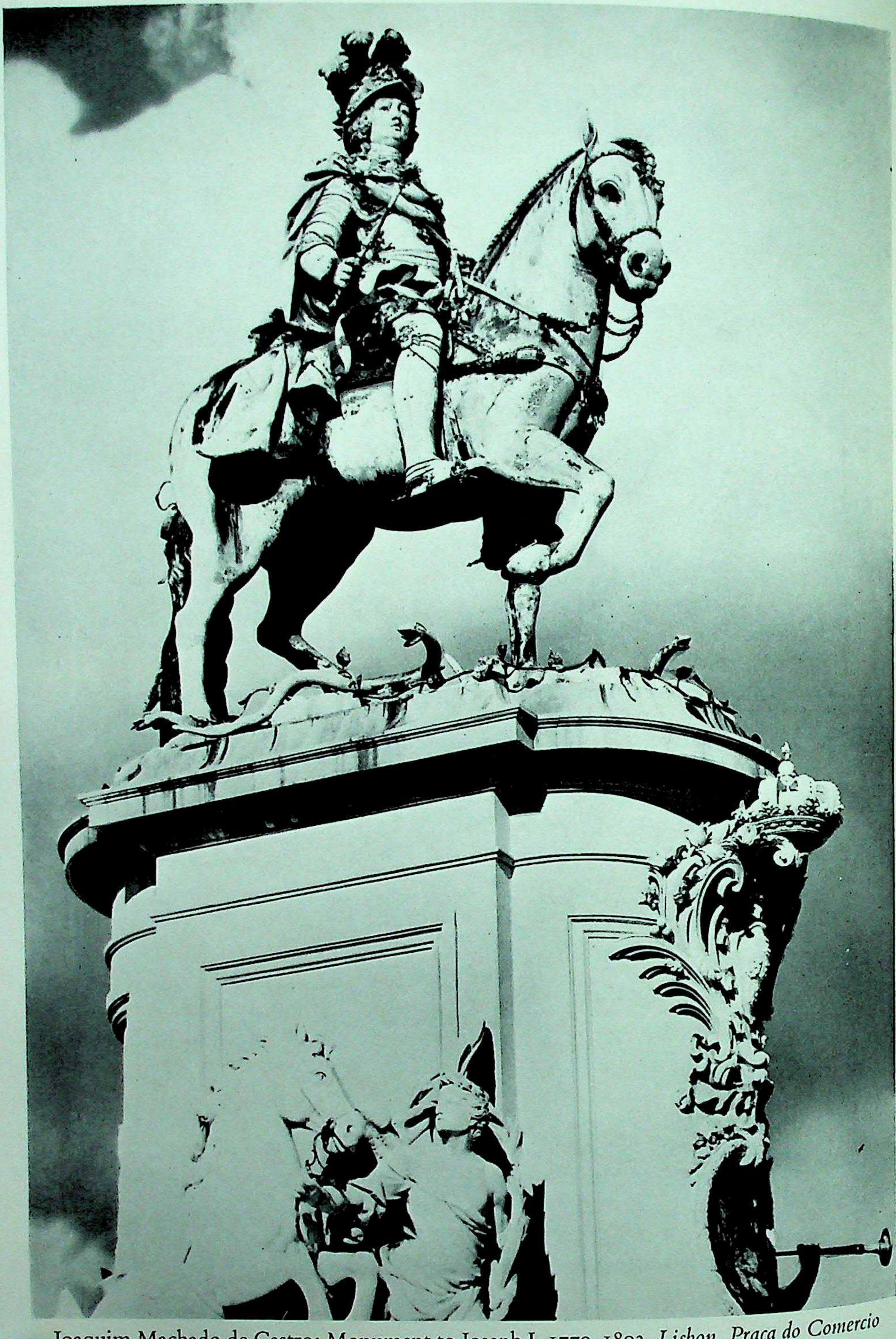
(B) High Altar, *c.* 1704.
Oporto, São Bento da Vitória



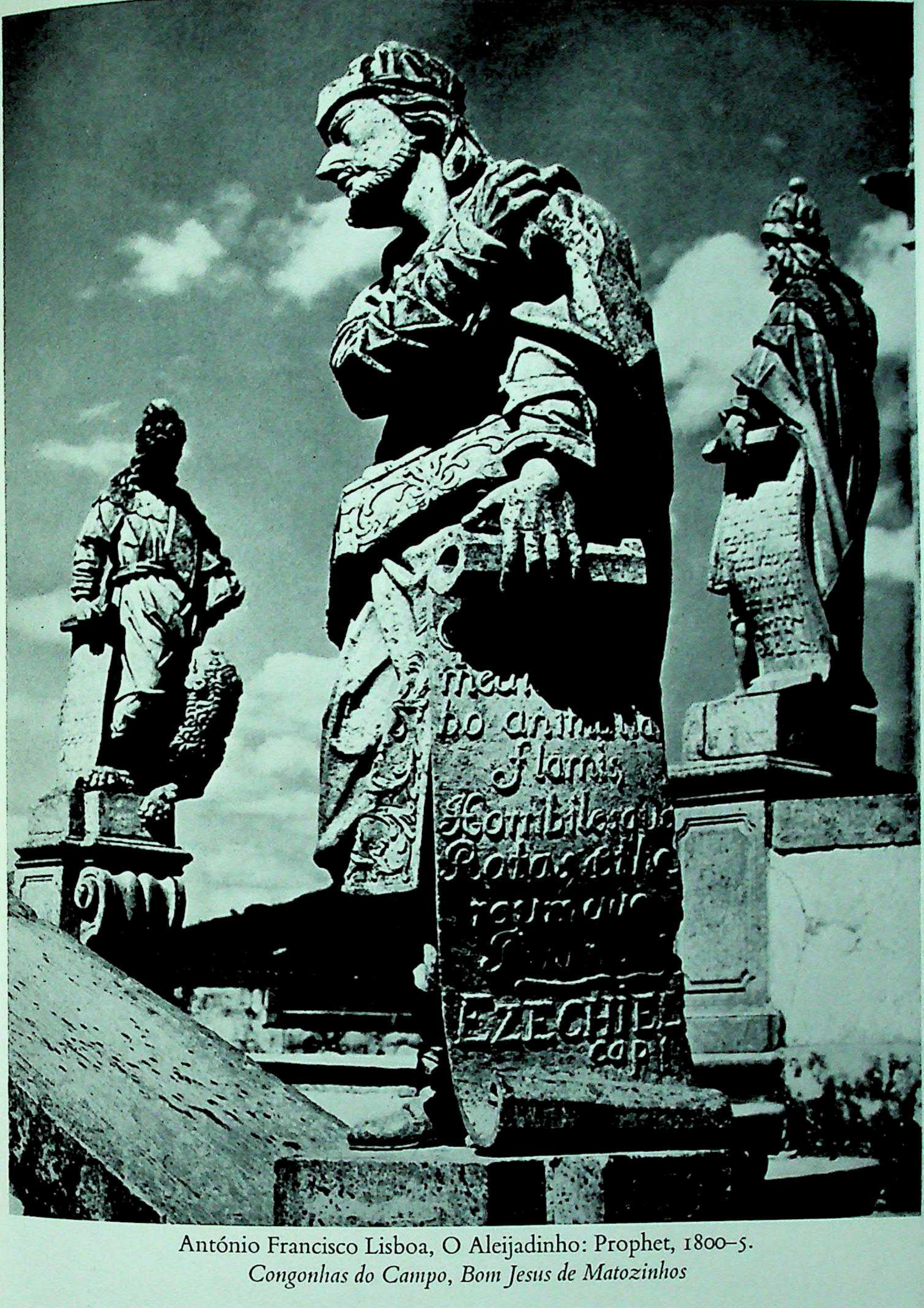
(A) High Altar, 1722–33. *Aveiro, Convento de Jesus*



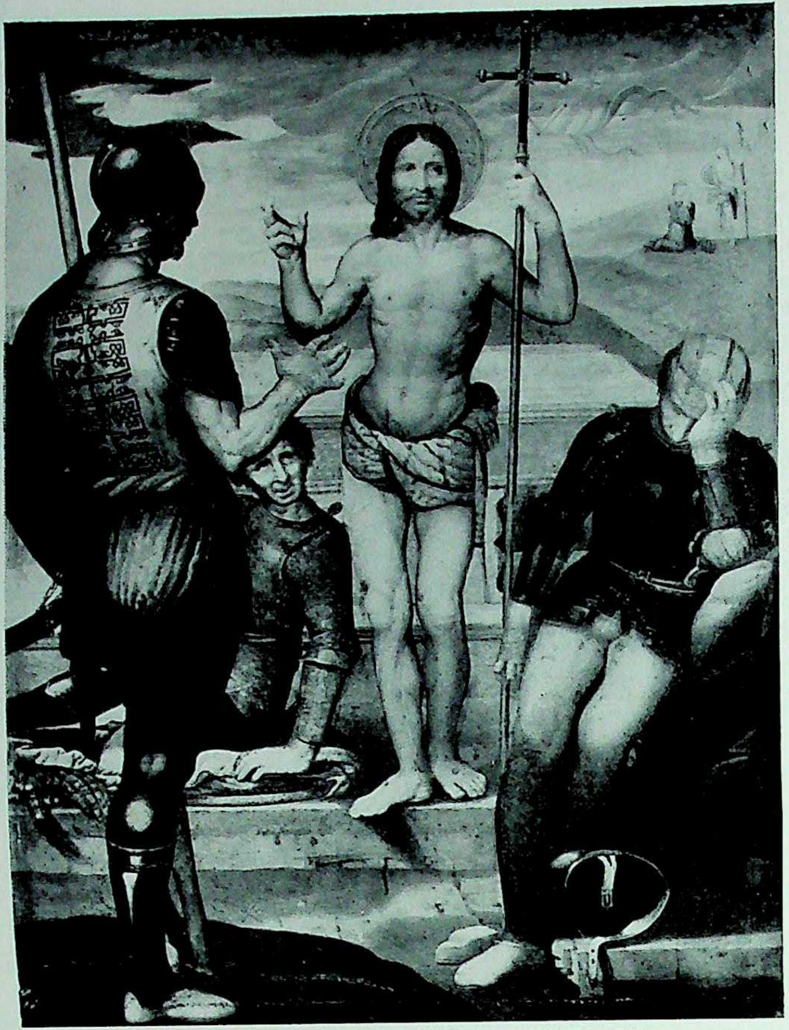
(B) High Altar, *c.* 1770. *Tibães, Benedictine Monastery*



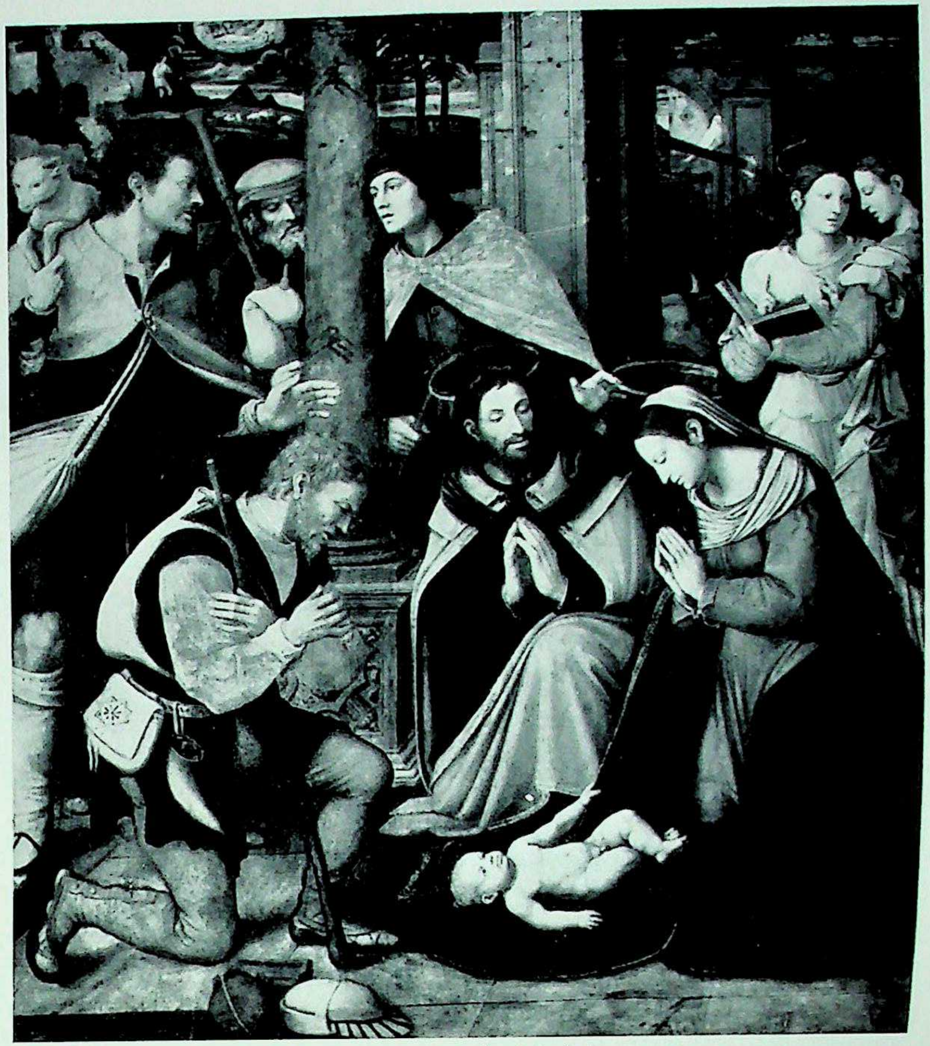
Joaquim Machado de Castro: Monument to Joseph I, 1770–1803. *Lisbon, Praça do Comercio*



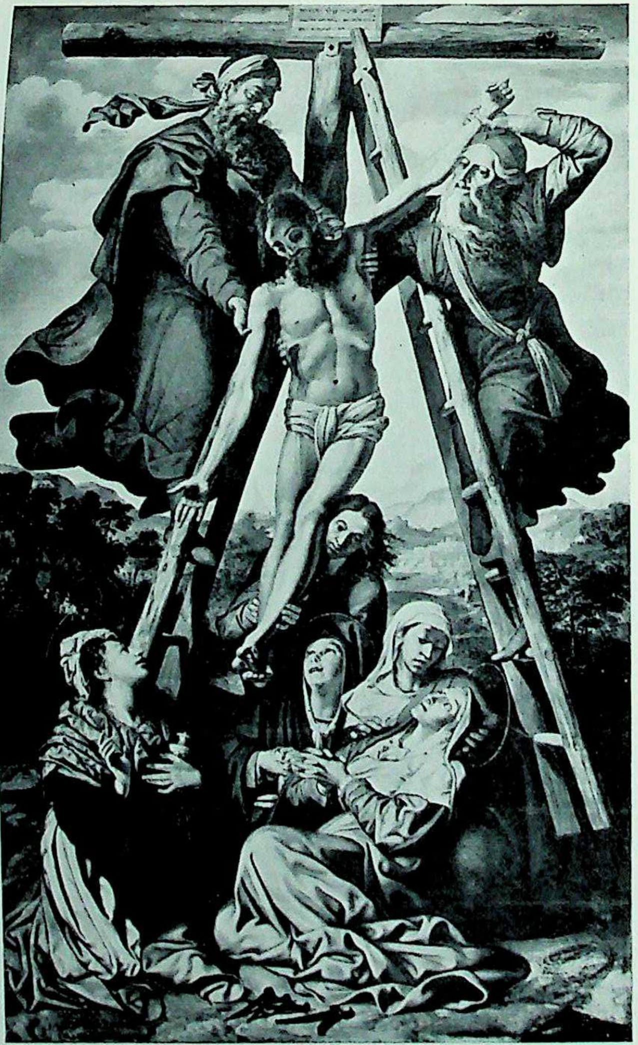
António Francisco Lisboa, O Aleijadinho: Prophet, 1800–5.
Congonhas do Campo, Bom Jesus de Matozinhos



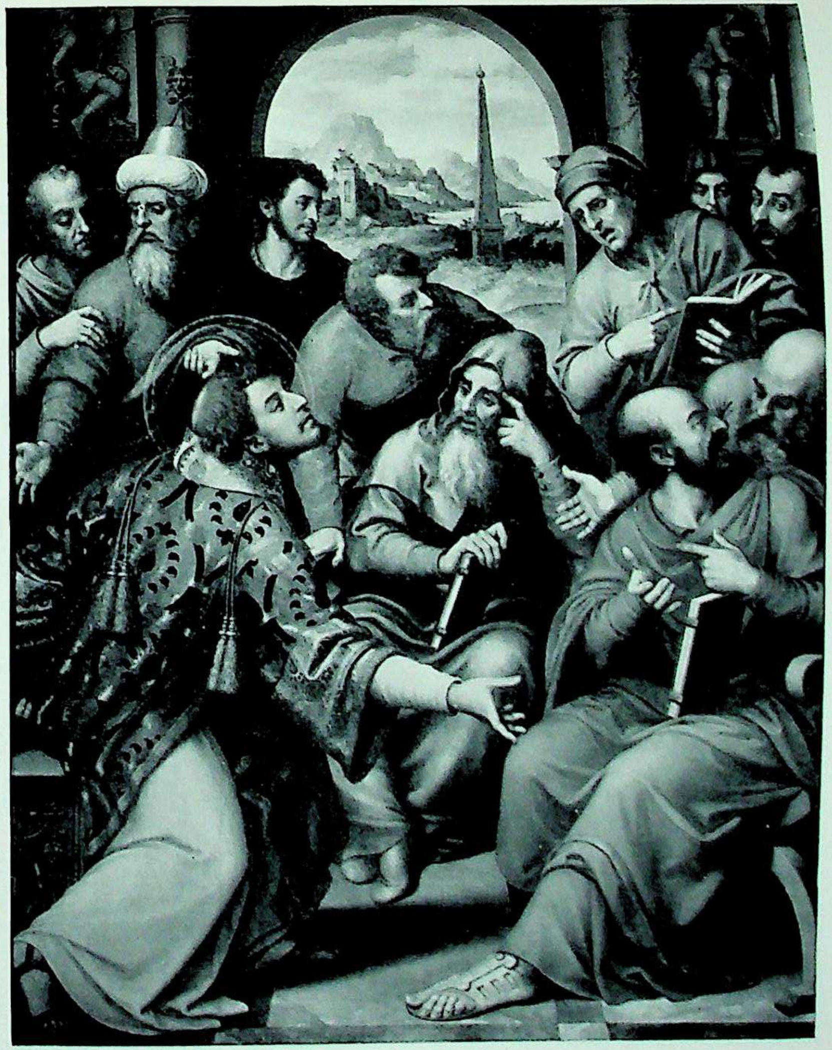
(A) Fernando Yáñez: The Resurrection, *c.* 1510.
Valencia Cathedral



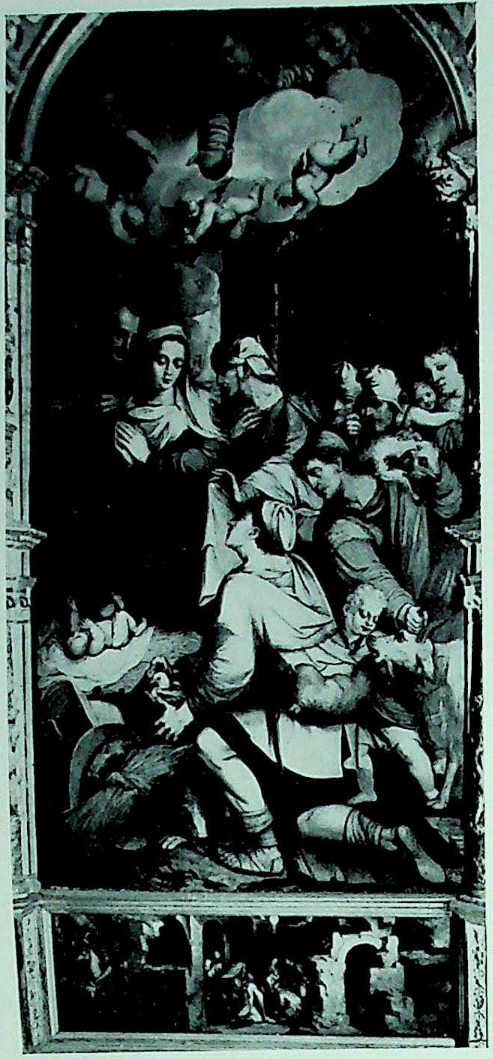
(B) Vicente Macip: The Nativity, 1530.
Segorbe Cathedral



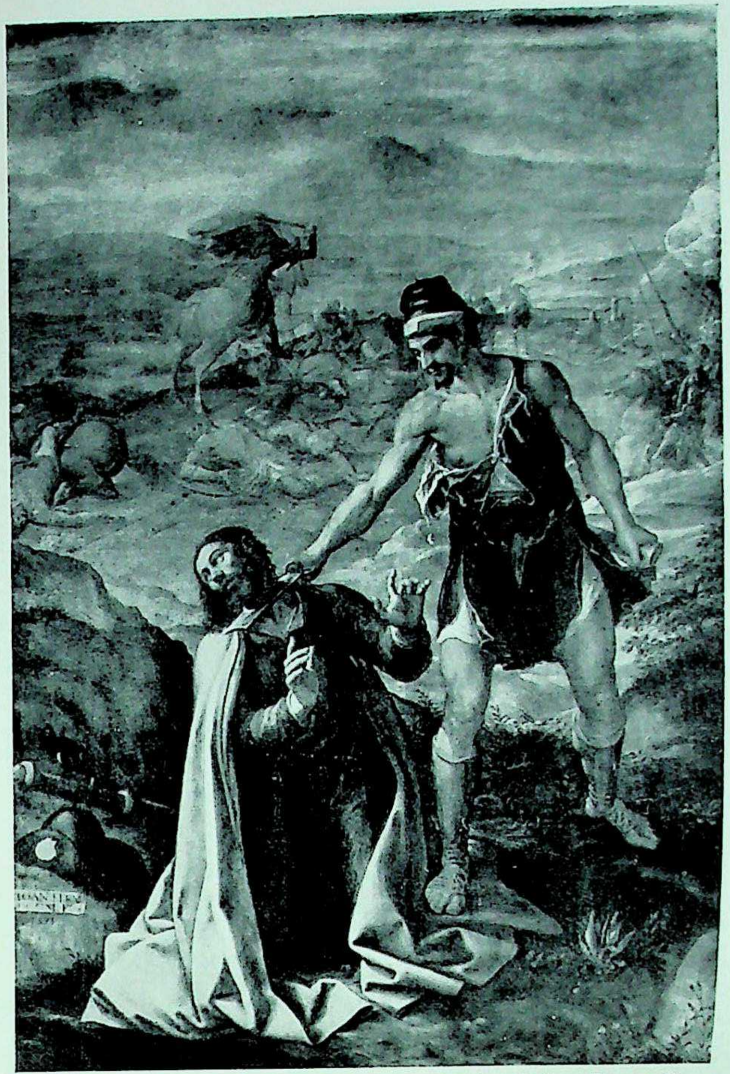
(A) Pedro de Campaña: Descent from the Cross, 1547. *Seville Cathedral*



(B) Juan de Juanes: St Stephen in the Synagogue, *c.* 1570. *Madrid, Prado*



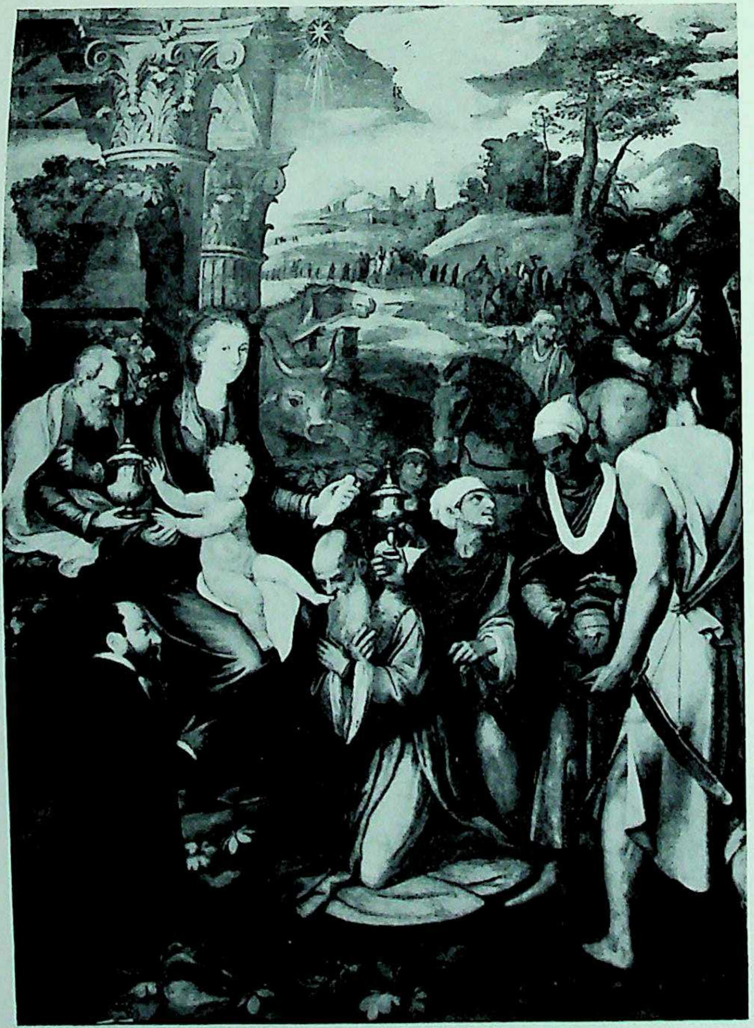
(A) Luis de Vargas:
The Nativity and the Epiphany
(predella), 1555. *Seville Cathedral*



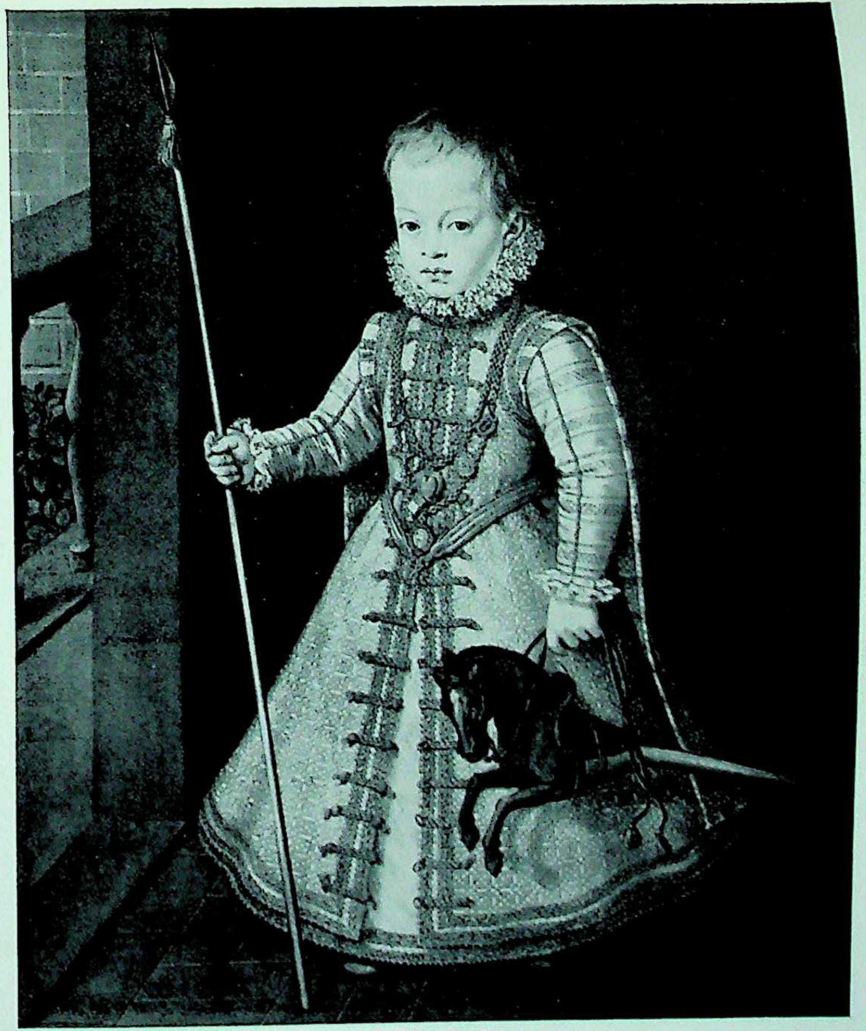
(B) Juan Fernández de Navarrete: The Beheading of
Santiago, 1571. *Escorial*

The Nativity and the Epiphany
(predella), 1555. *Seville Cathedral*

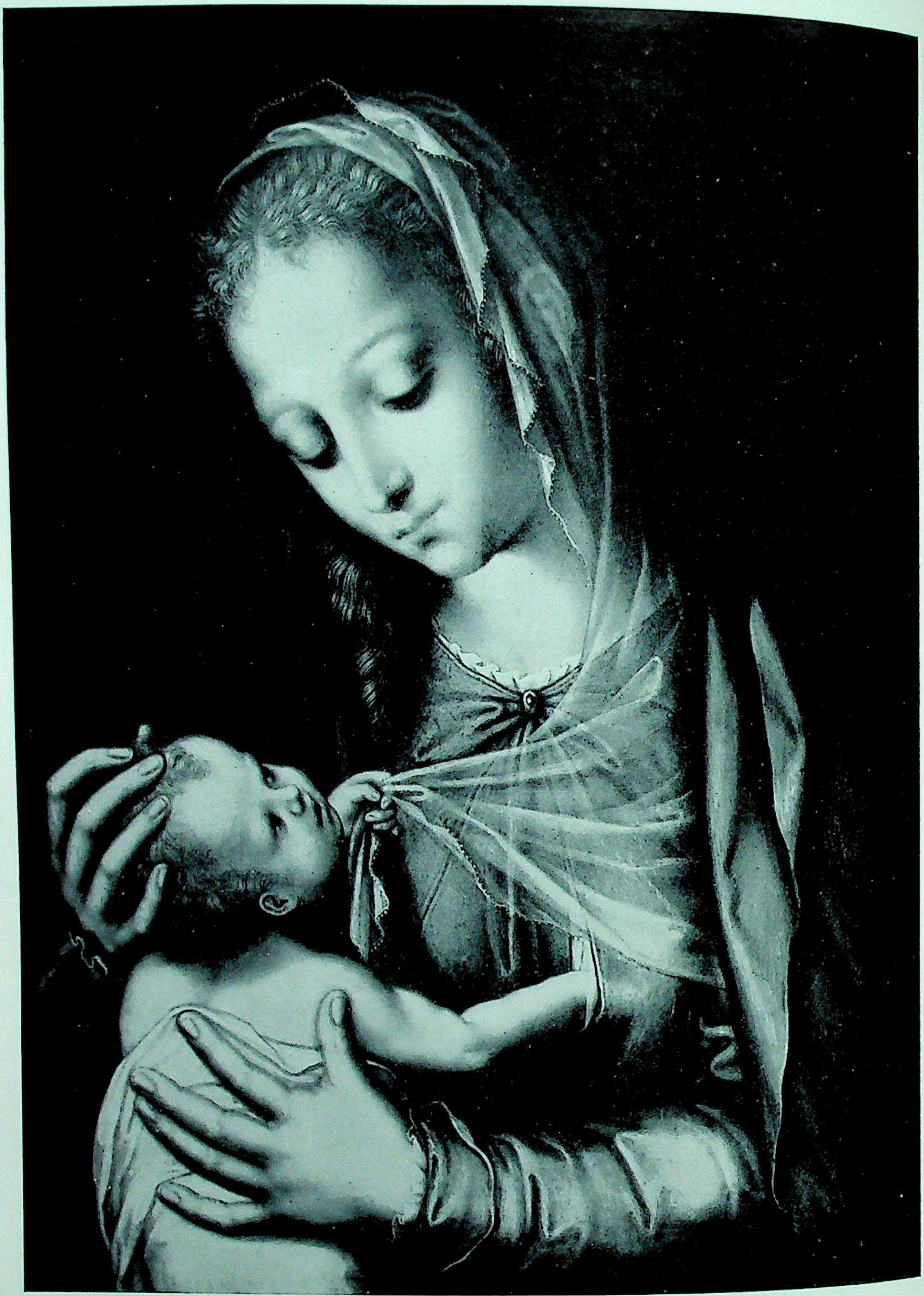
Santiago, 1571. *Escorial*



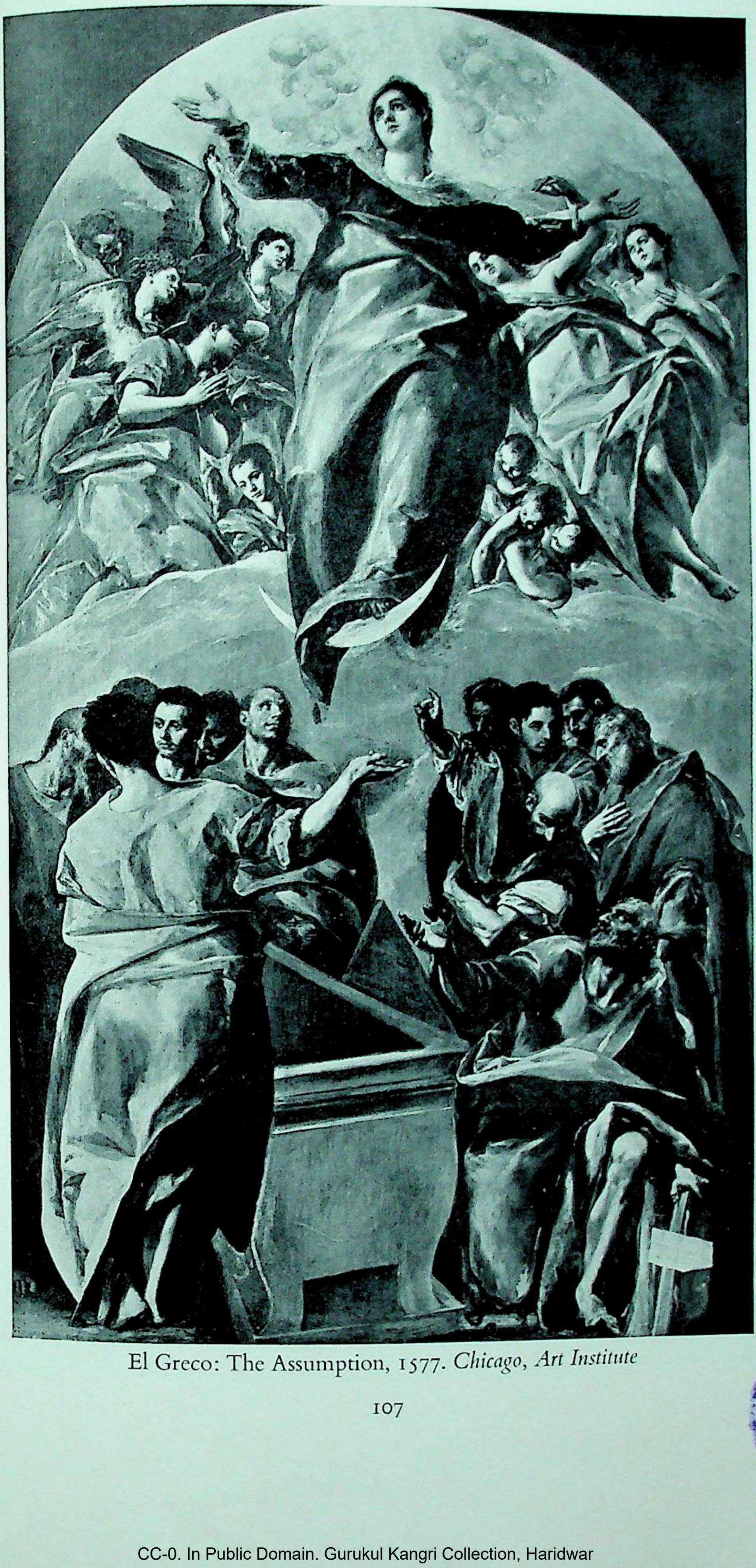
(A) Roland de Mois: The Epiphany, *c.* 1560–70.
Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum



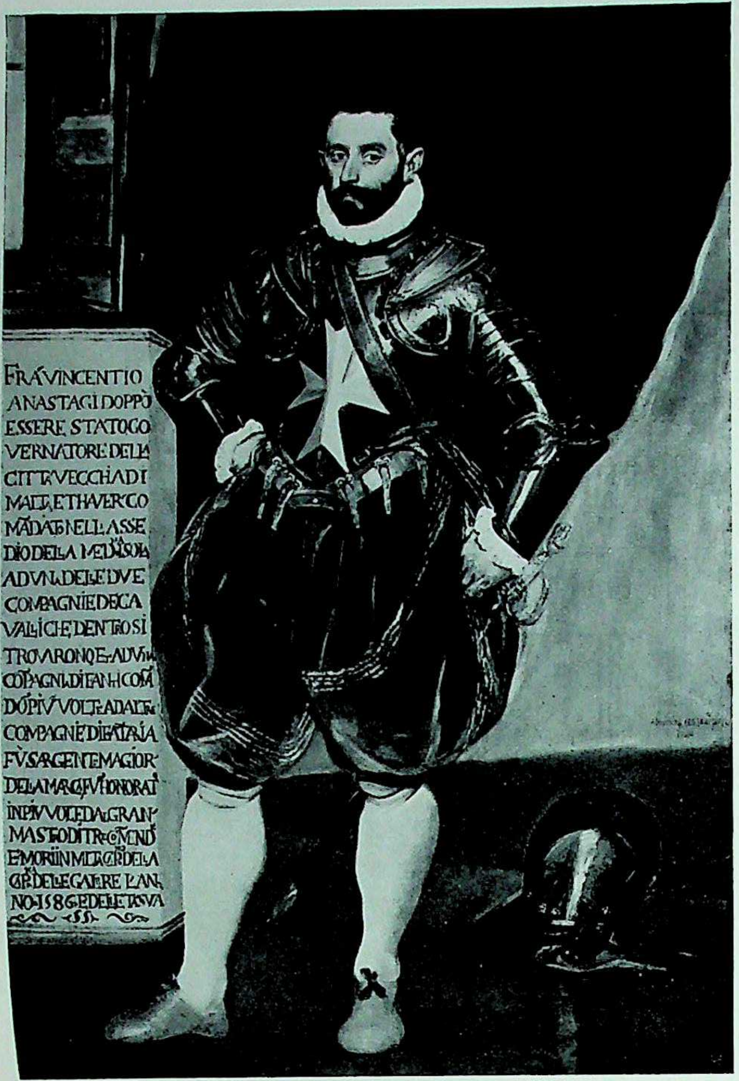
(B) Alonso Sánchez Coello: Infante Don Diego, 1577.
London, Lord Northbrooke



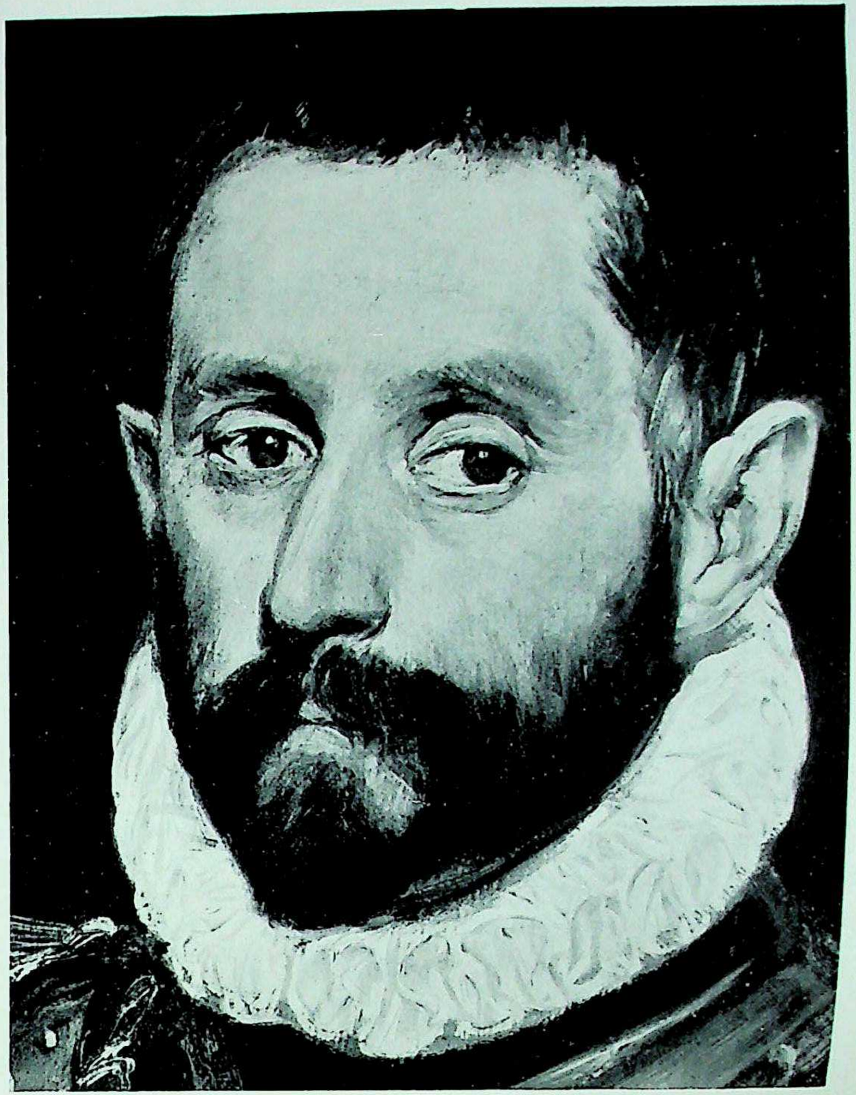
Luis de Morales: The Virgin and Child, *c.* 1555–75. *London, National Gallery*



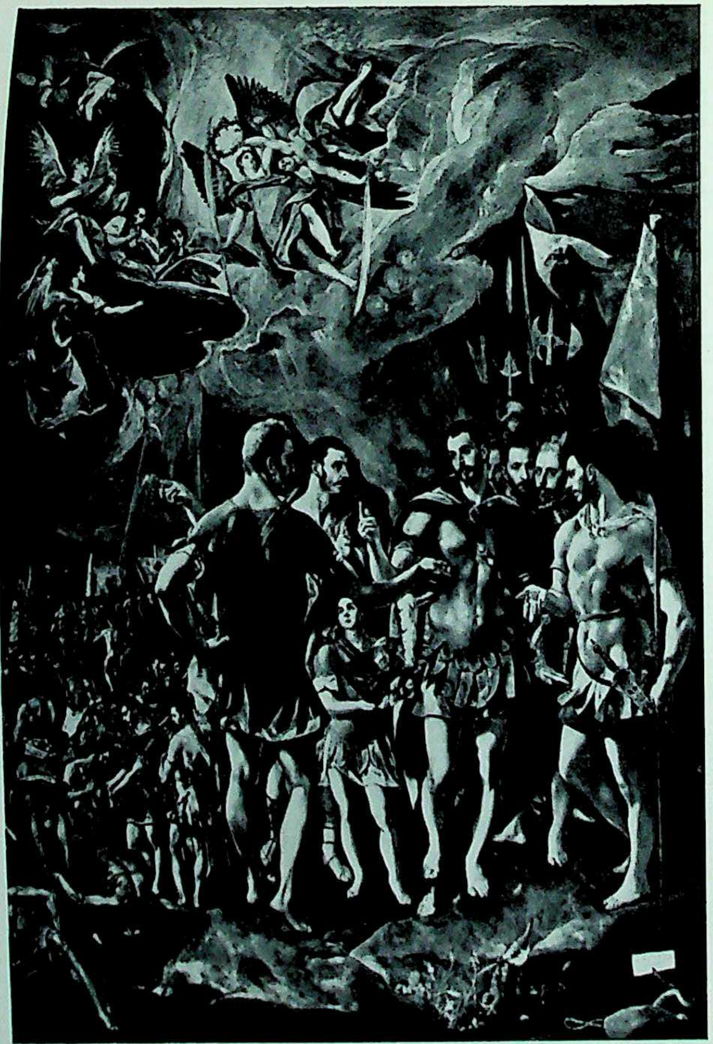
El Greco: The Assumption, 1577. *Chicago, Art Institute*


FRÁVINCENTIO
ANASTAGI DOPPÒ
ESSERE STATOGO
VERNATORE DELLA
CITTÀ VECCHIA DI
MALTA, E THAVER CO
MÃDATO NELL'ASSE
DIO DELLA MEDÃSOLA
AD VNA DELLE DVE
COMPAGNIE DE CA
VALLI CHE DENTRO SI
TROVARONO E AD VNA
CŌPAGNIA DI FANTI COM
DŌPIV VOLTE AD ALTRE
COMPAGNIE DI FATARIA
FV SARGENTE MAGIOR
DELLA MARCHA FV HONORAT
IN PIV VOLTE DA GRAN
MASTRO DI TRE COMANDI
E MORI IN MELA GRDELA
GRDELLE GALERE L'AN
NO 1586 DELL'ETÀ SVA
55

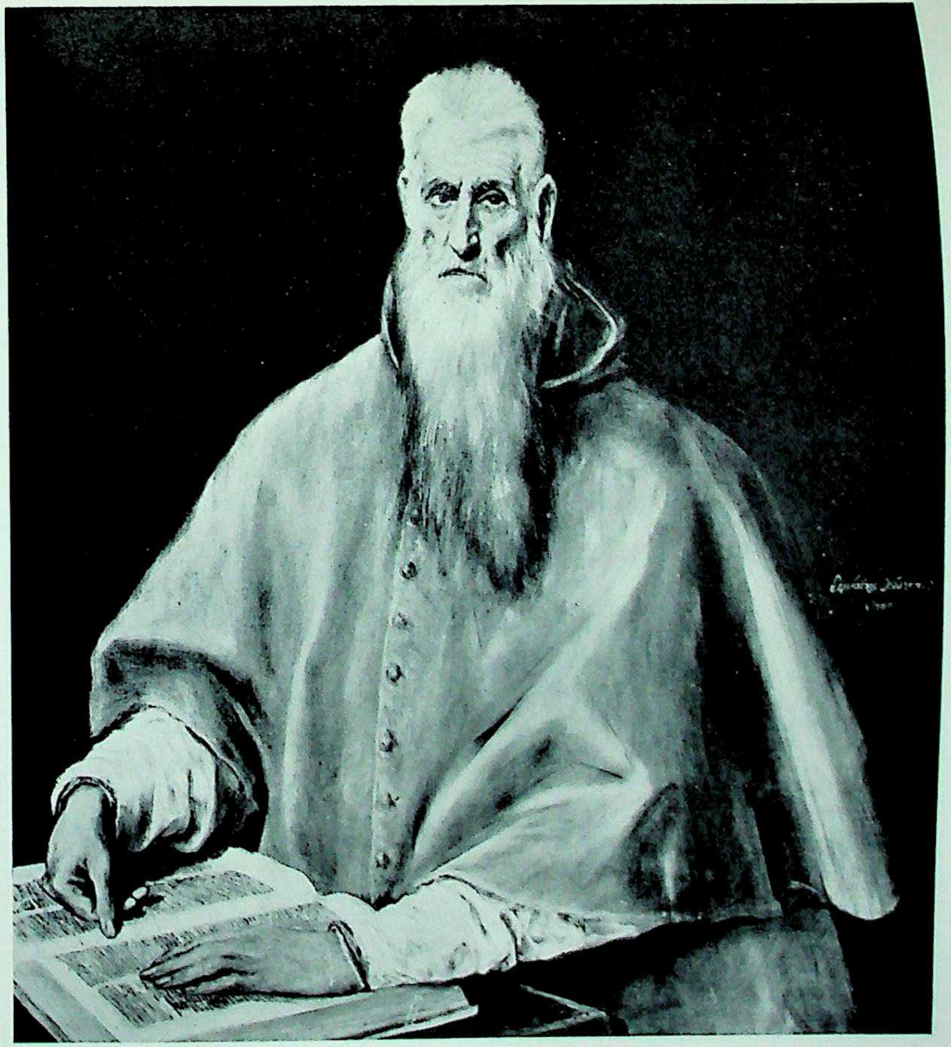
(A) El Greco: Vincentio Anastagi, 1576.
New York, Frick Collection



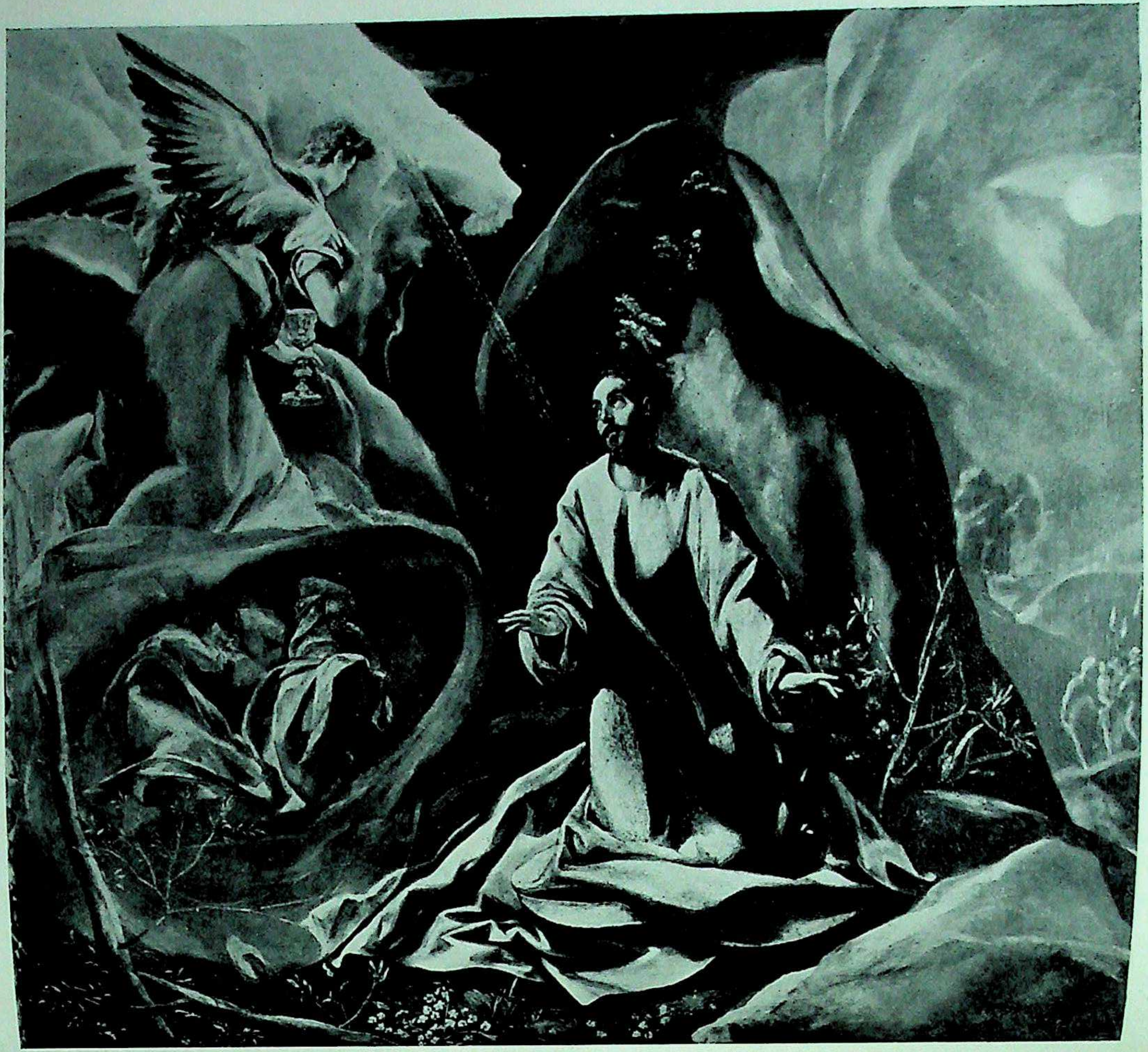
(B) El Greco: Vincentio Anastagi, 1576. Detail.
New York, Frick Collection



(A) El Greco: The Martyrdom of St Maurice and the Theban Legion, 1580–2. *Escorial*

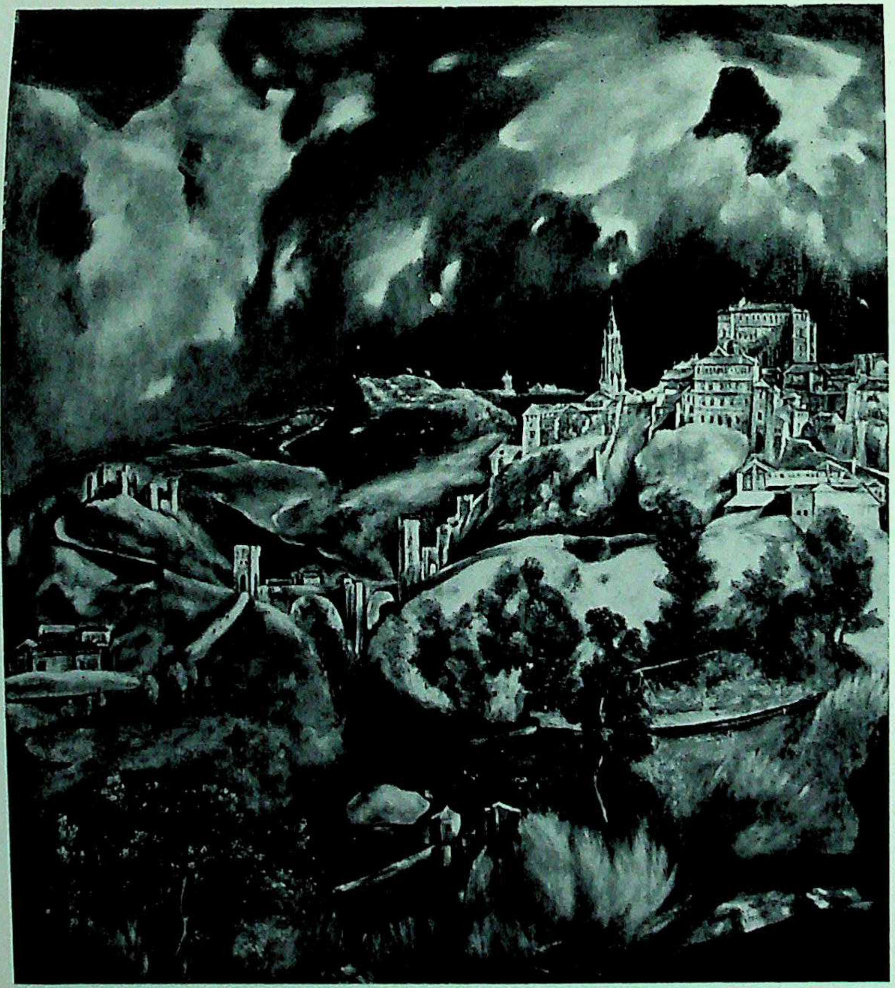


(B) El Greco: St Jerome, *c.* 1600.
New York, Frick Collection

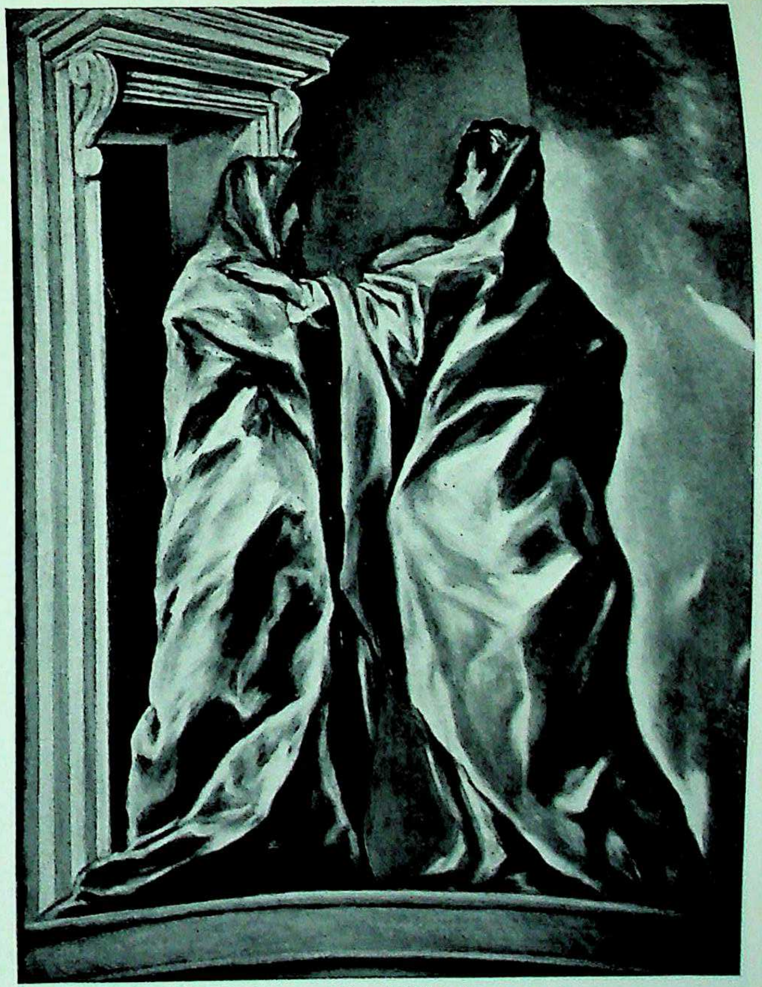


El Greco: The Agony in the Garden, *c.* 1580–6. *Toledo, Ohio, Art Museum*

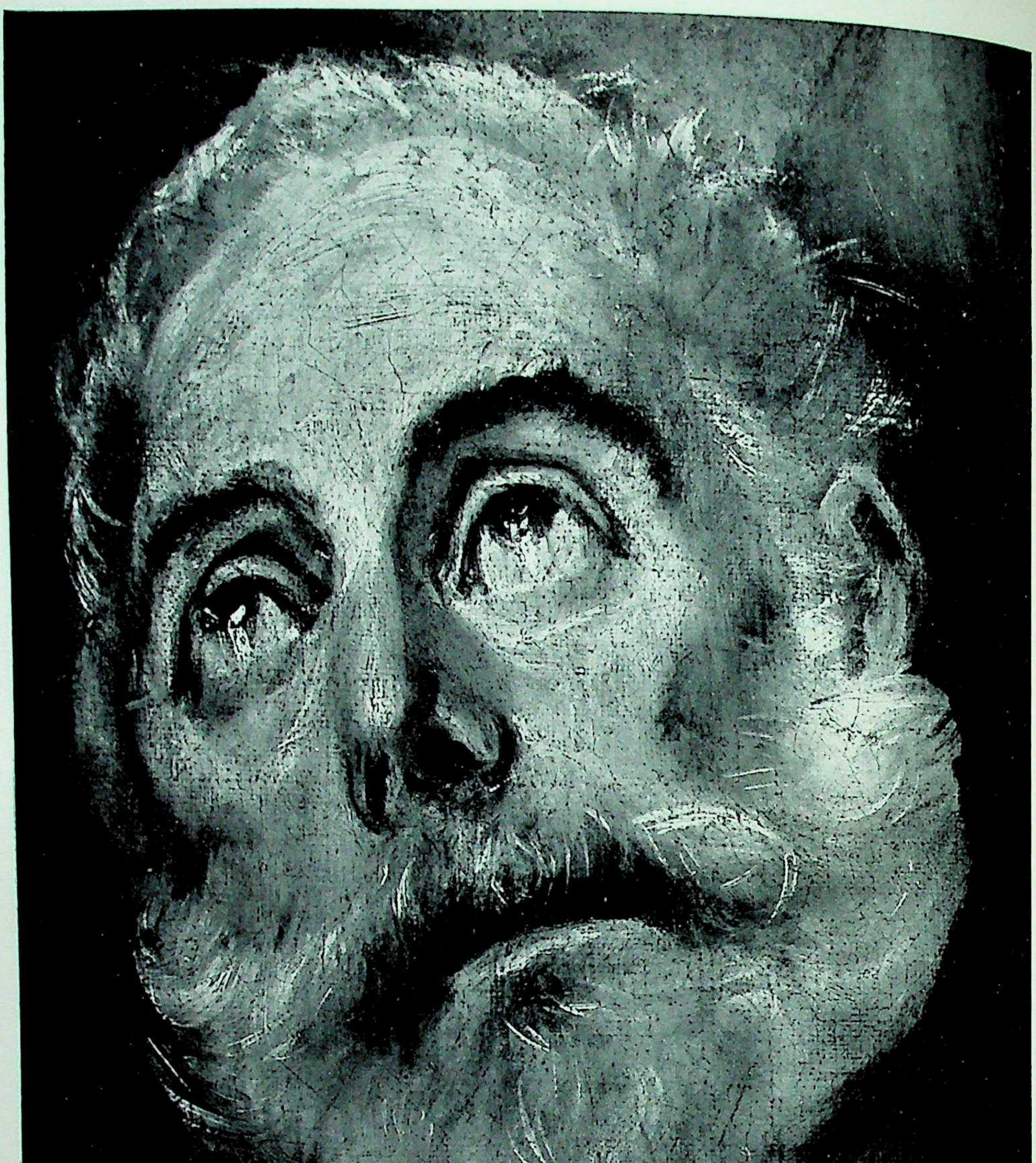
El Greco: The Agony in the Garden, *c.* 1580–6. *Toledo, Ohio, Art Museum*



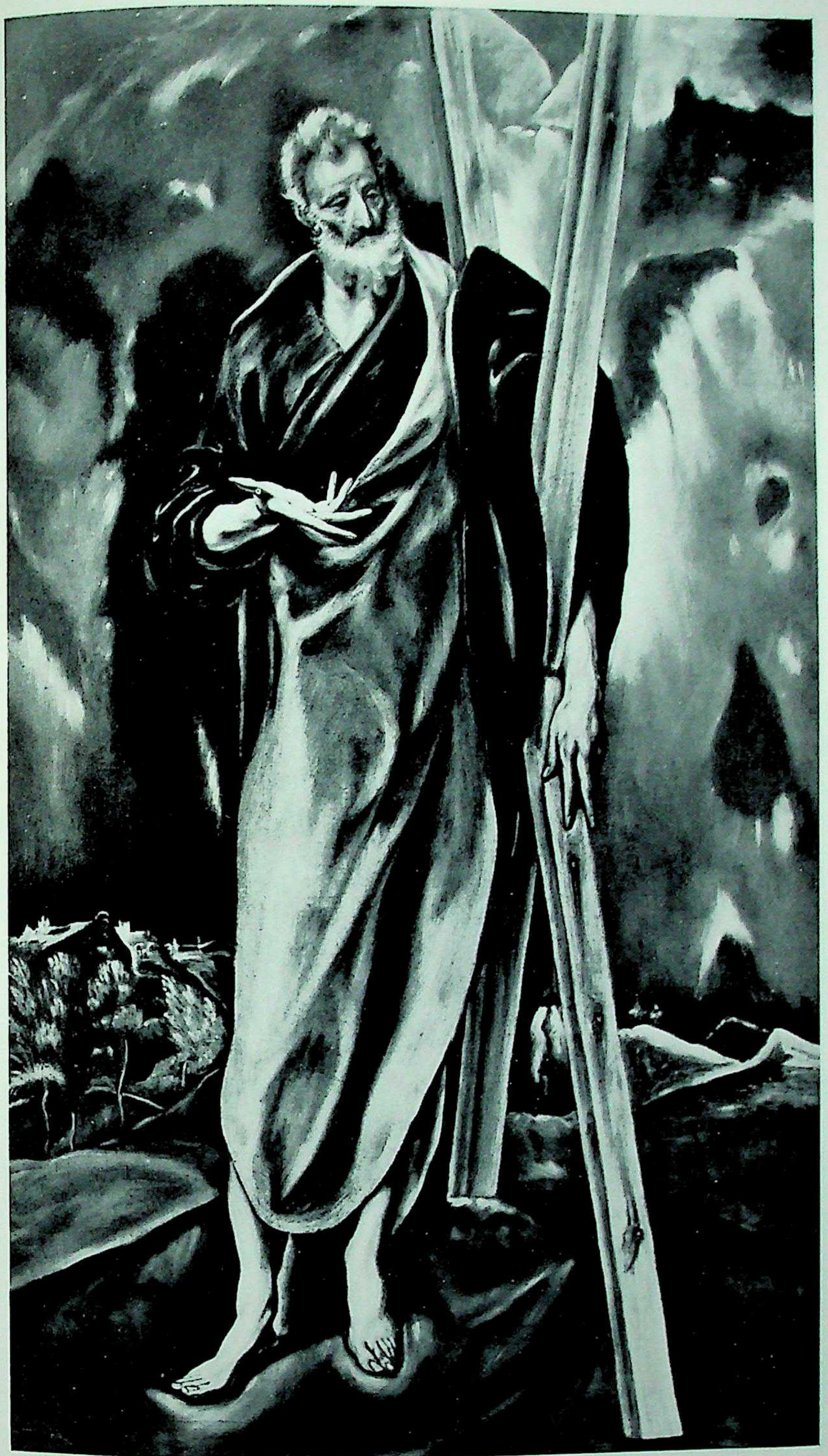
(A) El Greco: View of Toledo, *c.* 1604–10.
New York, Metropolitan Museum



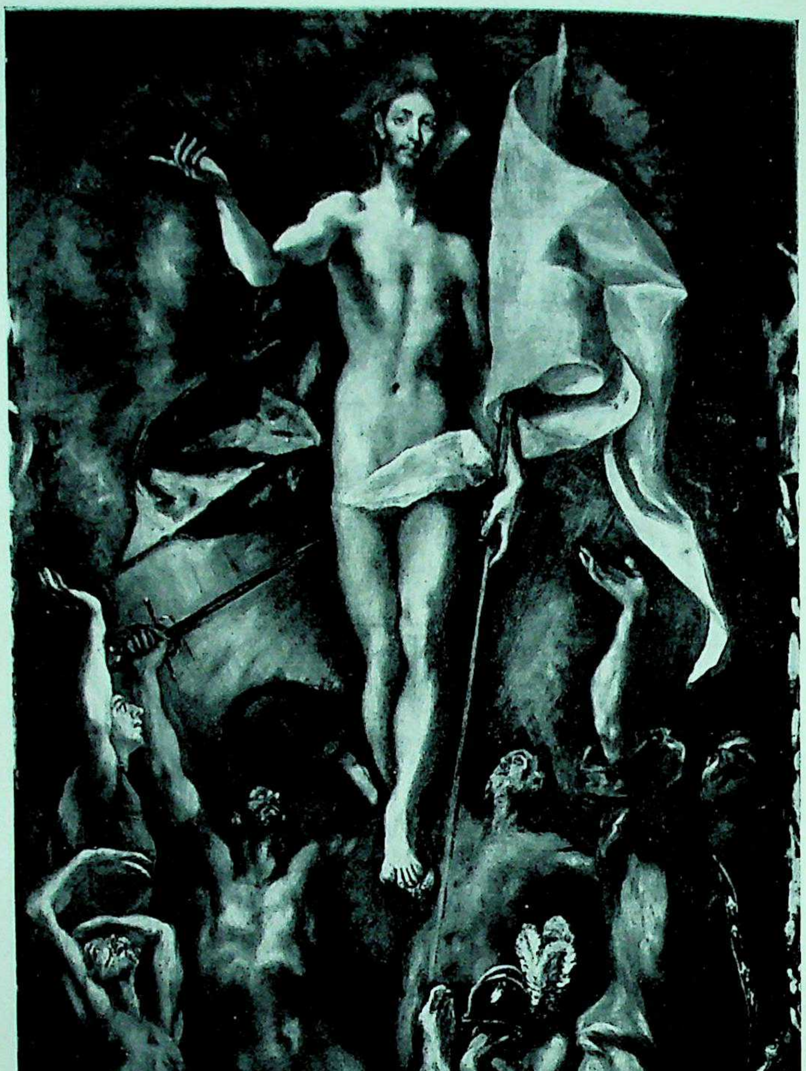
(B) El Greco: The Visitation, *c.* 1610.
Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection



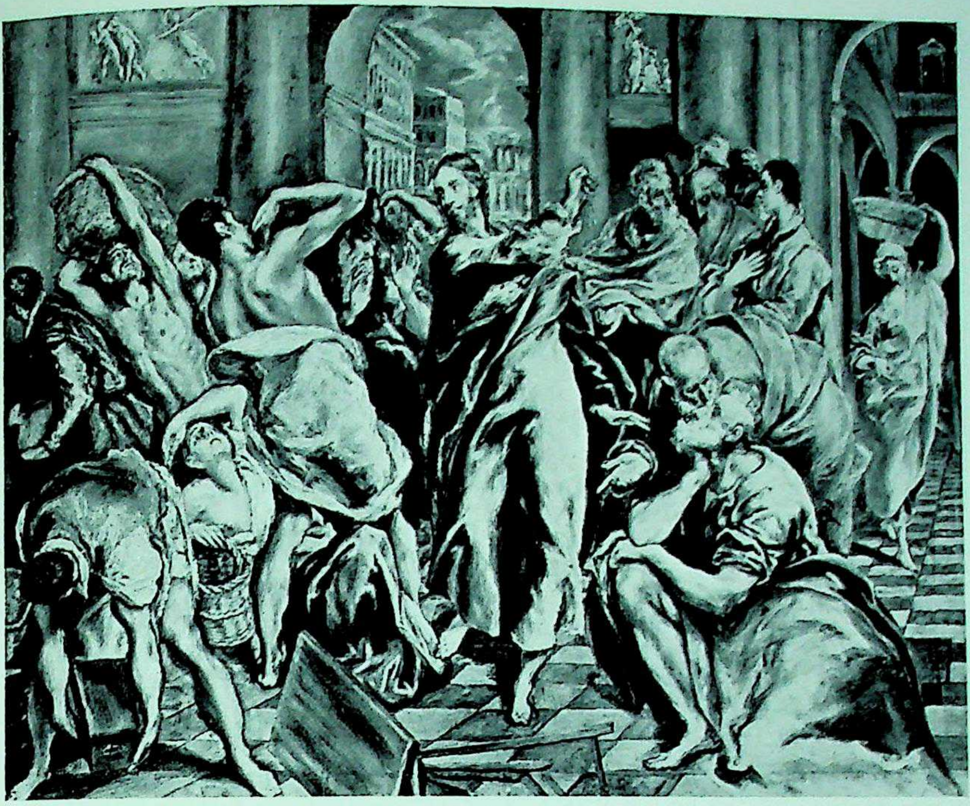
El Greco: St Peter repentant, *c.* 1583–8. Detail.
Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum



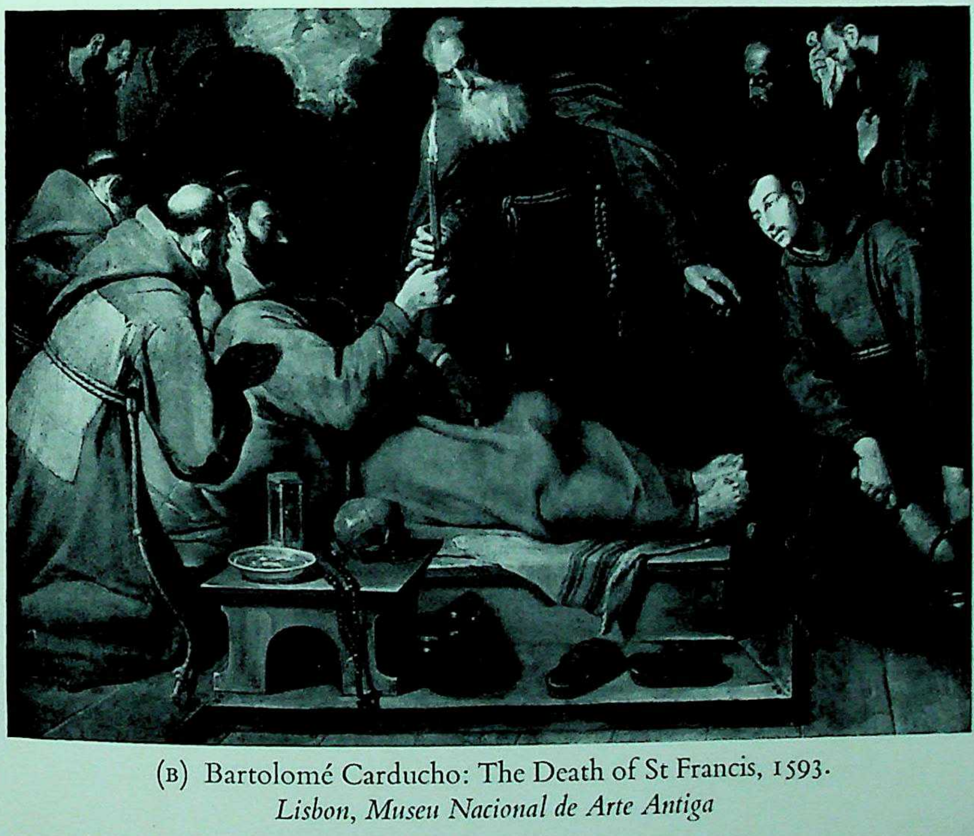
El Greco: St Andrew, *c.* 1599–1600. *New York, S. C. Clark*



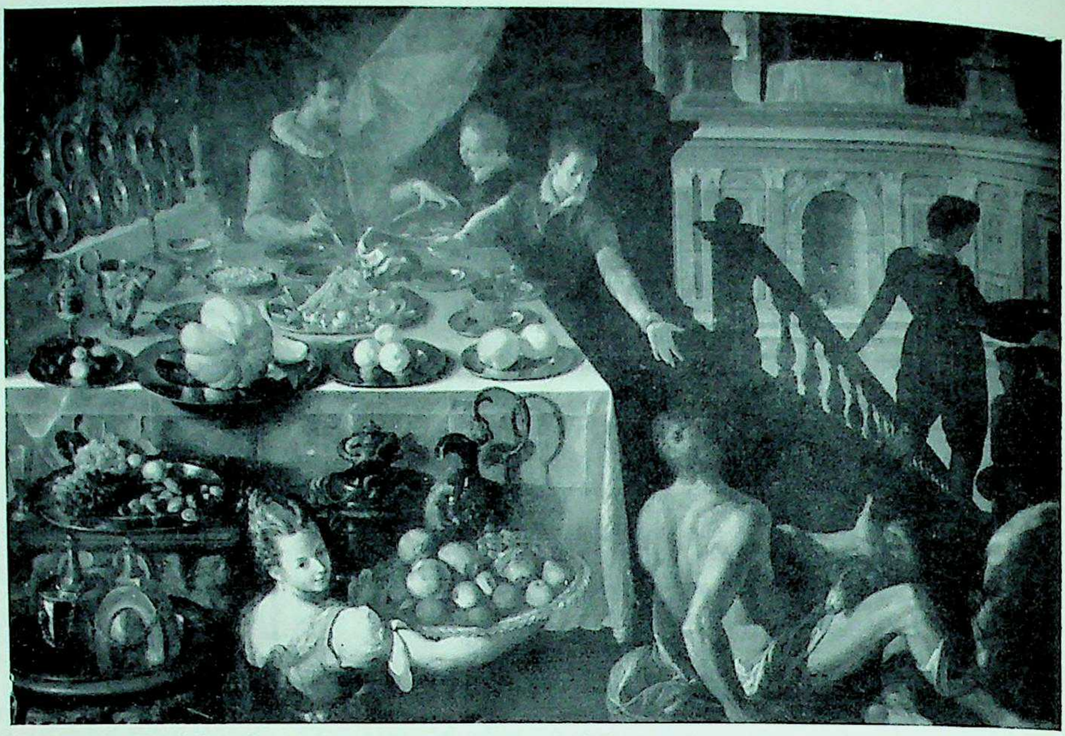
El Greco: The Resurrection, 1608–10. *Madrid, Prado*



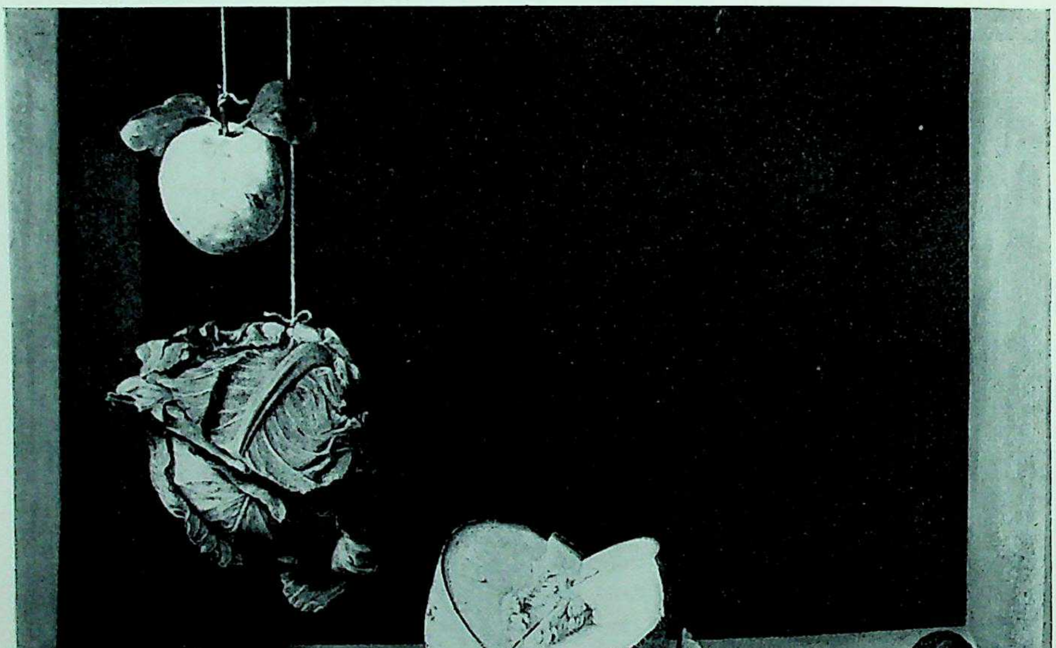
(A) El Greco: The Purification of the Temple, *c.* 1603–4.
New York, Frick Collection



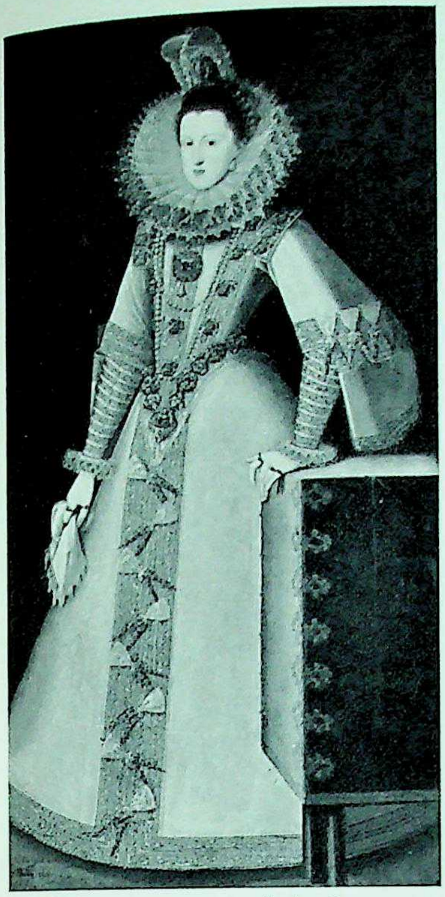
(B) Bartolomé Carducho: The Death of St Francis, 1593.
Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga



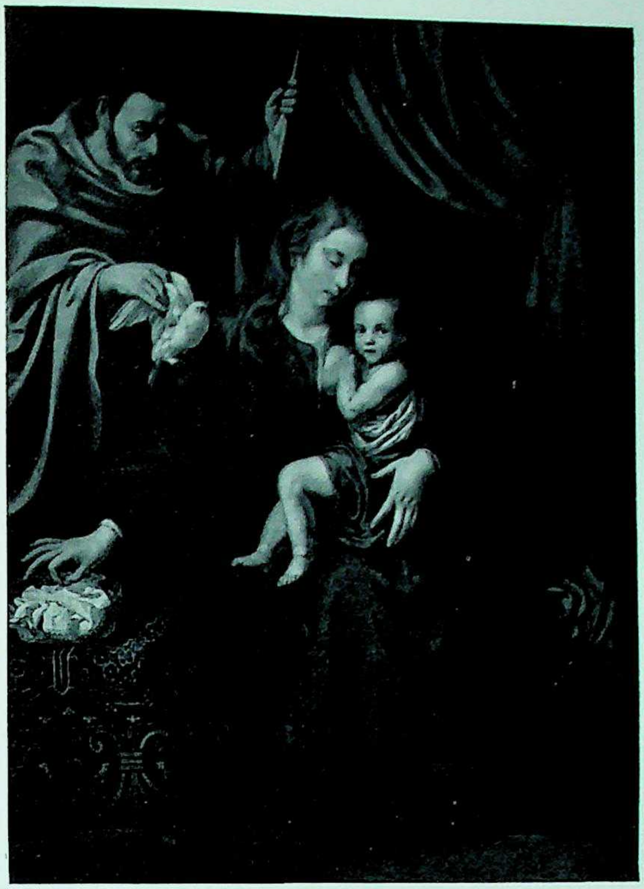
(A) Alonso Vázquez: Lazarus and the Rich Man, *c.* 1600–2.
Madrid, Private Collection



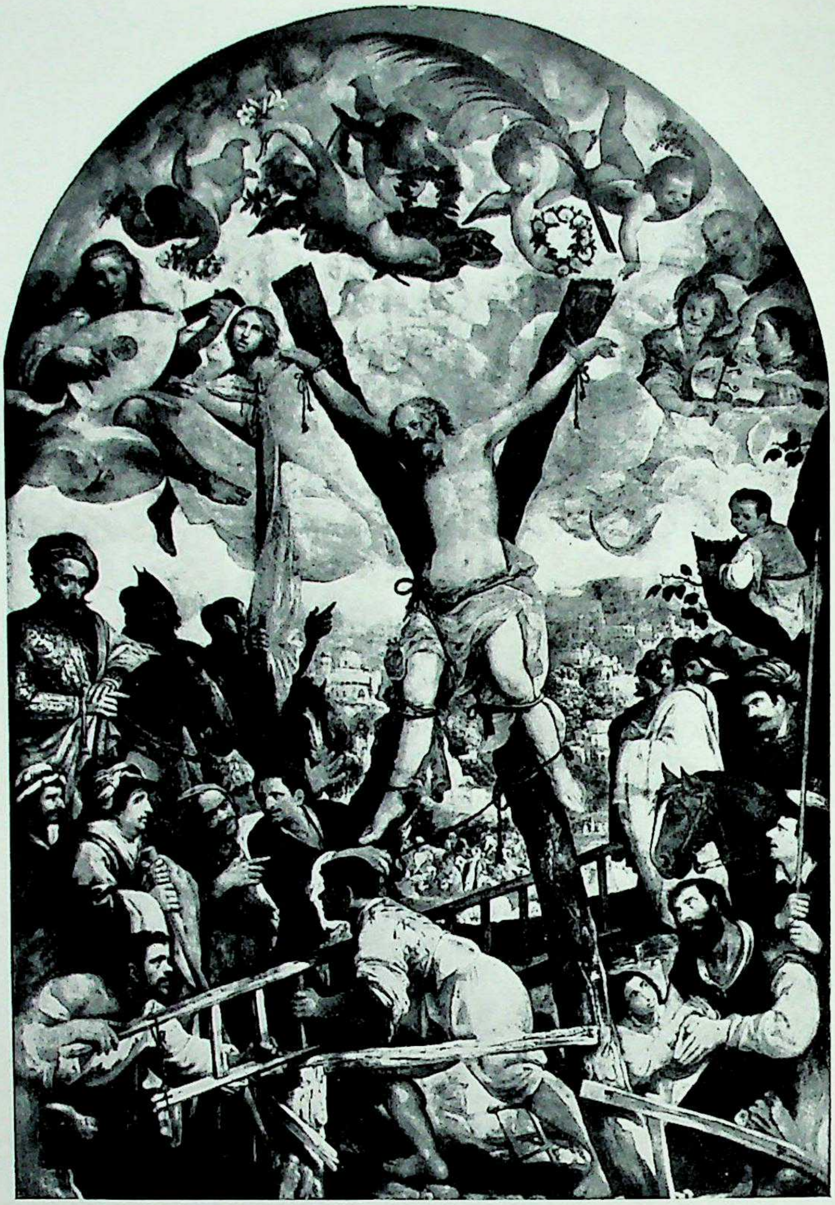
(B) Juan Sánchez Cotán: Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber, 1602.
San Diego, California, Art Gallery



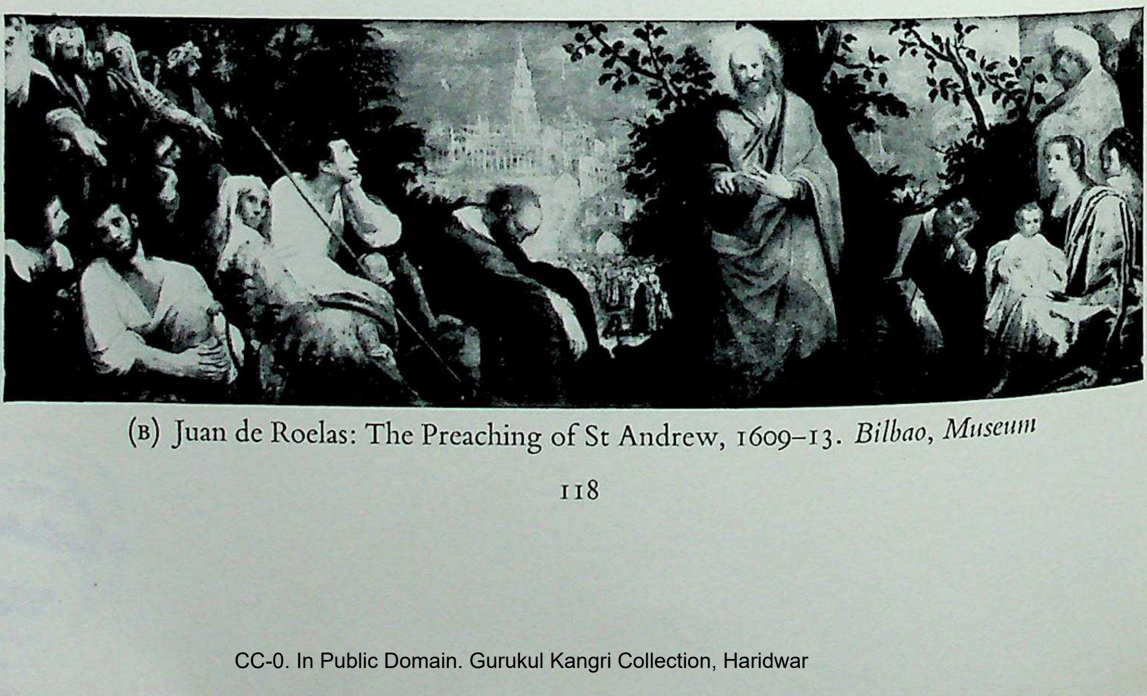
(A) Juan Pantoja de la Cruz: Margarita of Austria, Queen of Spain, 1605. *Houston, Texas, Museum*



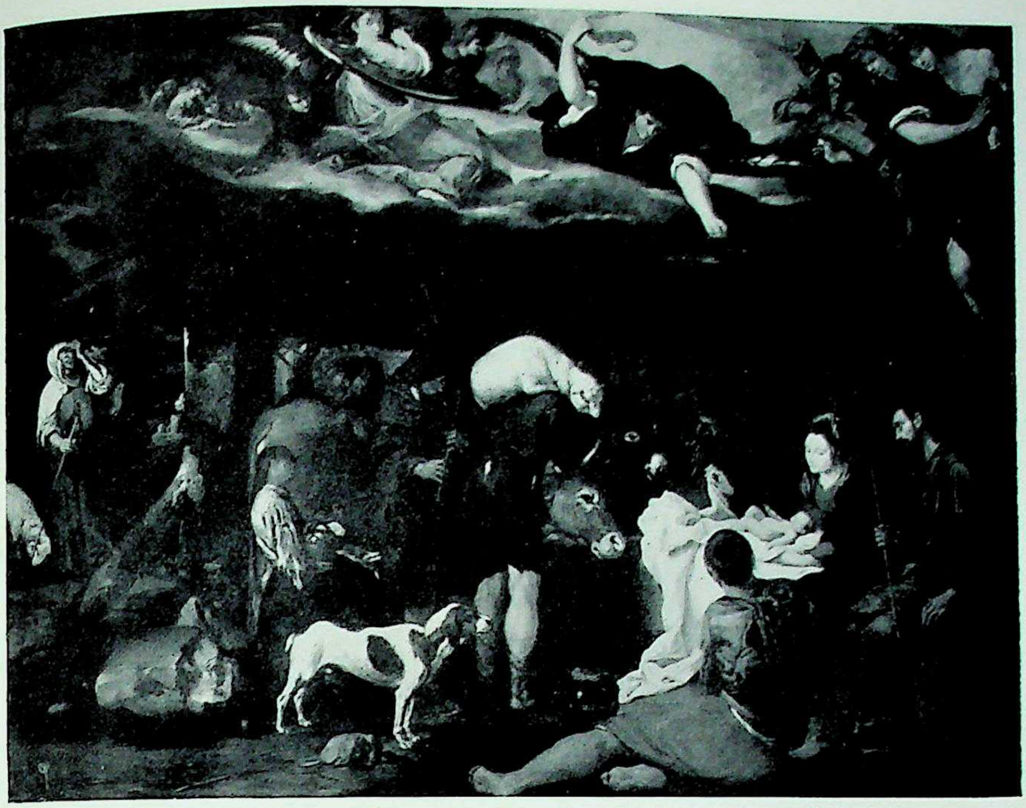
(B) Luis Tristán: The Holy Family, 1613. *Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi*



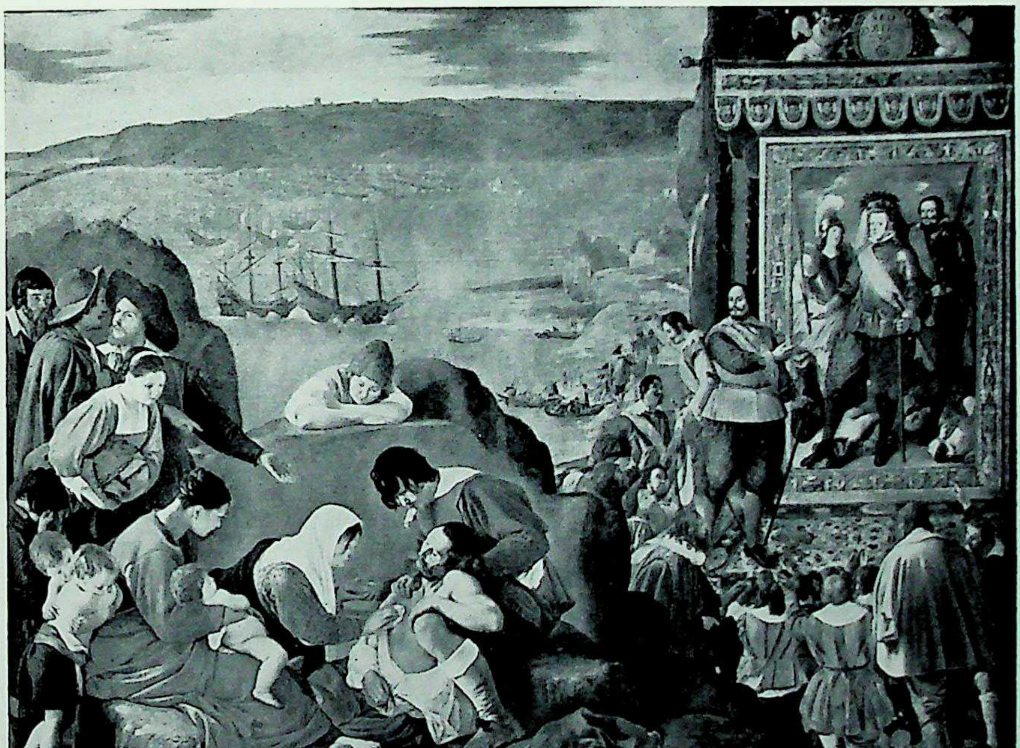
(A) Juan de Roelas: The Martyrdom of St Andrew, 1609–13. *Seville, Museum*



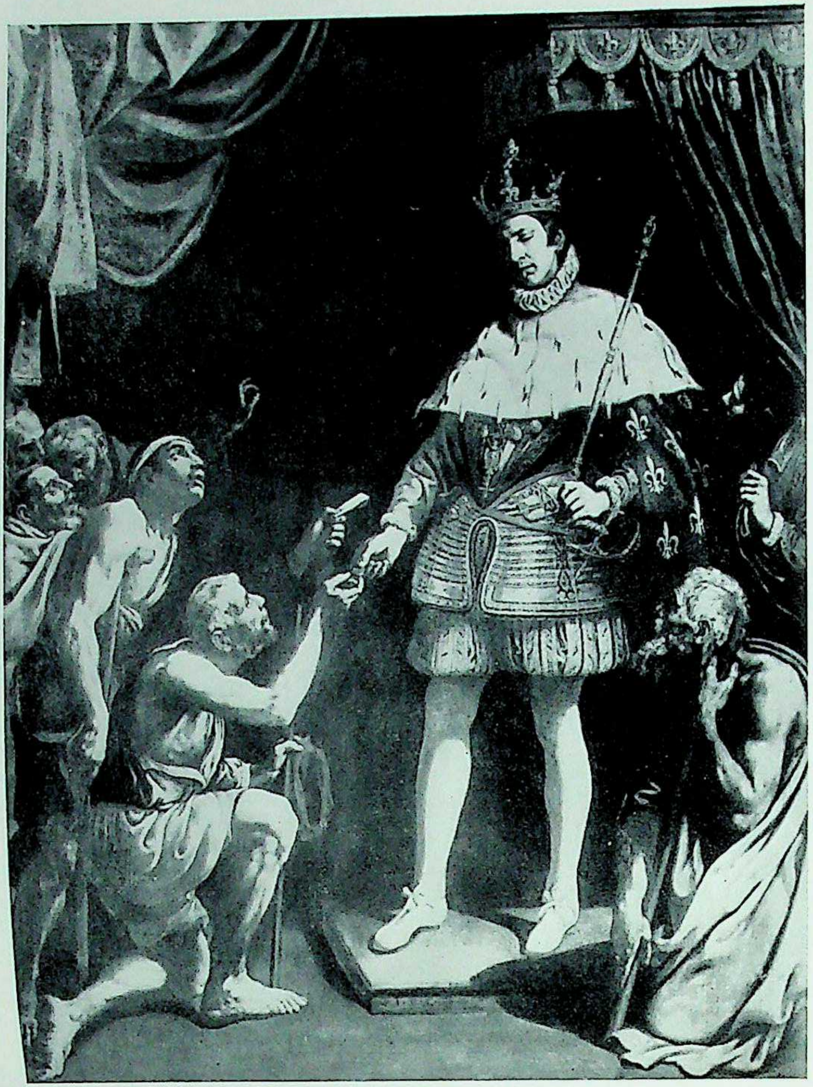
(B) Juan de Roelas: The Preaching of St Andrew, 1609–13. *Bilbao, Museum*



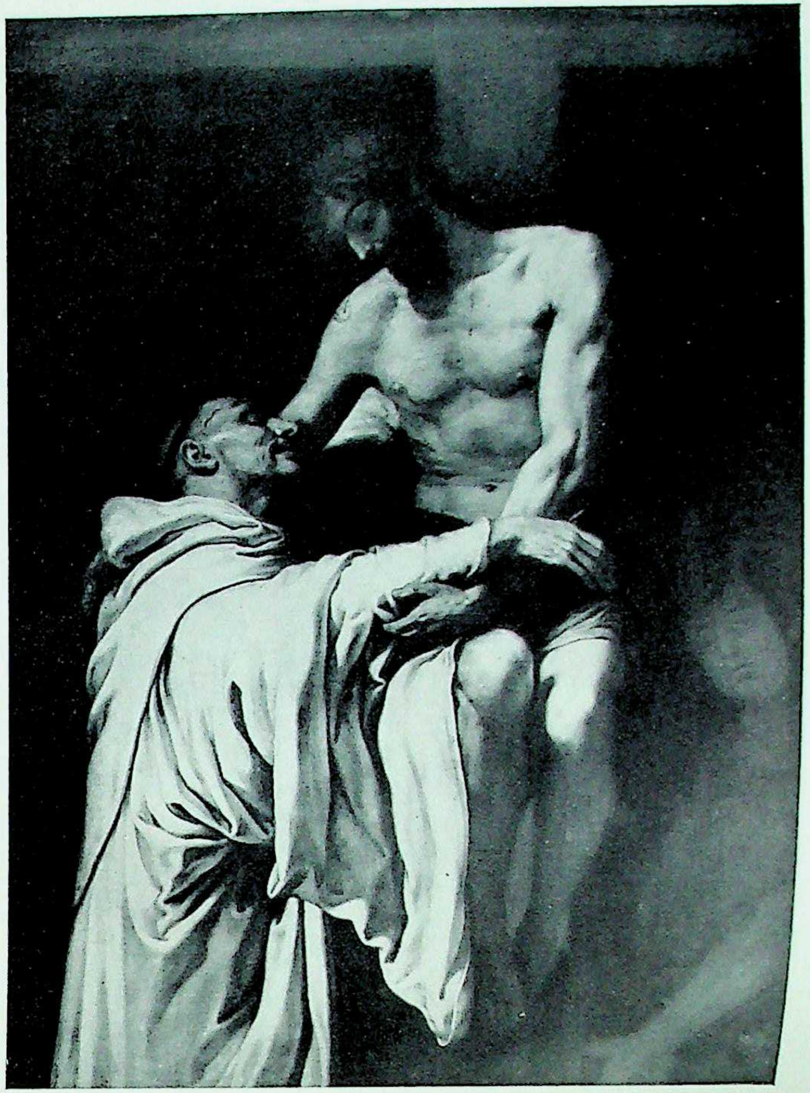
(A) Luis Tristán: The Adoration of the Shepherds, *c.* 1620. *Bilbao, Museum*



(B) Juan Bautista Mayno: The Recovery of Bahia, 1635. *Madrid, Prado*



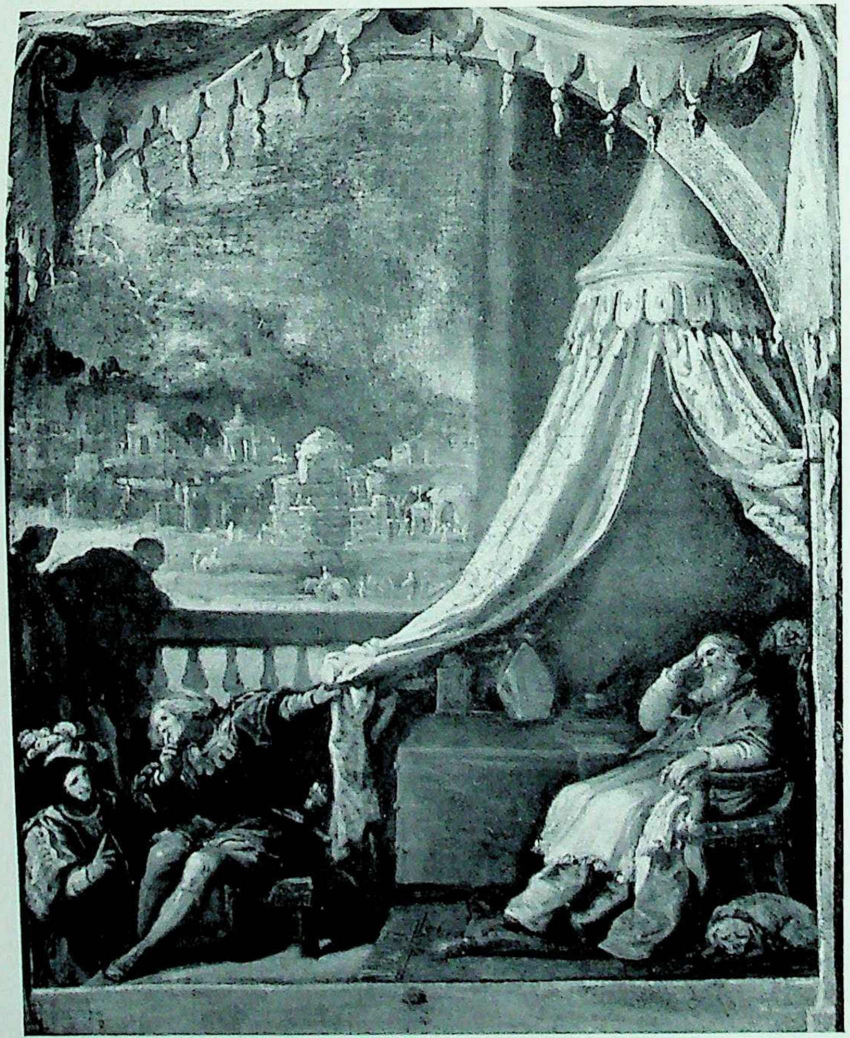
(A) Luis Tristán: St Louis of France giving Alms, 1620.
Paris, Louvre



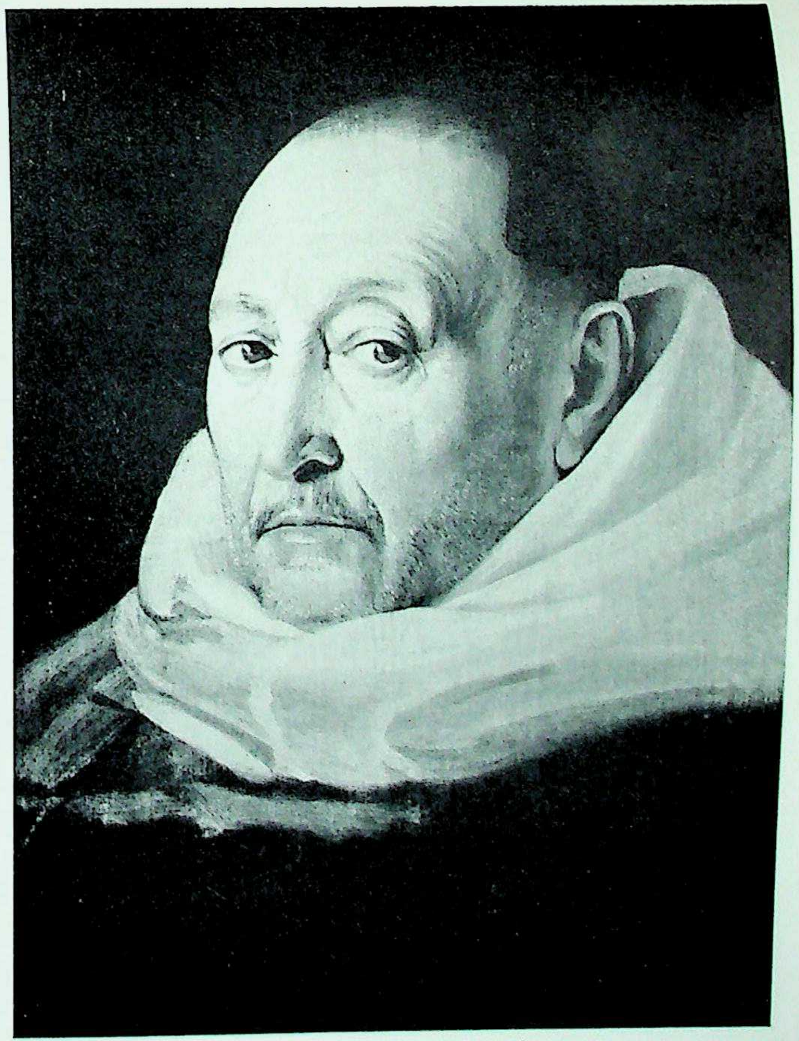
(B) Francisco Ribalta: St Bernard embracing Christ,
c. 1620–8. *Madrid, Prado*

(A) Luis Tristán: St Louis of France giving Alms, 1620.
Paris, Louvre

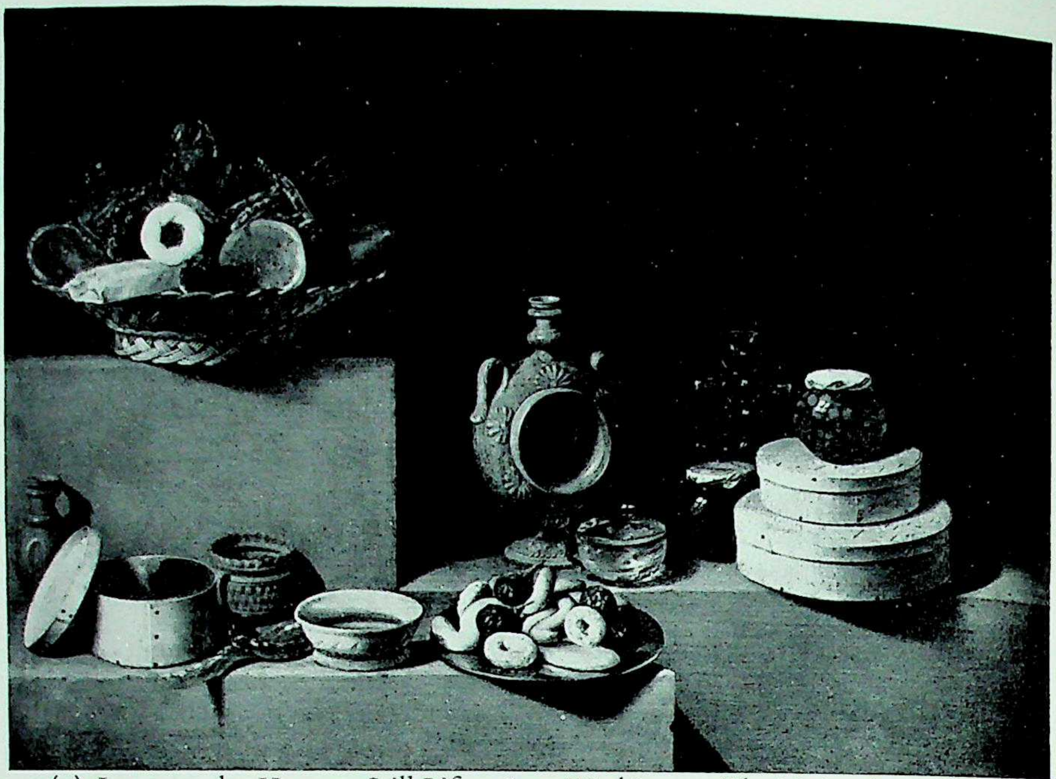
(B) Francisco Ribalta: St Bernard embracing Christ,
c. 1620–8. *Madrid, Prado*



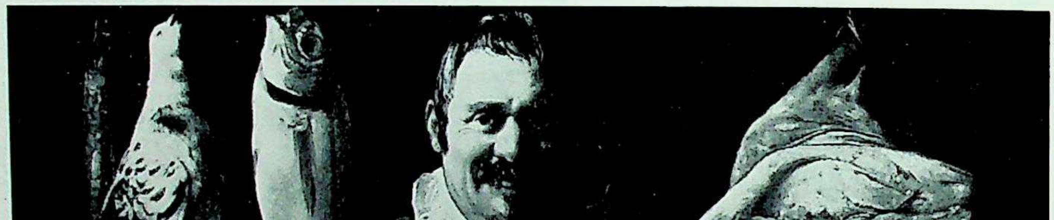
(A) Vincencio Carducho: The Dream of Pope Honorius, *c.* 1626–32.
Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland



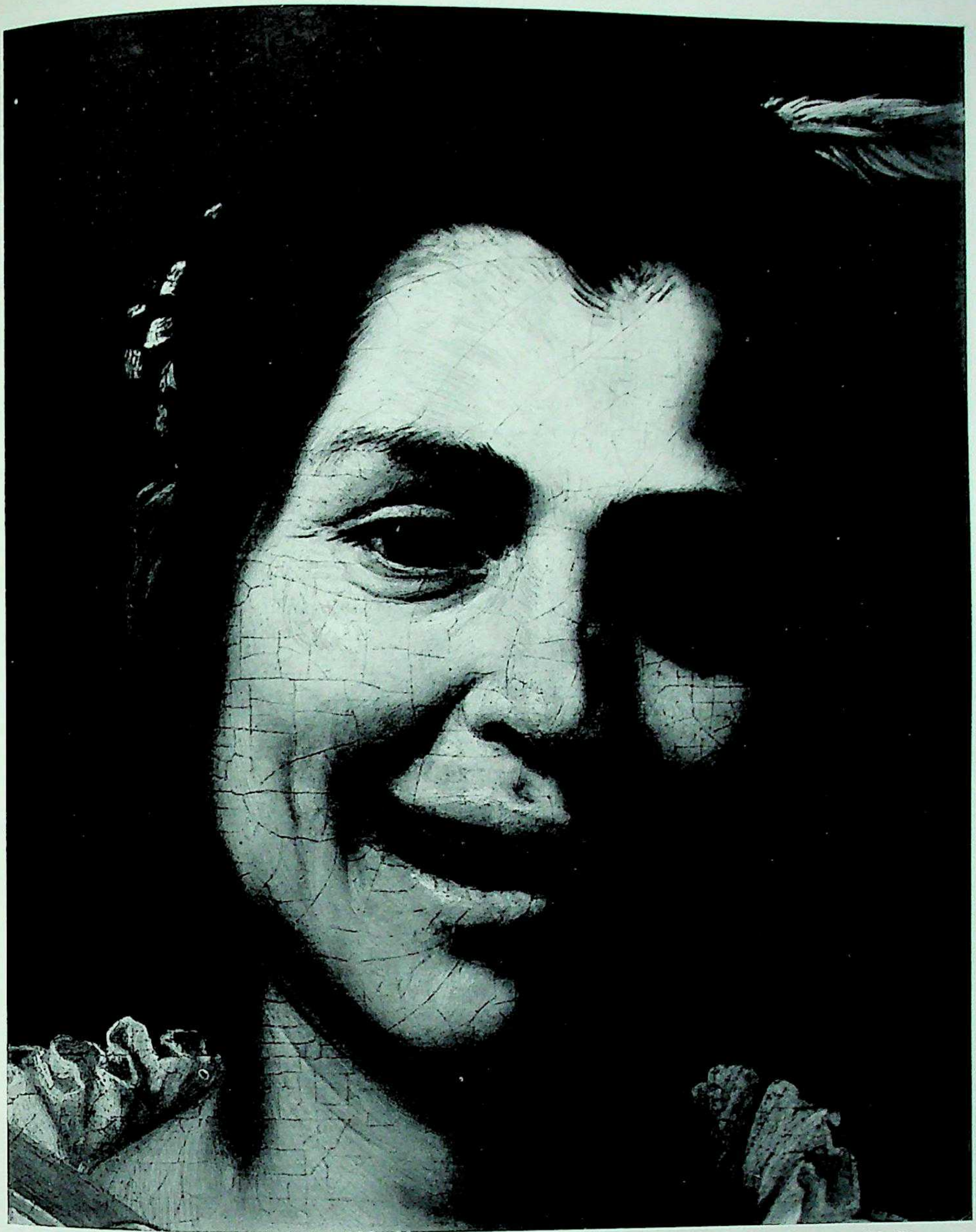
(B) Juan Bautista Mayno: Monk, *c.* 1635.
Oxford, Ashmolean



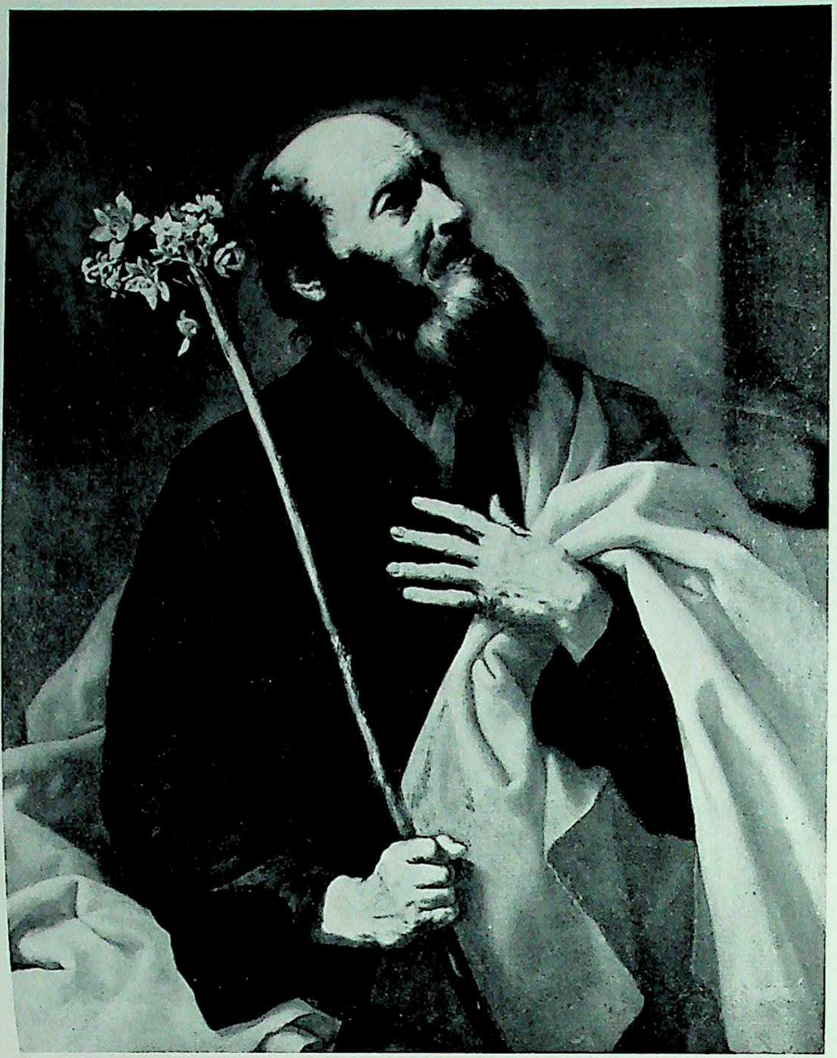
(A) Juan van der Hamen: Still Life, 1627. *Washington, The National Art Gallery*



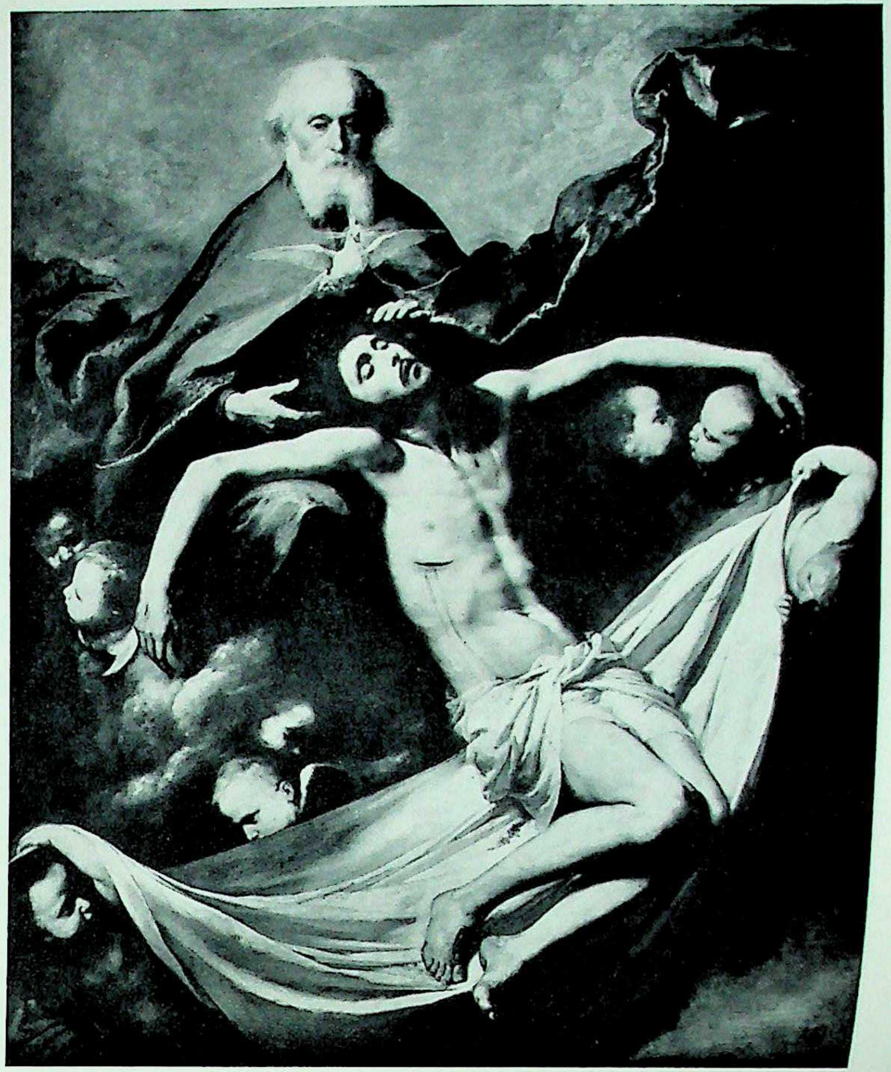
(B) Juan van der Hamen: The Cook, *c.* 1630. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



Ribera: A laughing Girl with a Tambourine, 1637. Detail. *London, Mrs Margaret H. Drey*



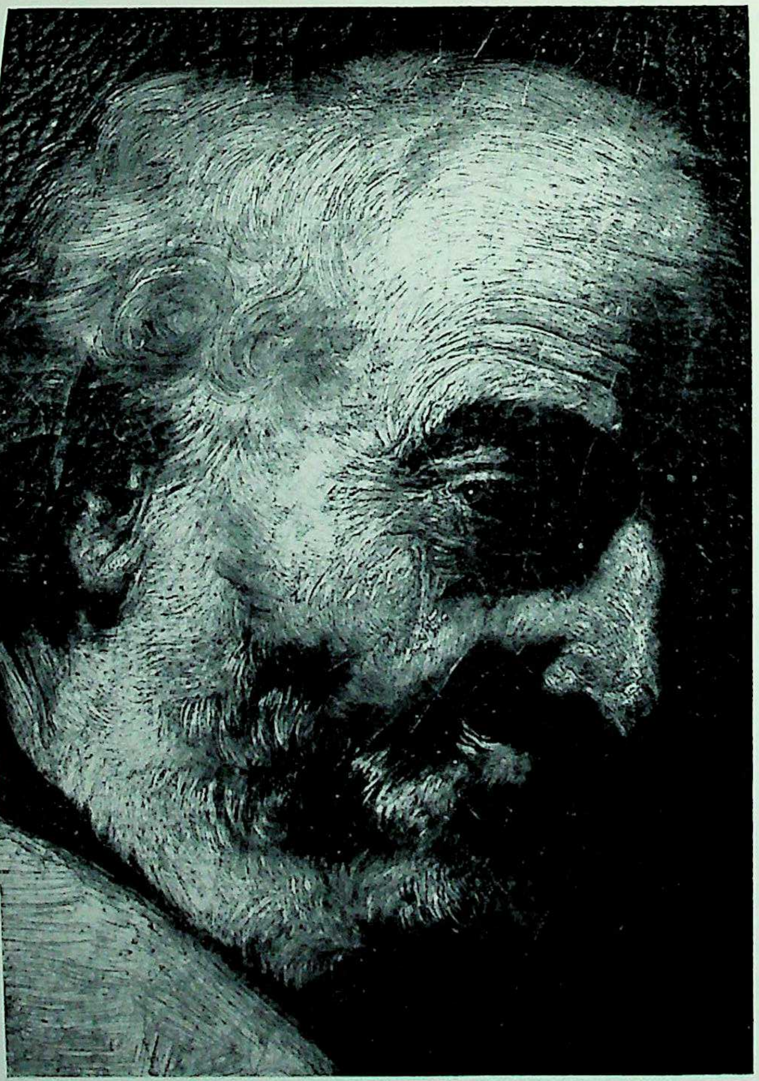
(A) Ribera: St Joseph and the budding Rod, *c.* 1635.
Brooklyn, New York, Museum



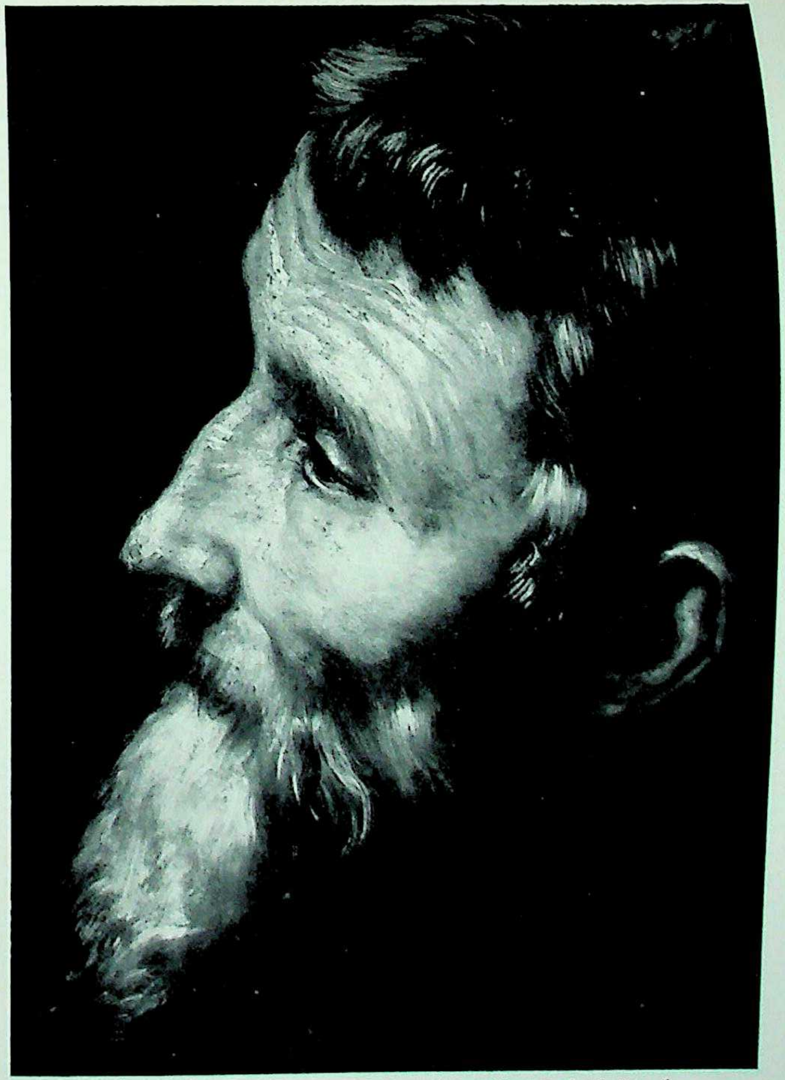
(B) Ribera: The Trinity, *c.* 1636–7.
Madrid, Prado

(A) Ribera: St Joseph and the budding Rod, *c.* 1635.
Brooklyn, New York, Museum

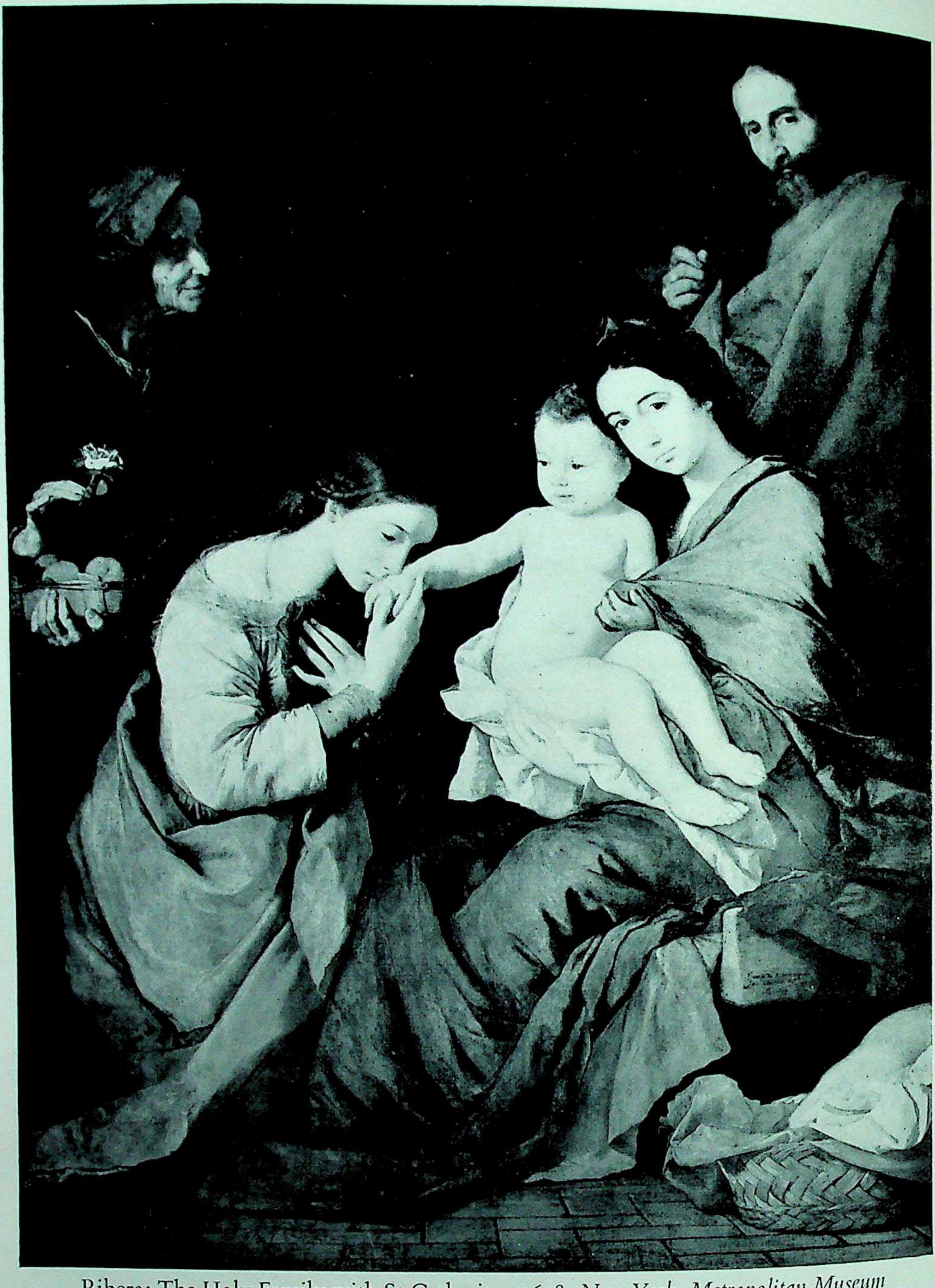
(B) Ribera: The Trinity, *c.* 1636–7.
Madrid, Prado



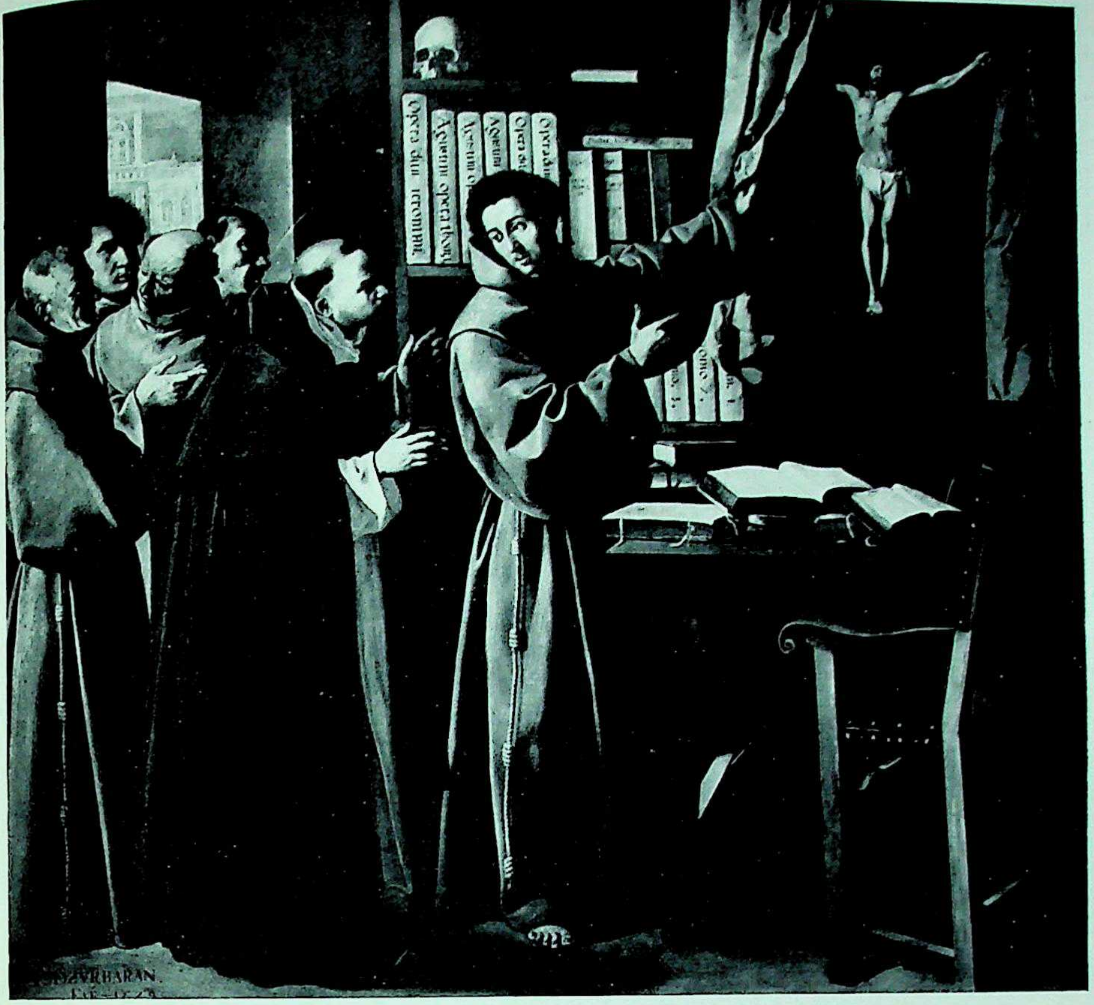
(A) Ribera: St Peter, *c.* 1631–2. Detail. *Madrid, Prado*



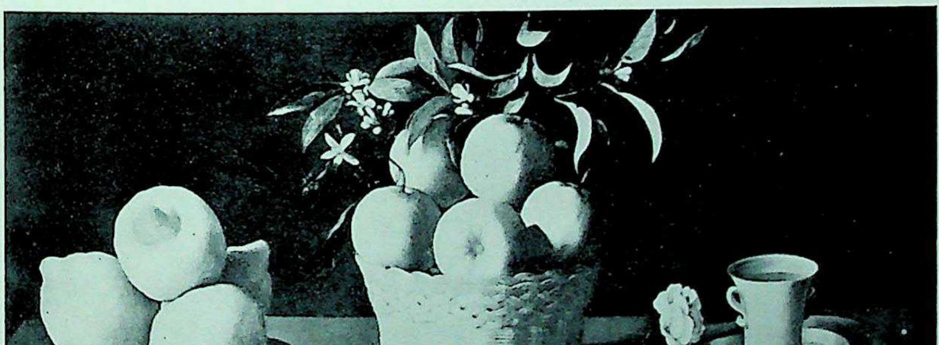
(B) Ribera: St Jerome, 1644. Detail. *Madrid, Prado*



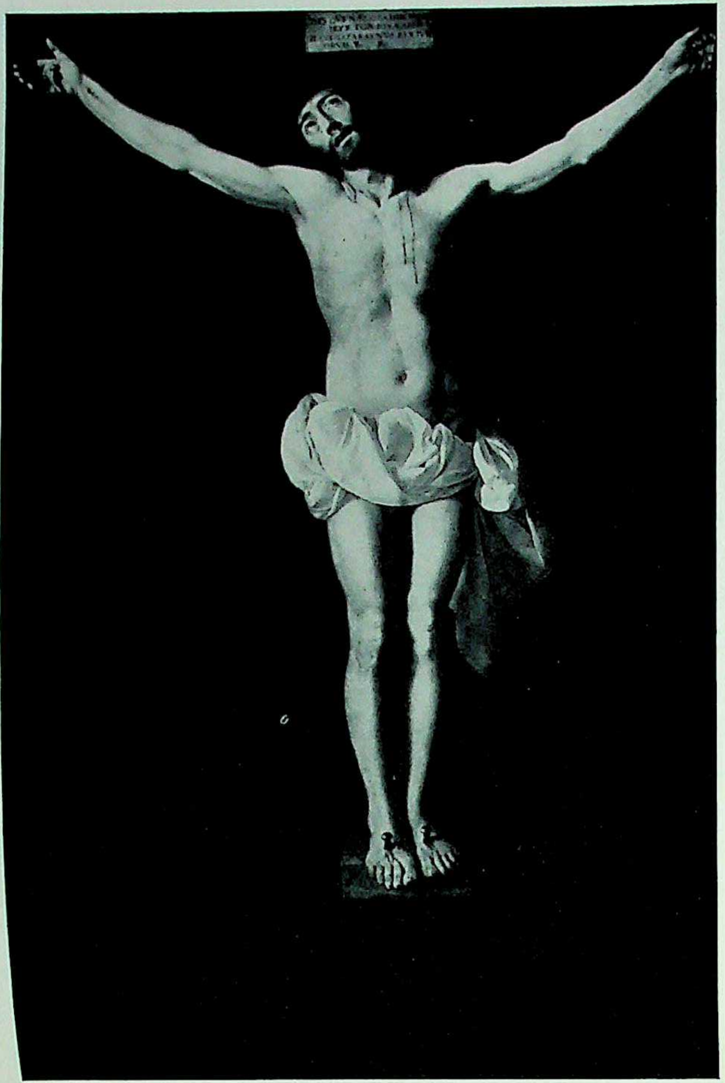
Ribera: The Holy Family with St Catherine, 1648. *New York, Metropolitan Museum*



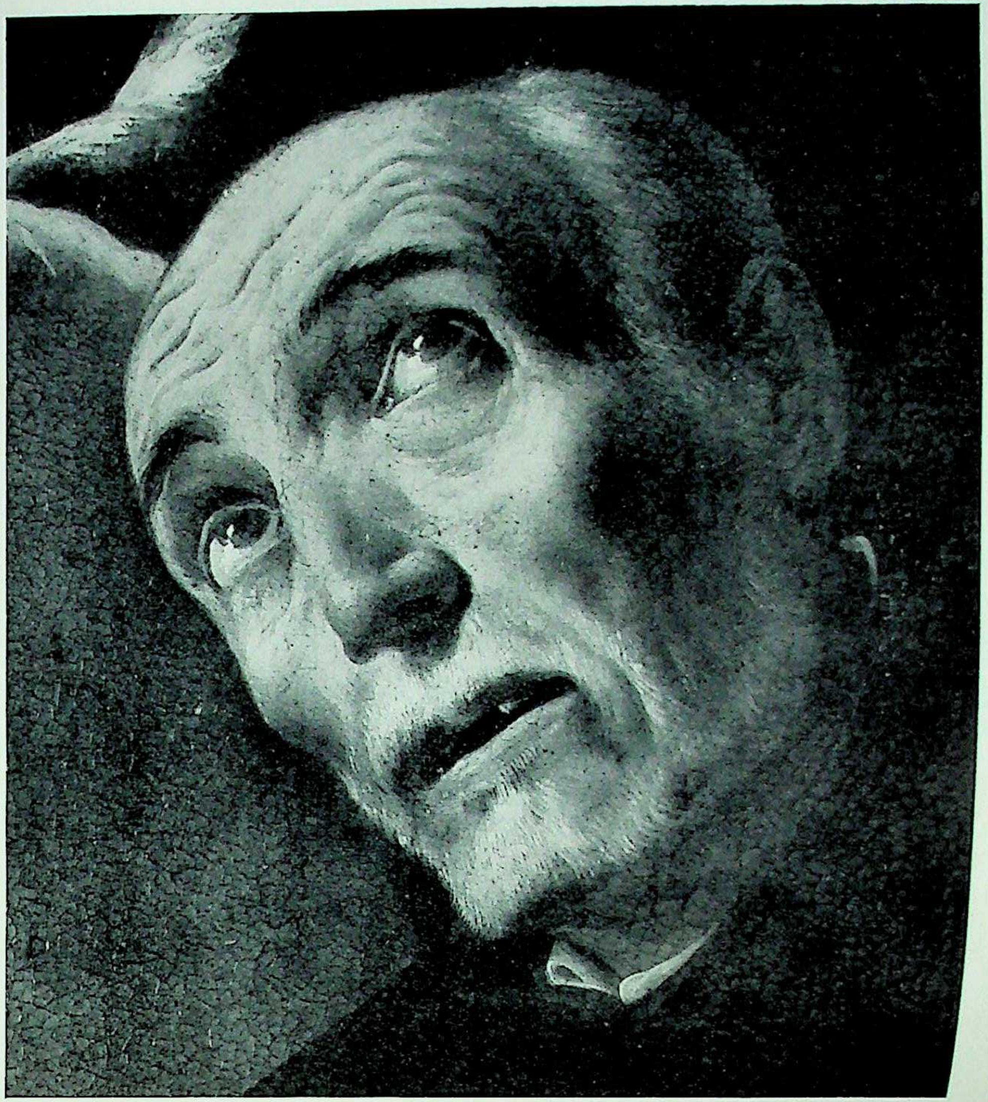
(A) Zurbarán: St Bonaventura refers St Thomas Aquinas to the Saviour, 1629.
Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (destroyed 1945)



(B) Zurbarán: Still-Life with Oranges, 1633.
Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi



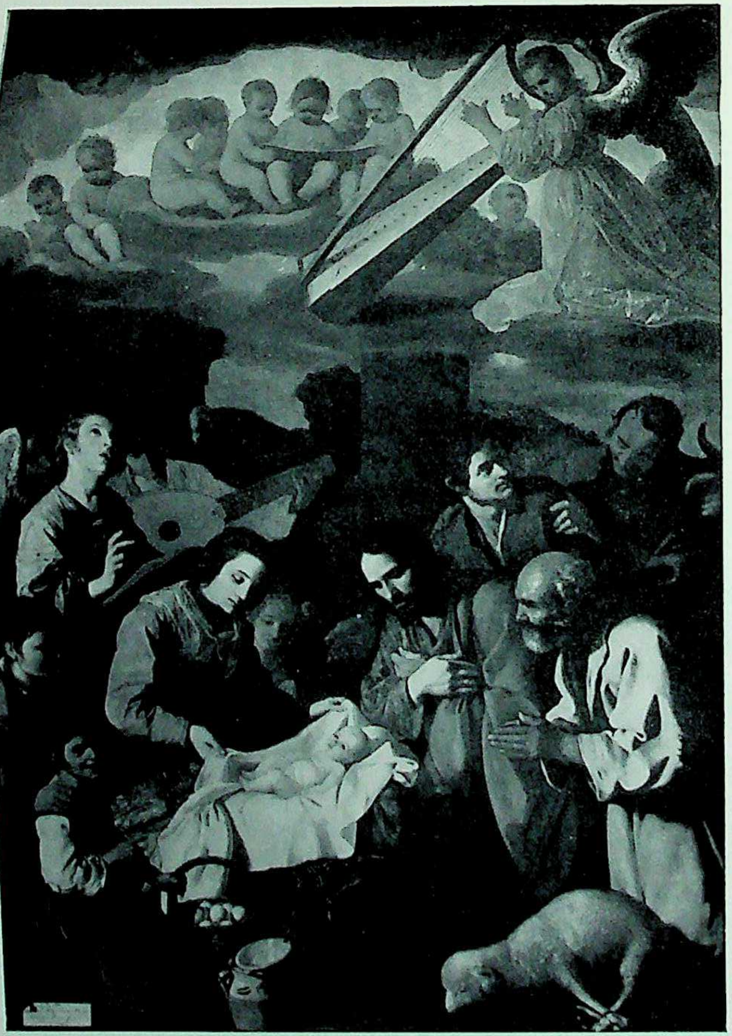
(A) Zurbarán: The Crucifixion, 1628–9.
Seville, Museum



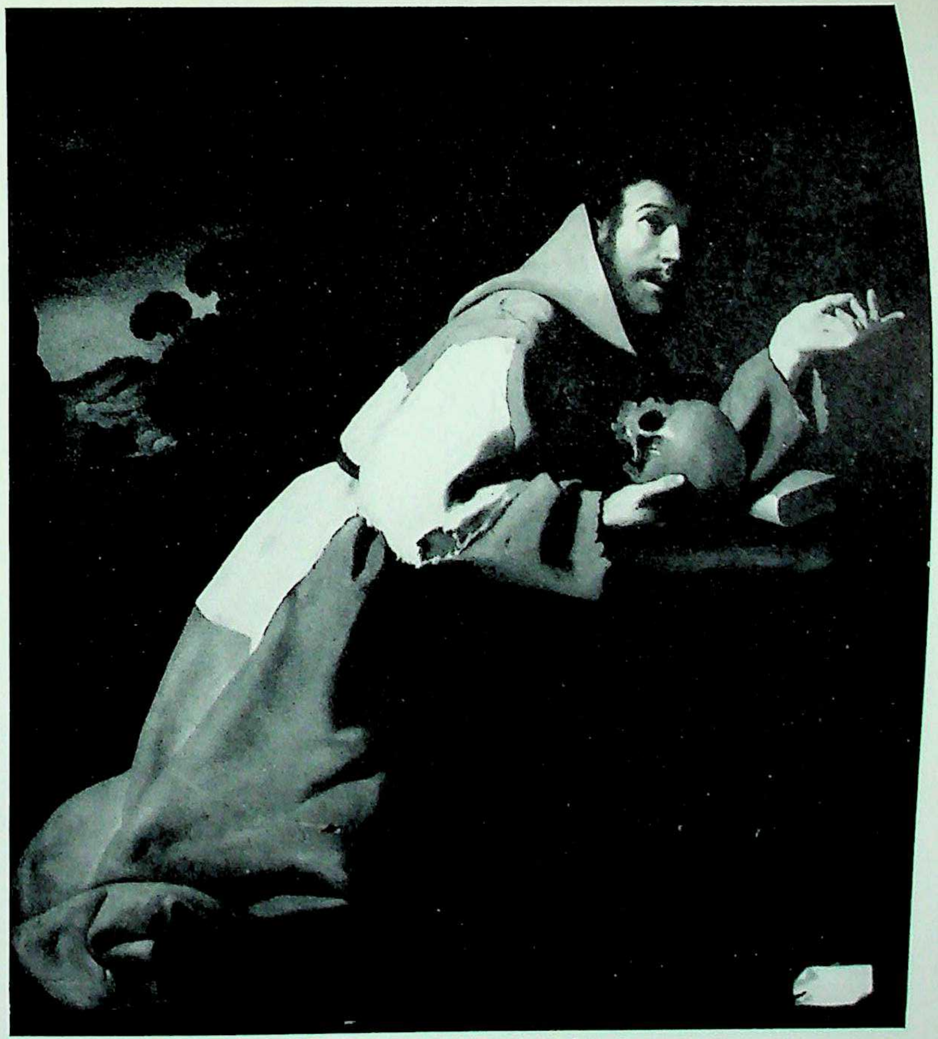
(B) Zurbarán: Vision of the Blessed Alonso Rodríguez, 1630. Detail.
Madrid, Academy

(A) Zurbarán: The Crucifixion, 1628–9.
Seville, Museum

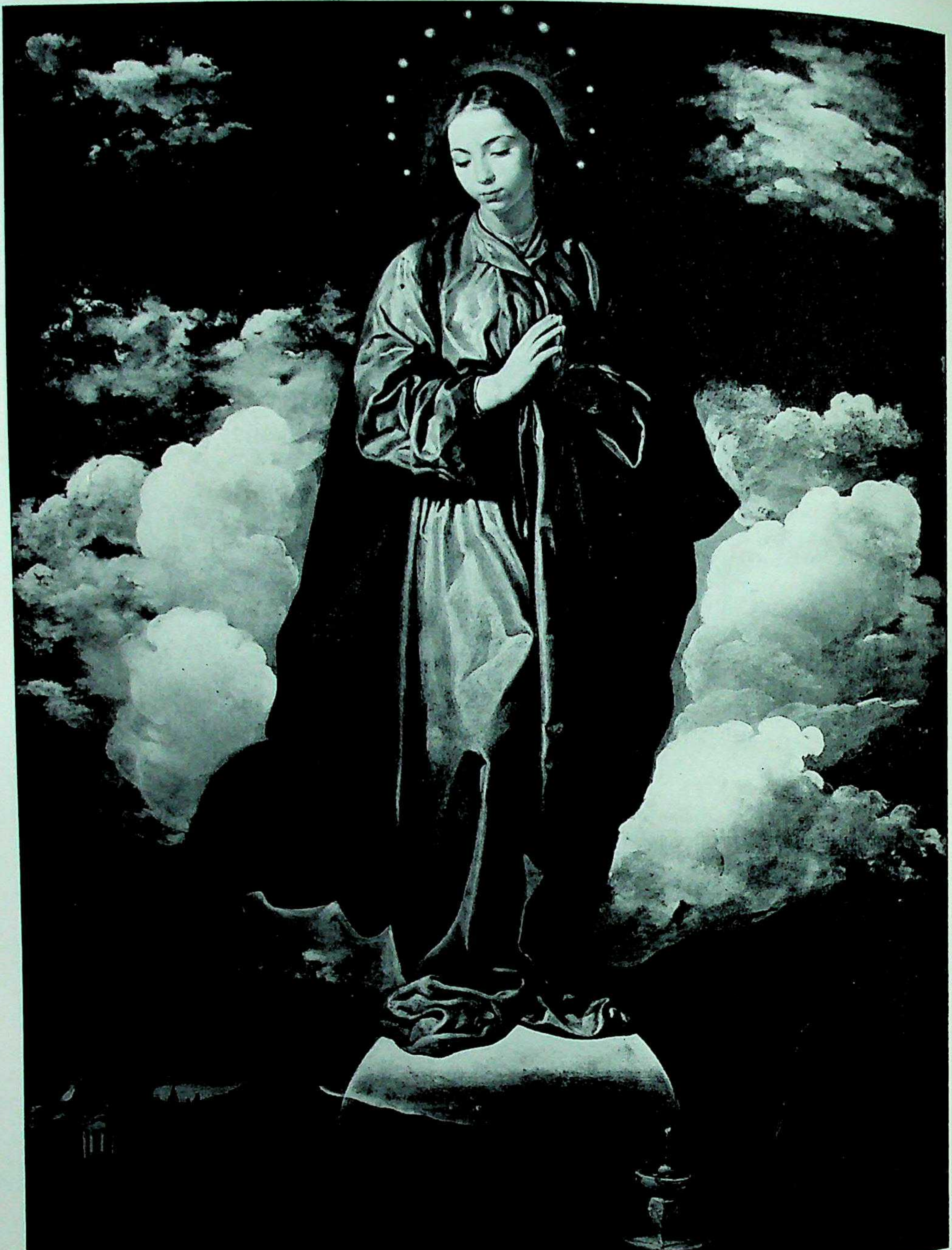
(B) Zurbarán: Vision of the Blessed Alonso Rodríguez, 1630. Detail.
Madrid, Academy



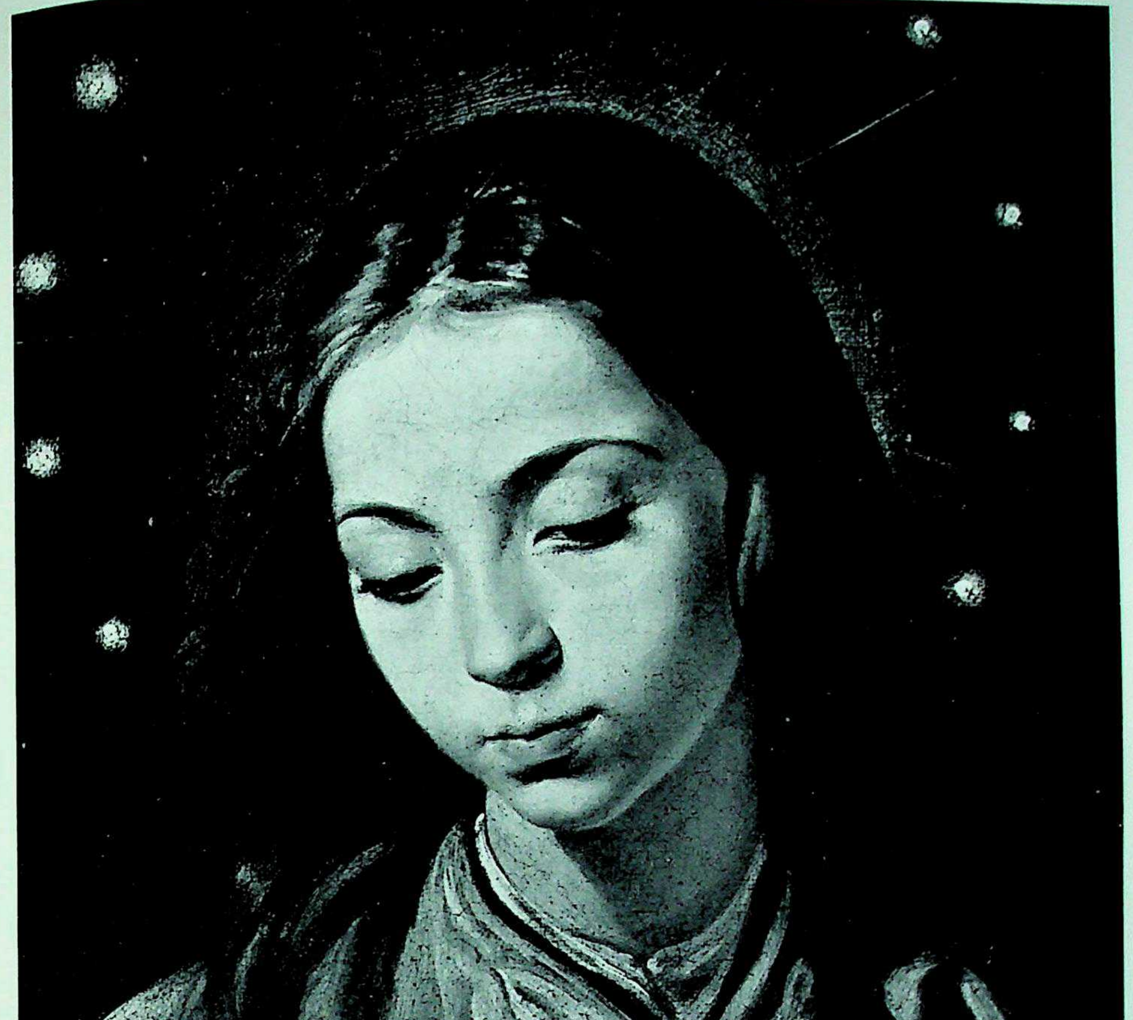
(A) Zurbarán: The Adoration of the Shepherds, 1638.
Grenoble, Museum



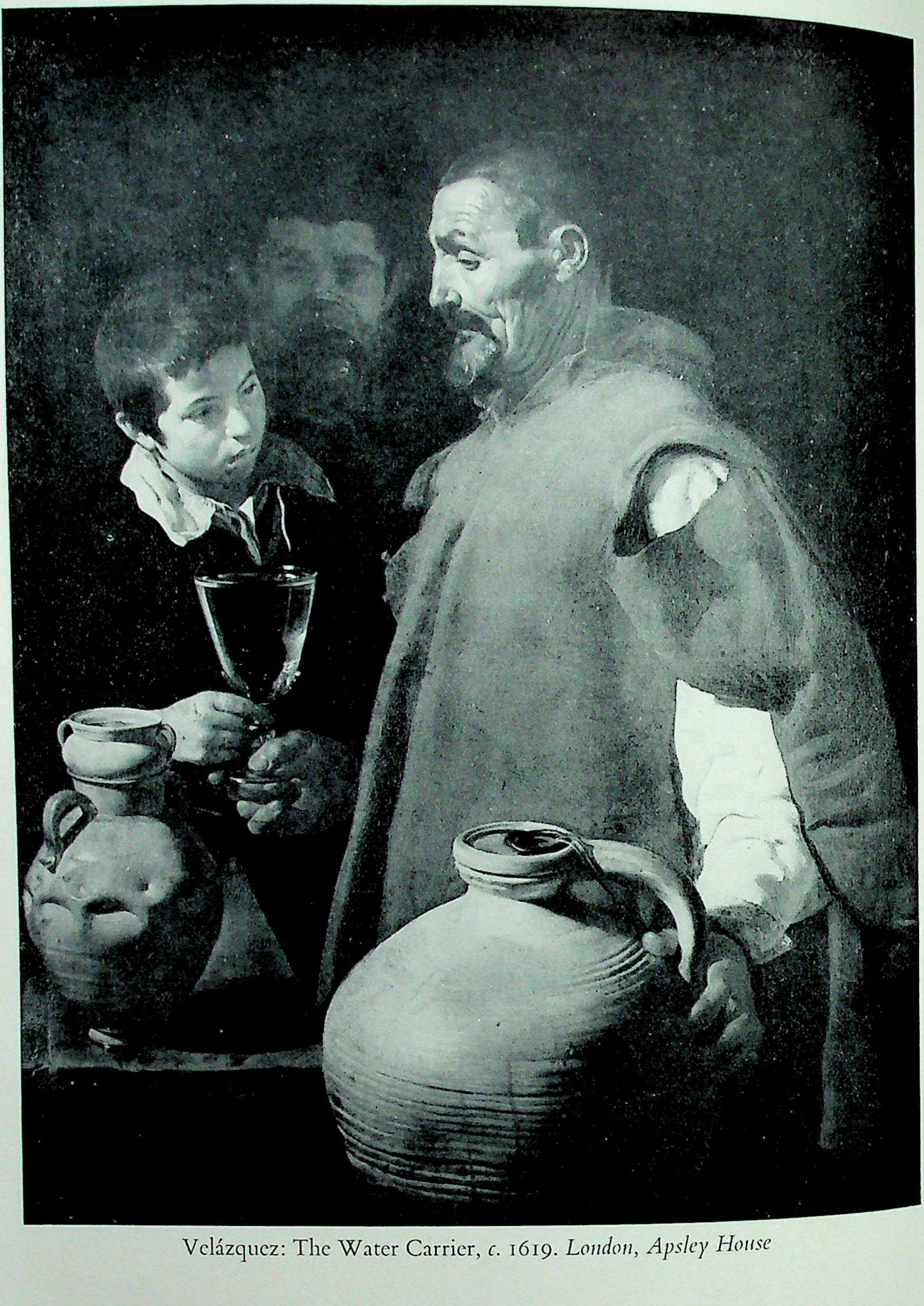
(B) Zurbarán: St Francis kneeling, 1639.
London, National Gallery



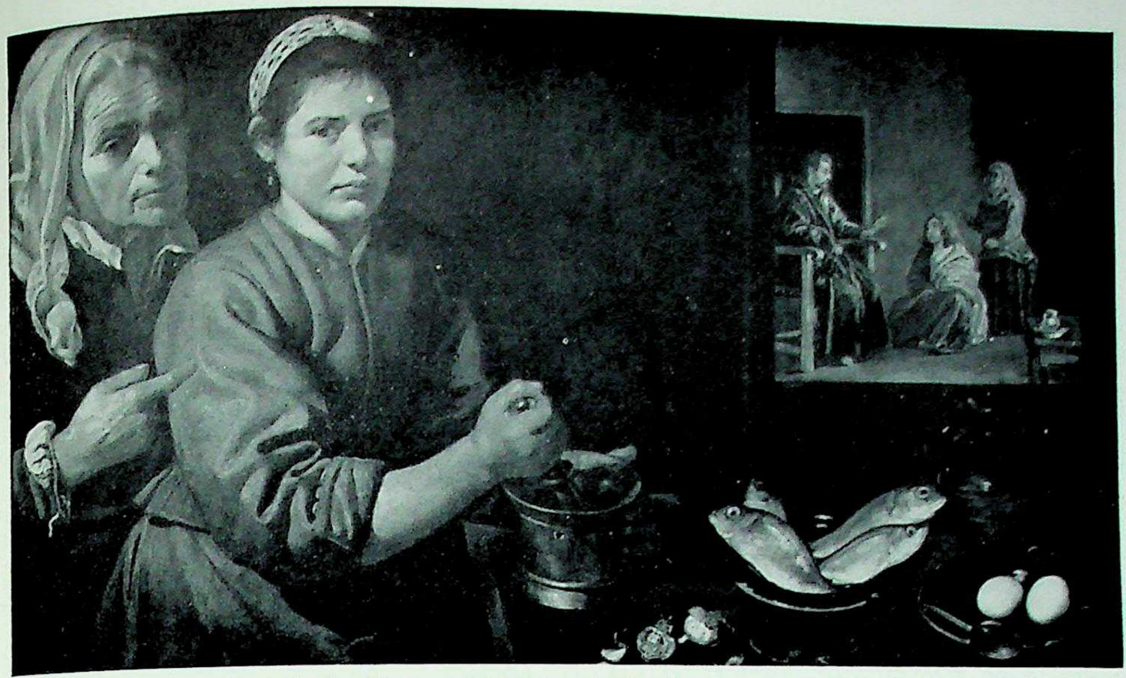
Velázquez: The Immaculate Conception, *c.* 1618. *London, National Gallery*



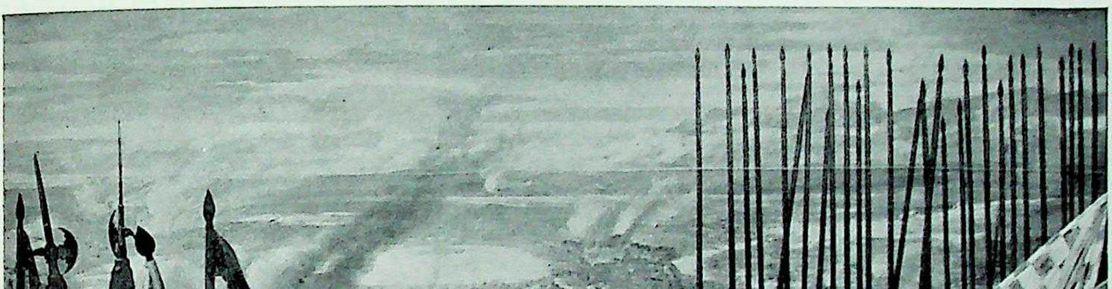
Velázquez: The Immaculate Conception, *c.* 1618. Detail. *London, National Gallery*



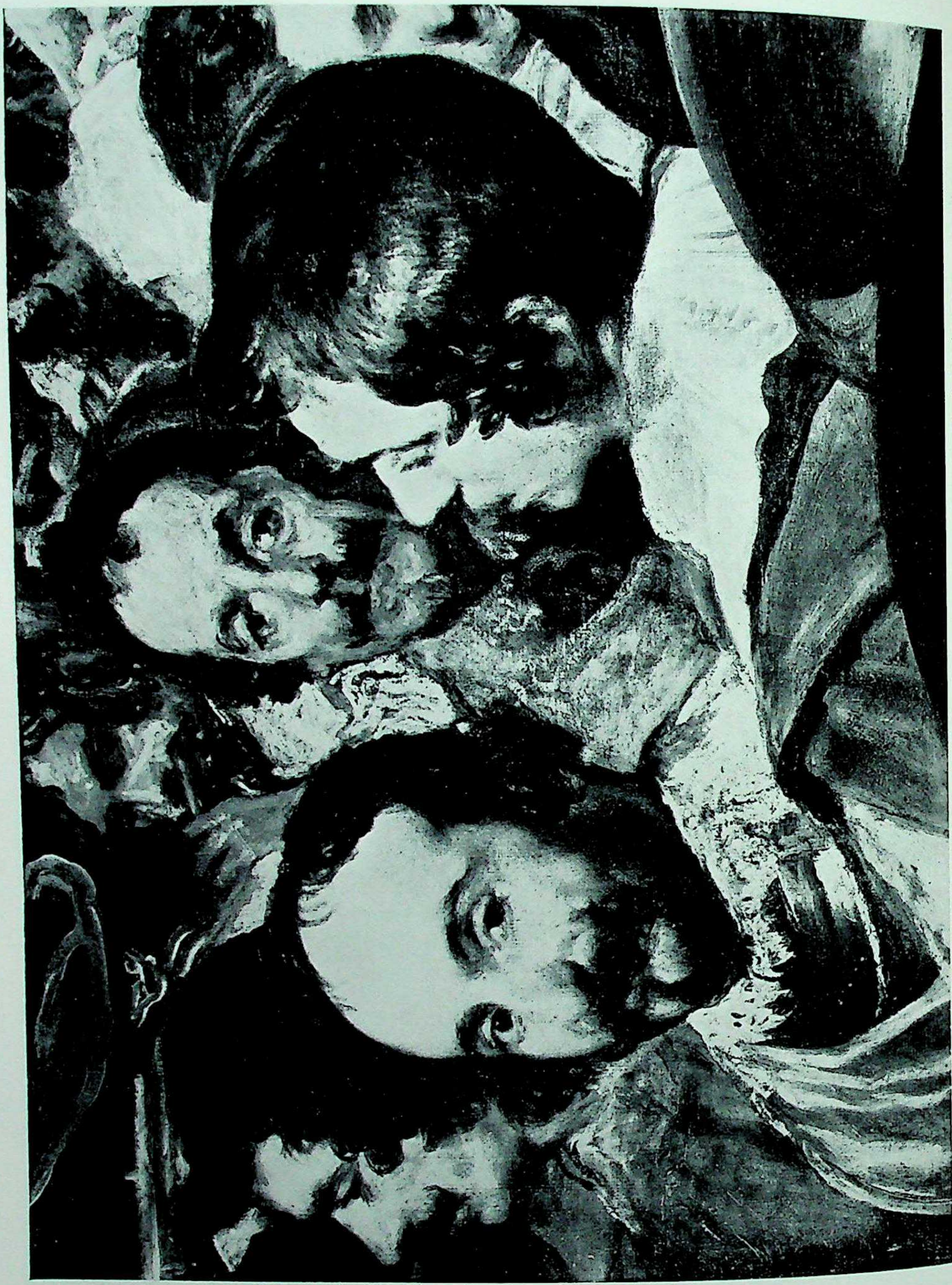
Velázquez: The Water Carrier, *c.* 1619. *London, Apsley House*



(A) Velázquez: Christ in the House of Mary and Martha, *c.* 1619–20. *London, National Gallery*

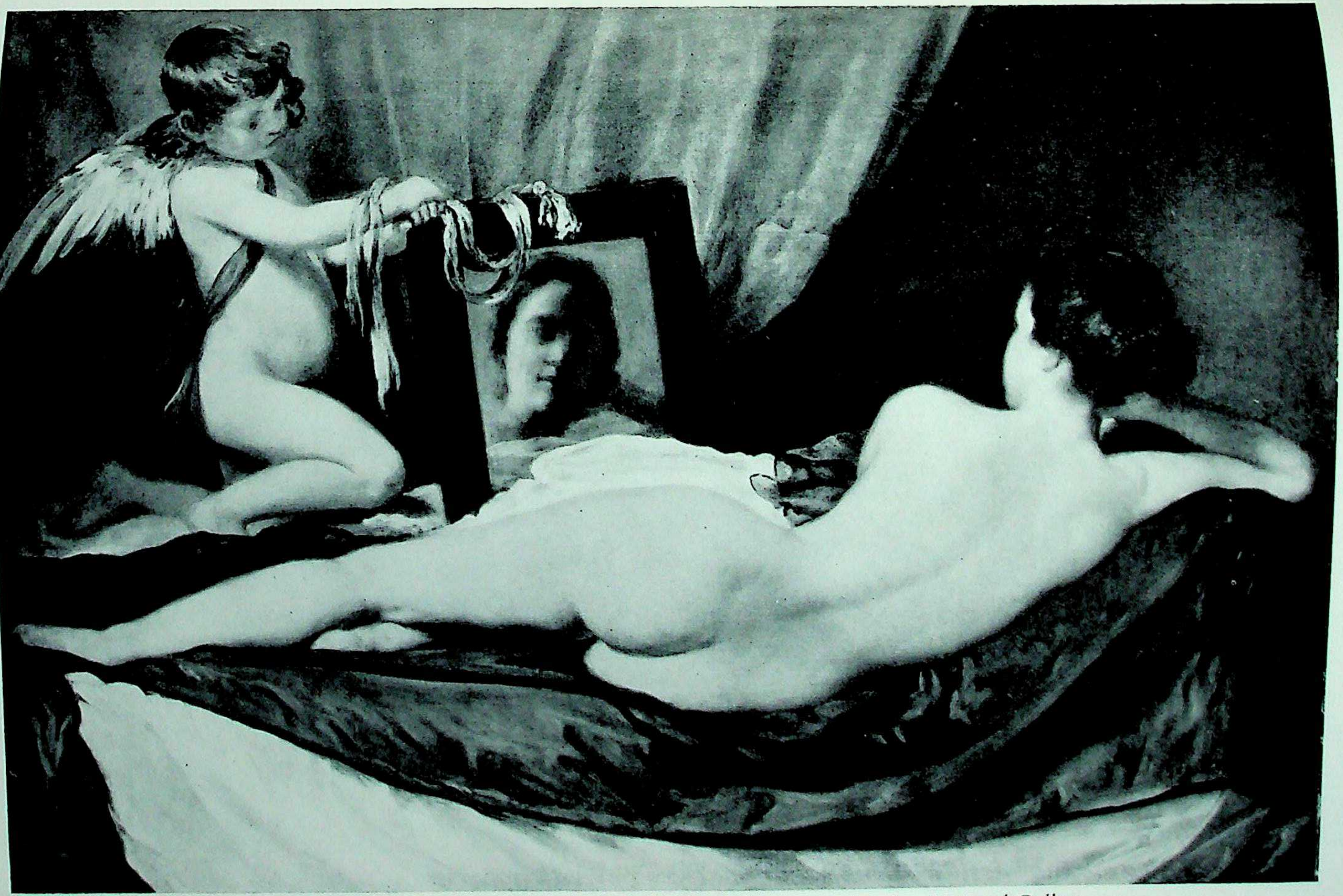


(B) Velázquez: The Surrender of Breda, 1634. *Madrid, Prado*

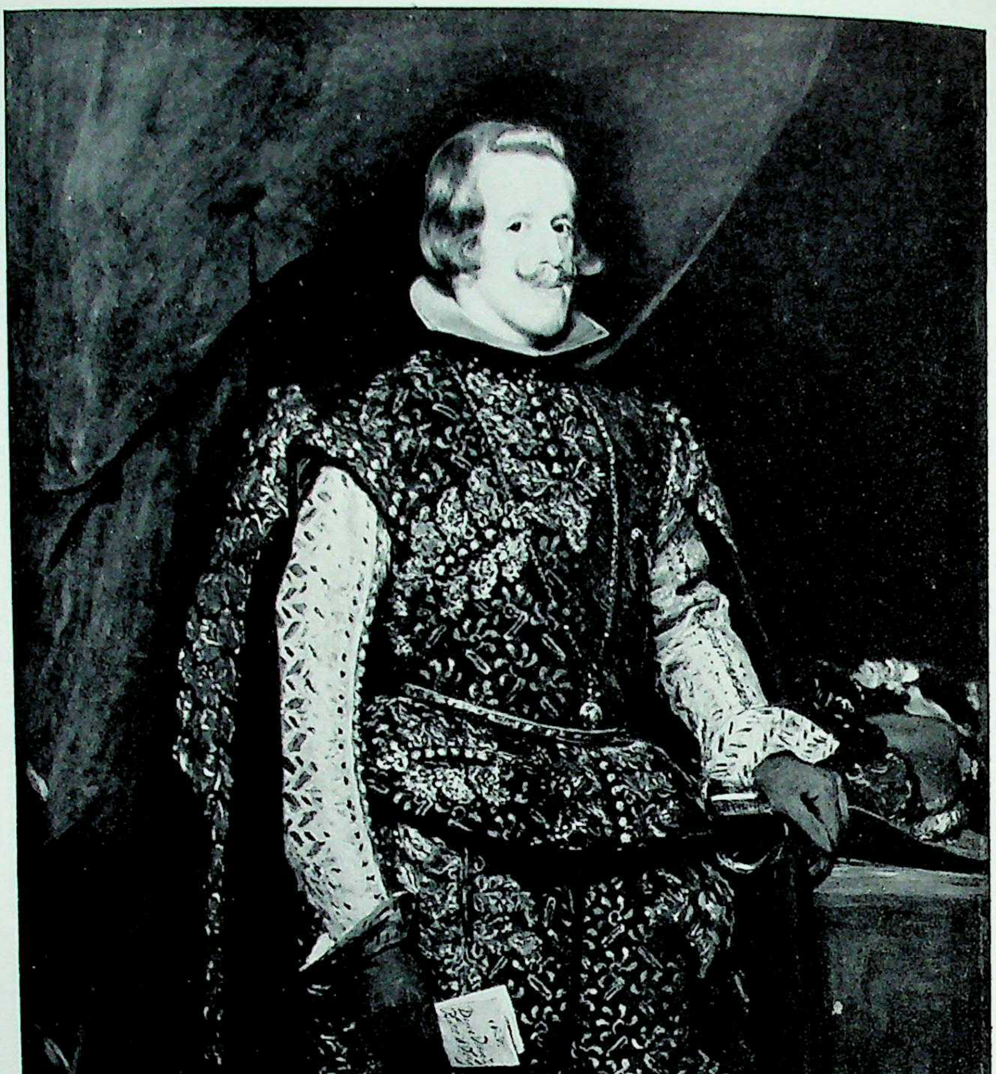


Velázquez: The Surrender of Breda, 1634. Detail. *Madrid, Prado*

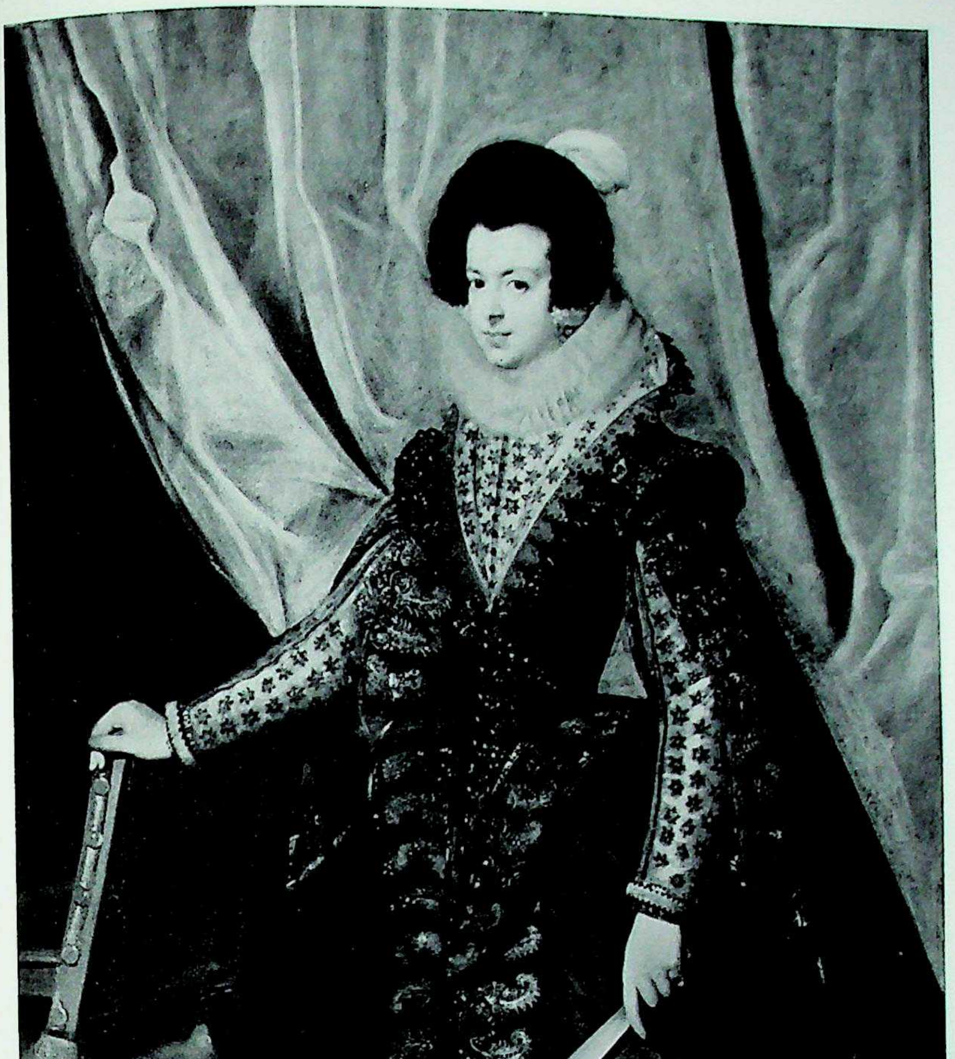
Velázquez: The Surrender of Breda, 1634. Detail. *Madrid, Prado*



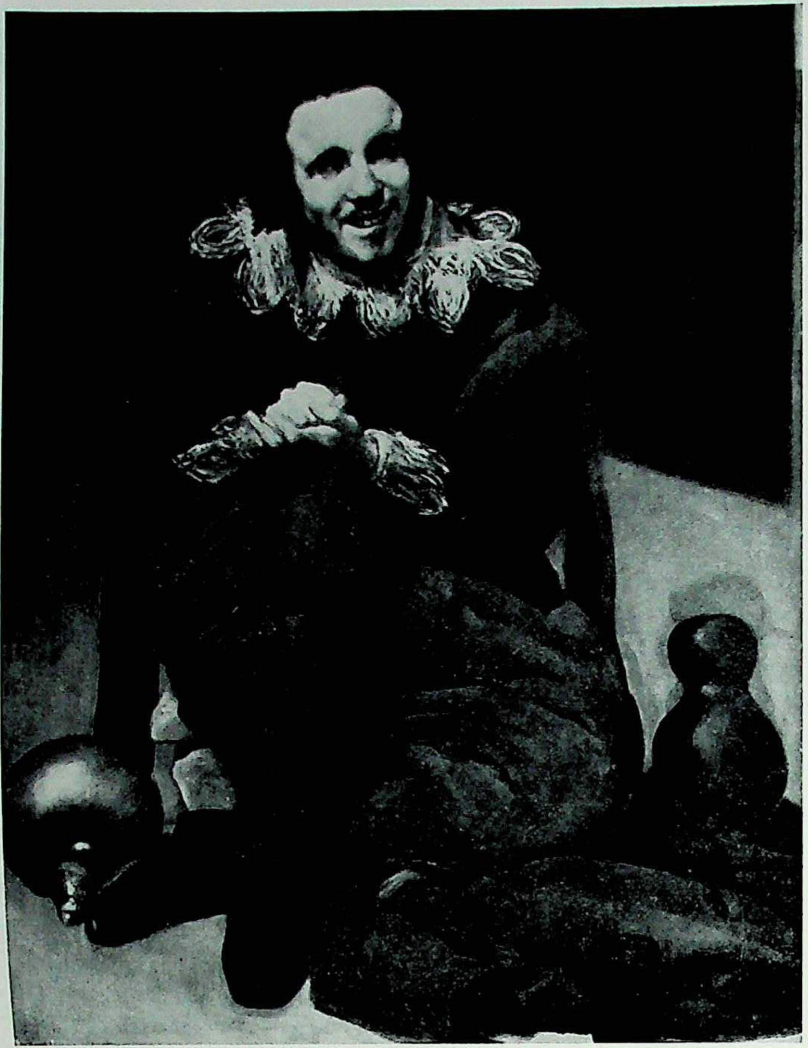
Velázquez: Venus and Cupid ('The Rokeby Venus'), *c.* 1650. *London, National Gallery*



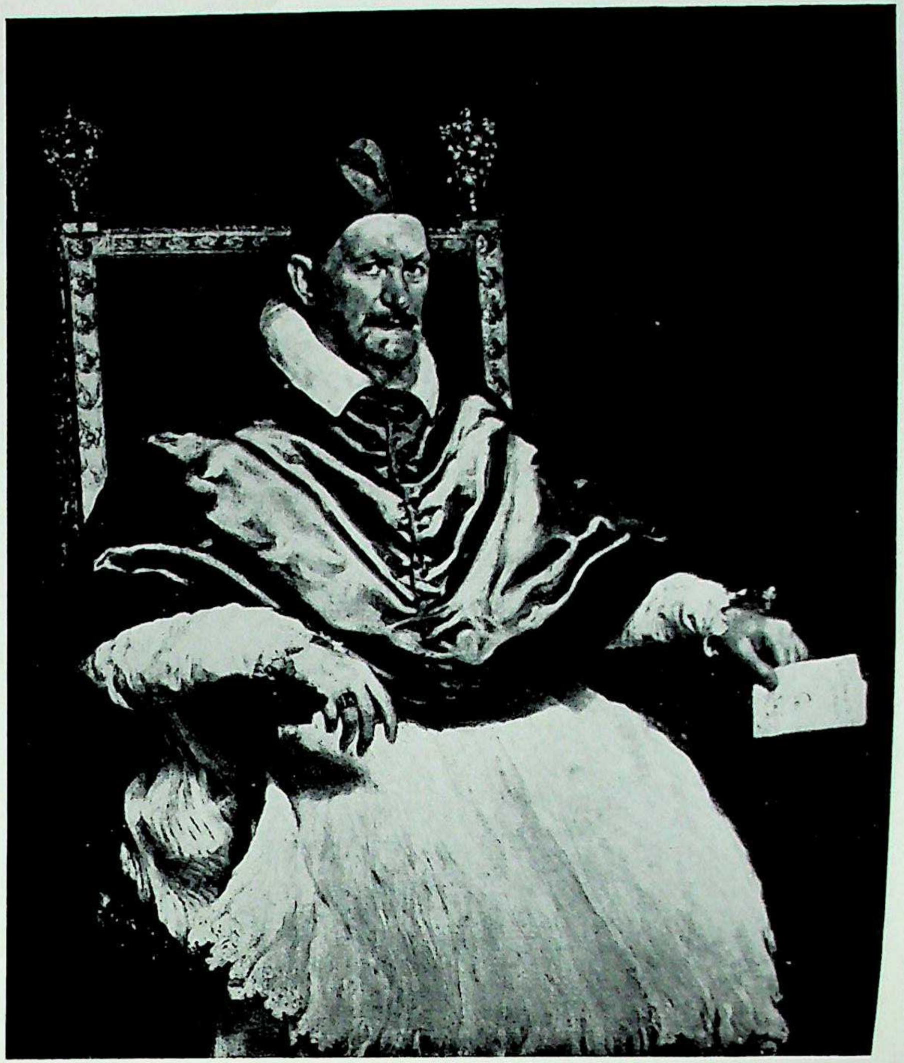
Velázquez: Philip IV ('The Silver Philip'), *c.* 1635. *London, National Gallery*



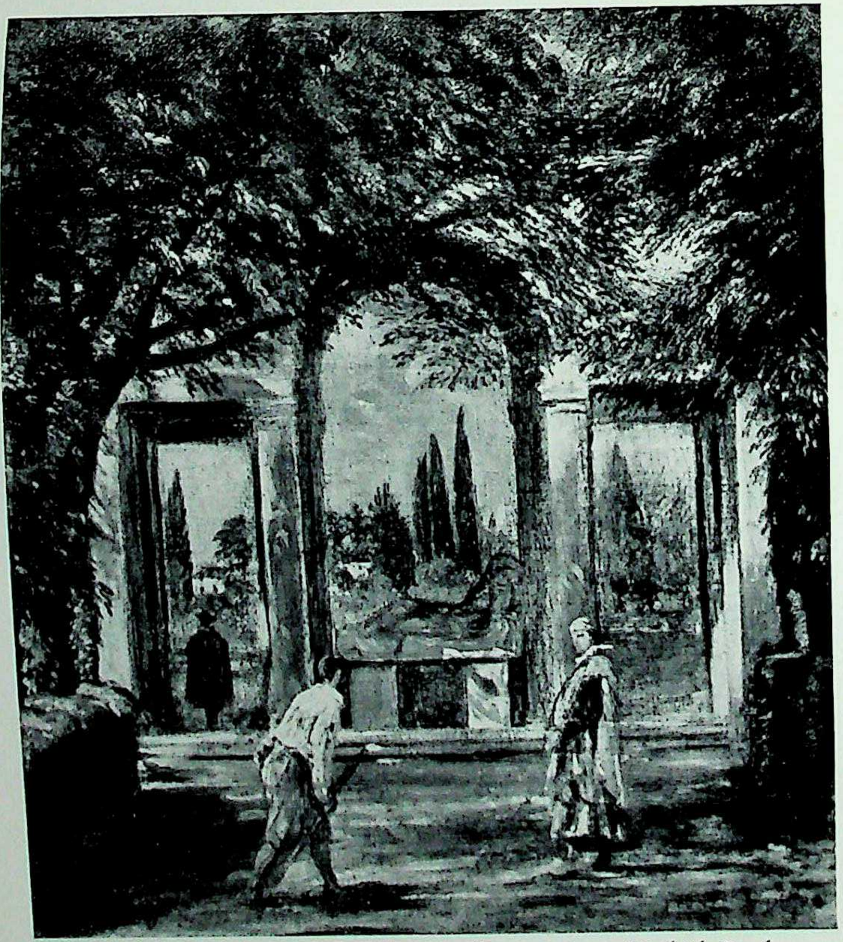
Velázquez: Isabella of Bourbon, *c.* 1631–2. *London, ex Huth Collection*



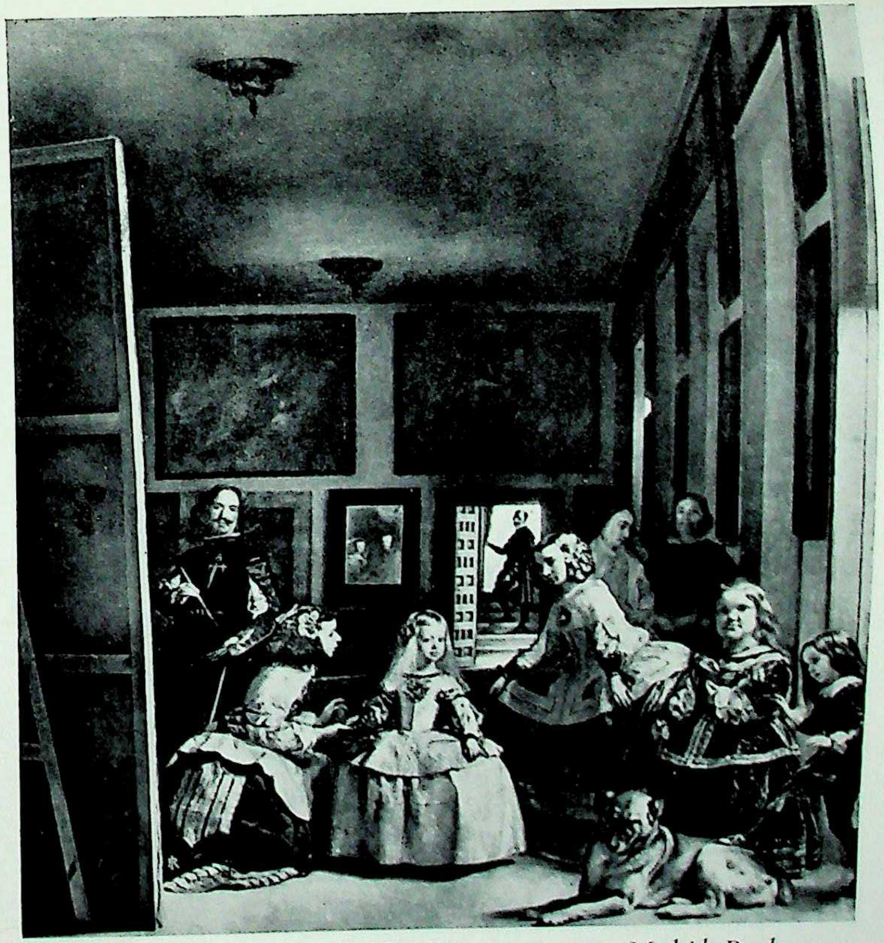
(A) Velázquez: The Fool Calabazas, *c.* 1635. *Madrid, Prado*



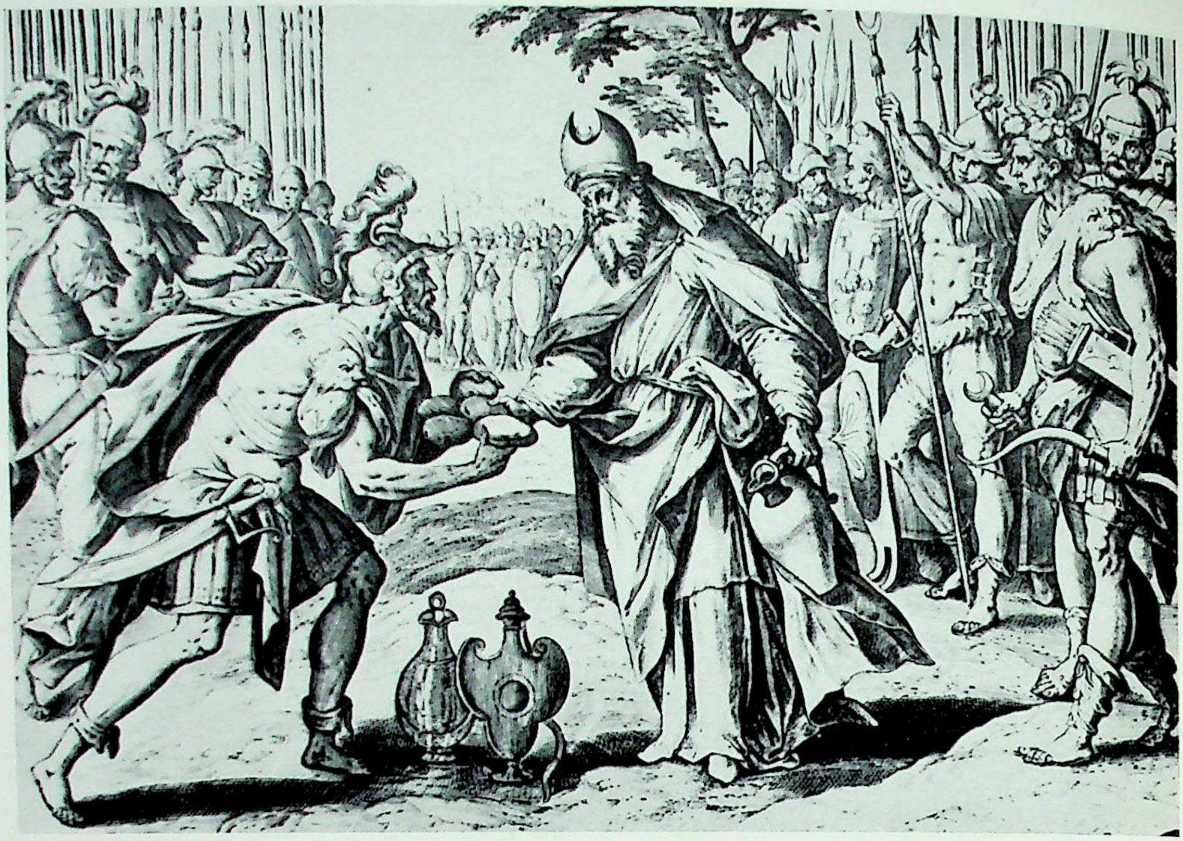
(B) Velázquez: Pope Innocent X, 1650. *Rome, Doria Palace*



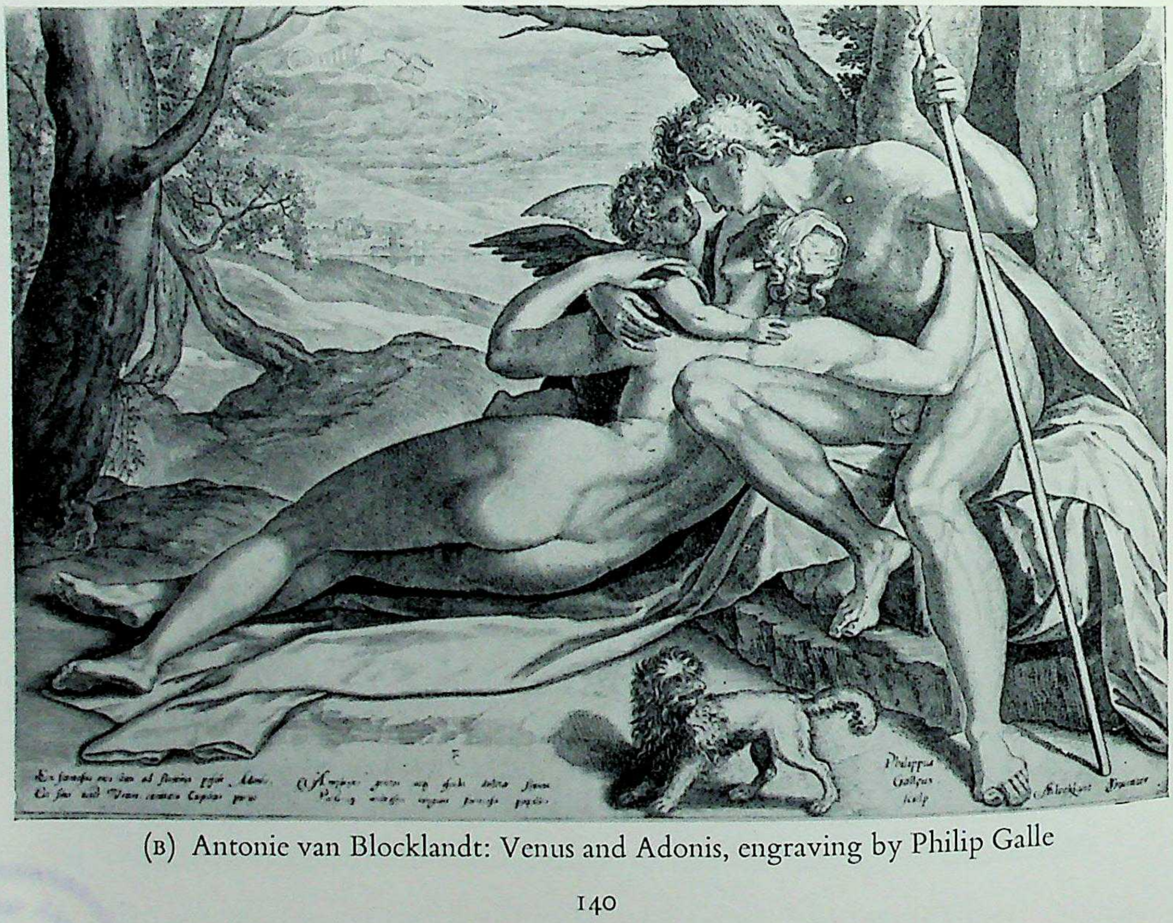
(A) Velázquez: The Medici Garden, *c.* 1650. *Madrid, Prado*



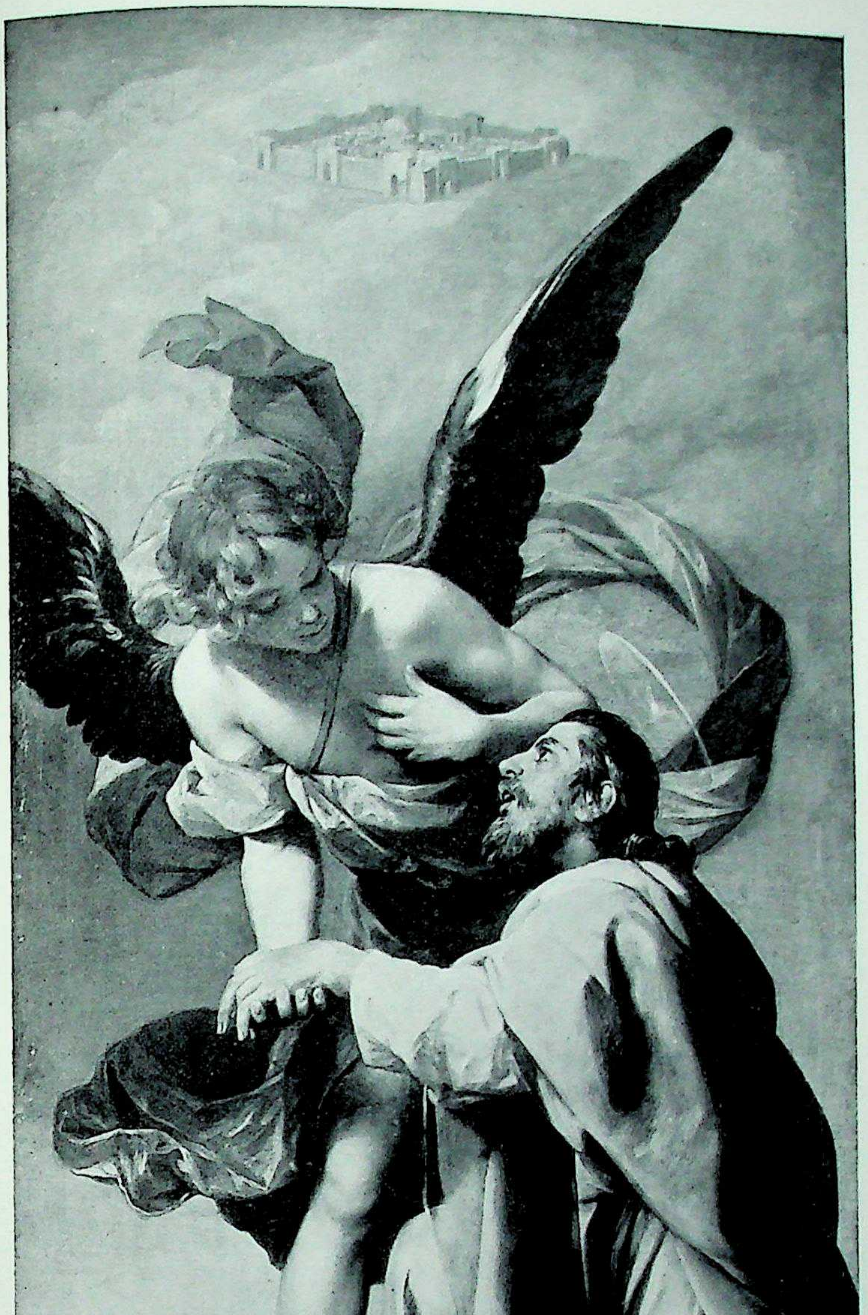
(B) Velázquez: The Maids of Honour, 1656. *Madrid, Prado*



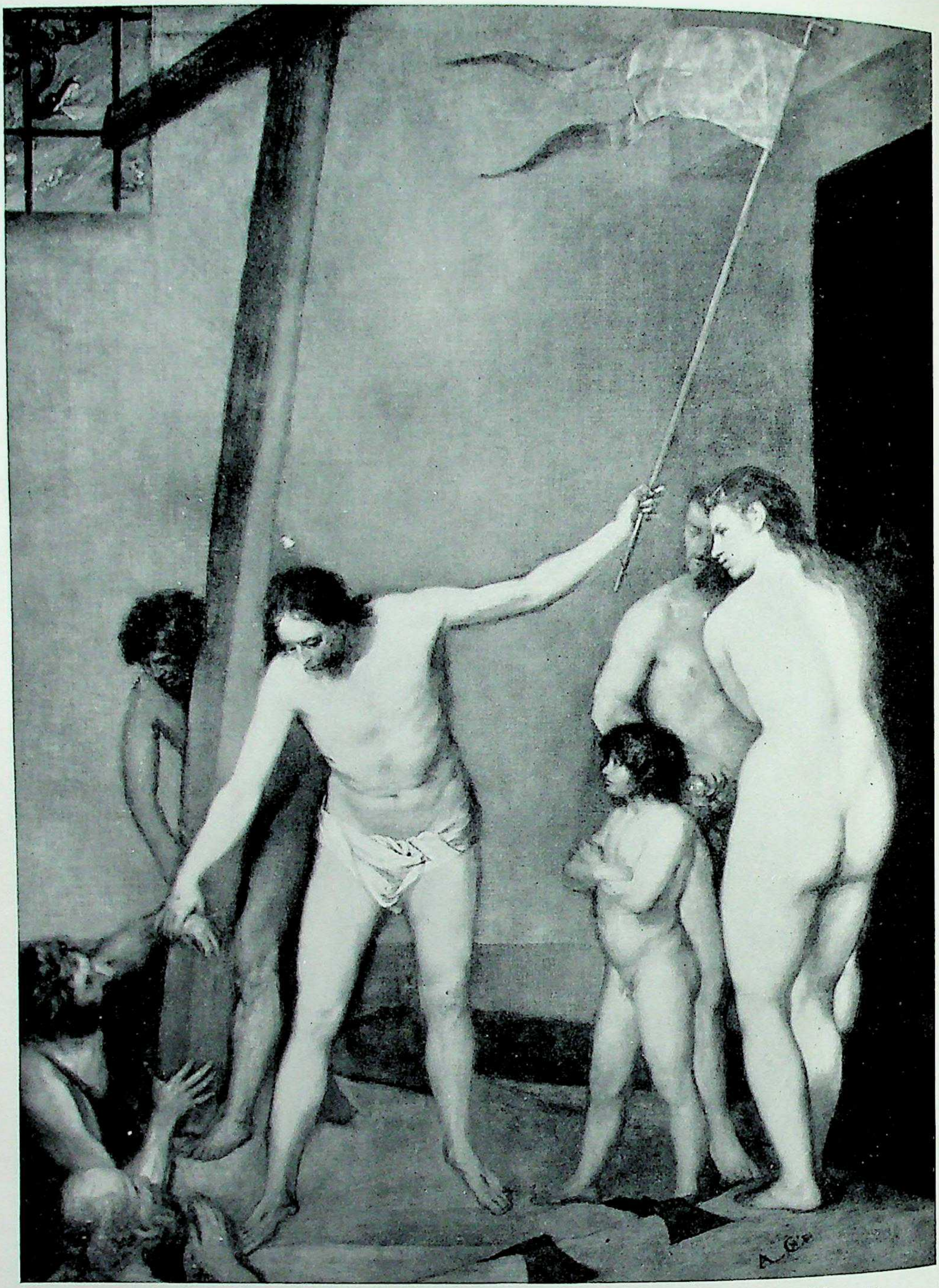
(A) Marten de Vos: Abraham and Melchisedek, engraving, *c.* 1579


Philippus
Galleus
sculp

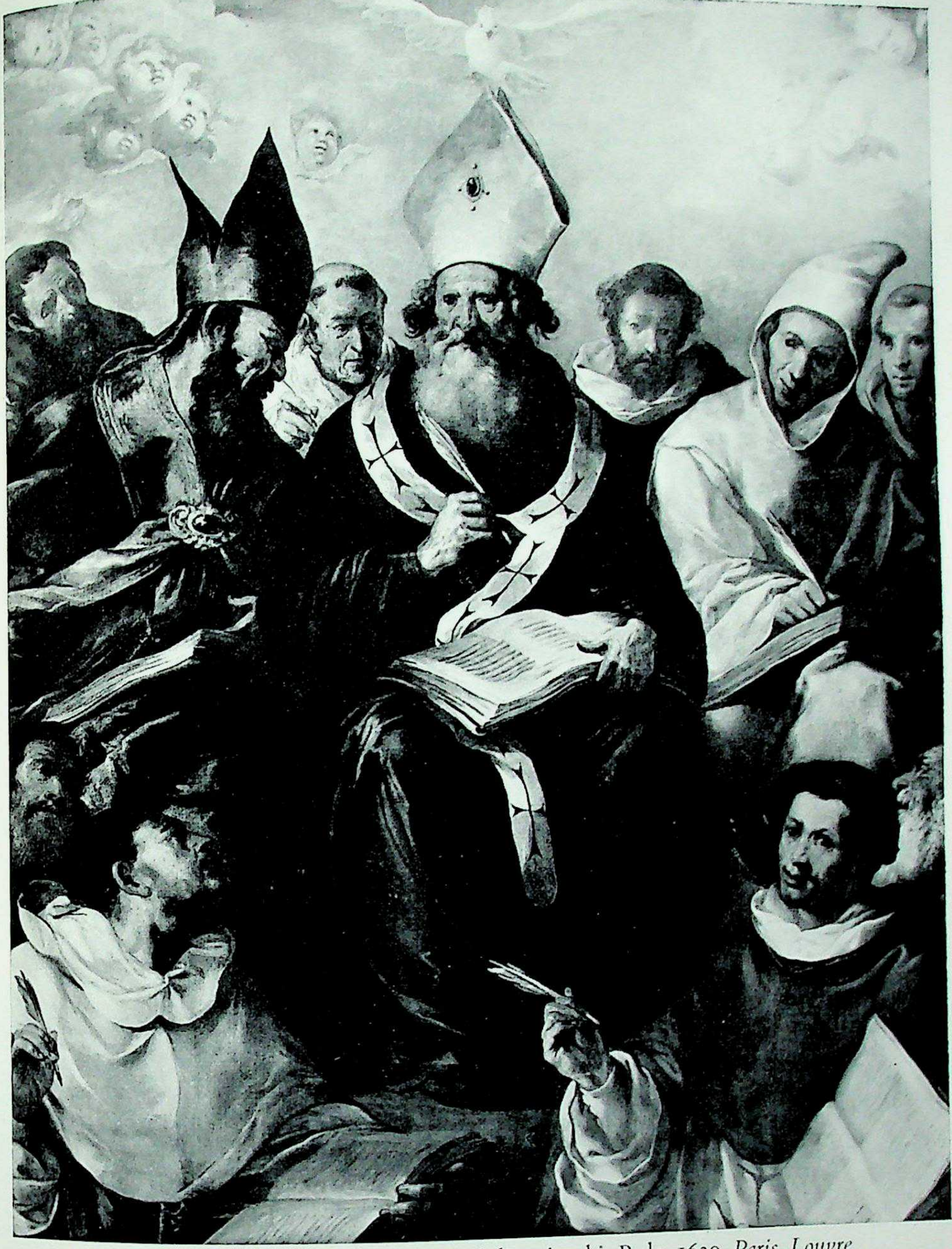
(B) Antonie van Blocklandt: Venus and Adonis, engraving by Philip Galle



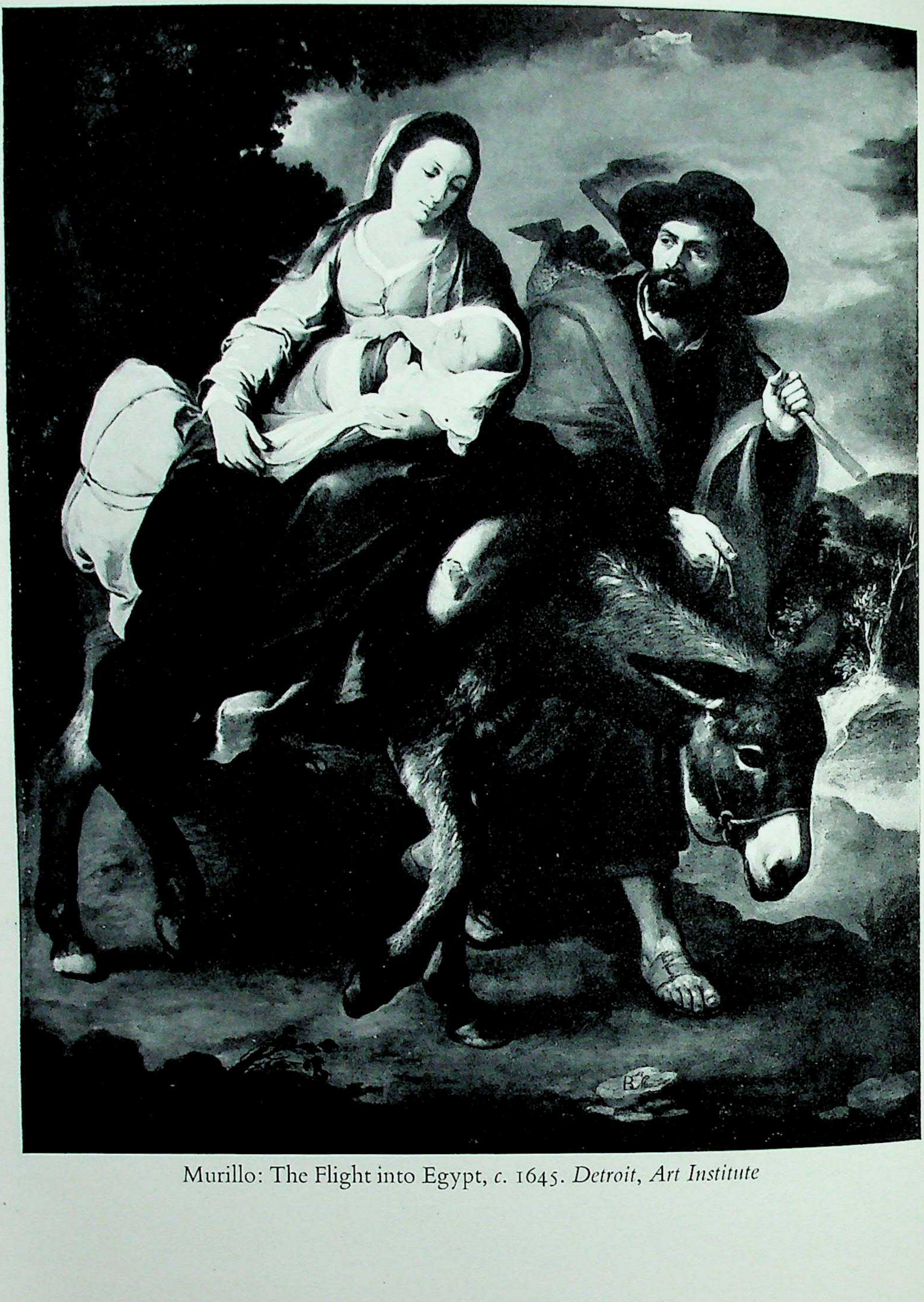
Alonso Cano: The Angel and St John Evangelist, 1635–7.
London, Wallace Collection



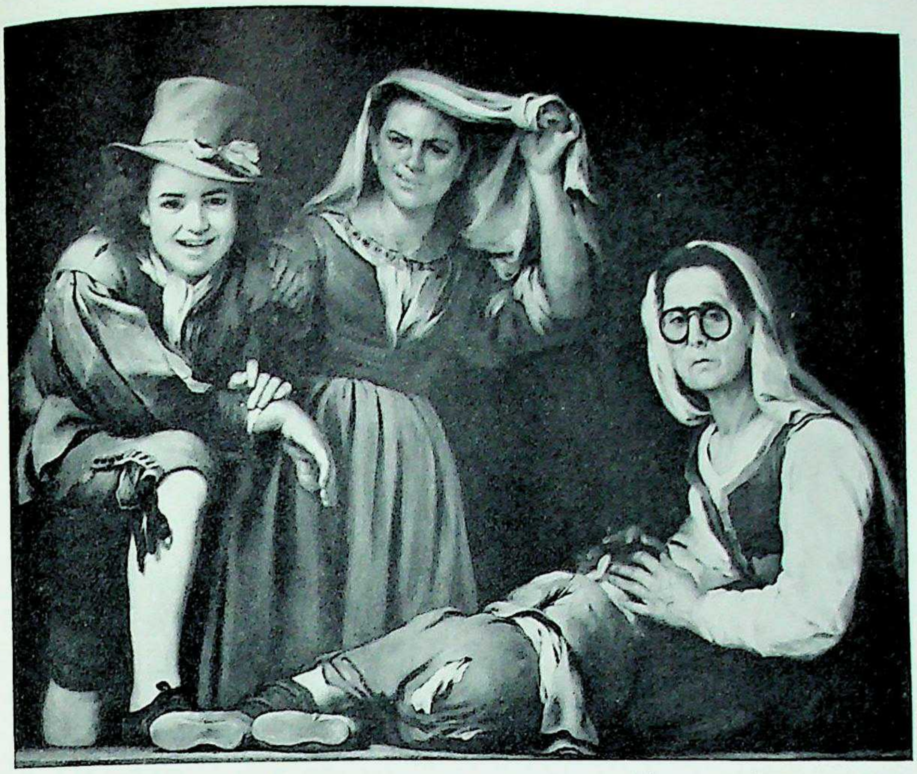
Alonso Cano: The Descent into Limbo, *c.* 16(37–)40. *Los Angeles, County Museum*



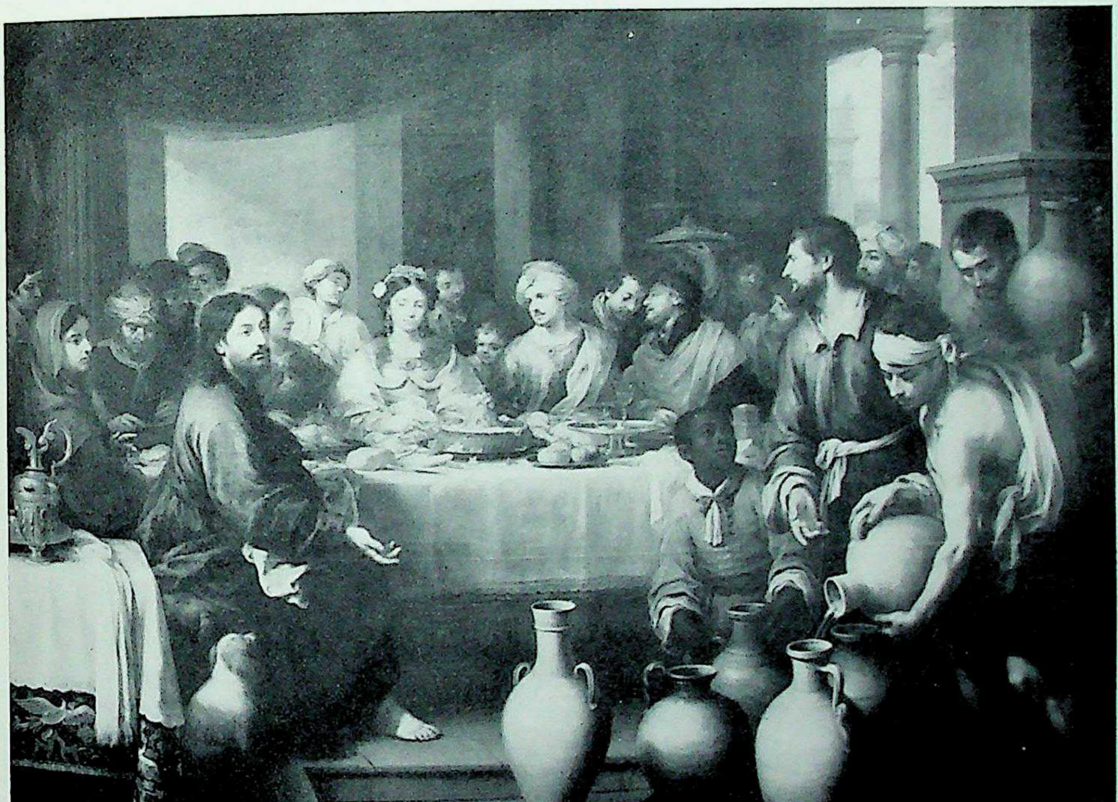
Francisco Herrera the elder: St Basil dictating his Rule, 1639. *Paris, Louvre*



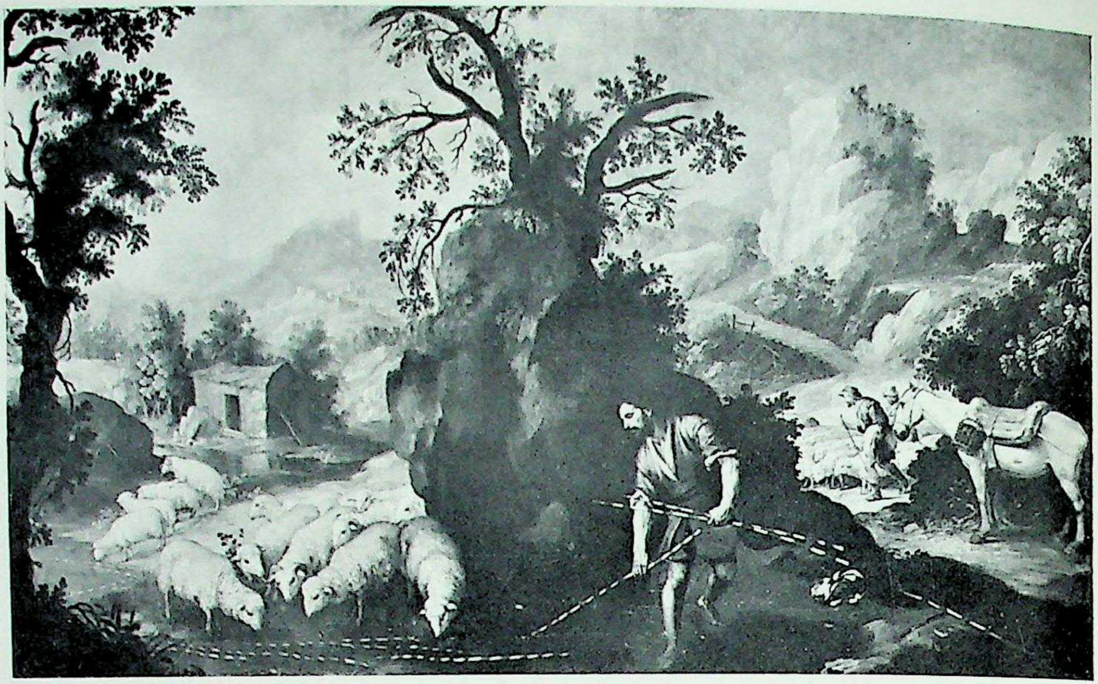
Murillo: The Flight into Egypt, *c.* 1645. *Detroit, Art Institute*



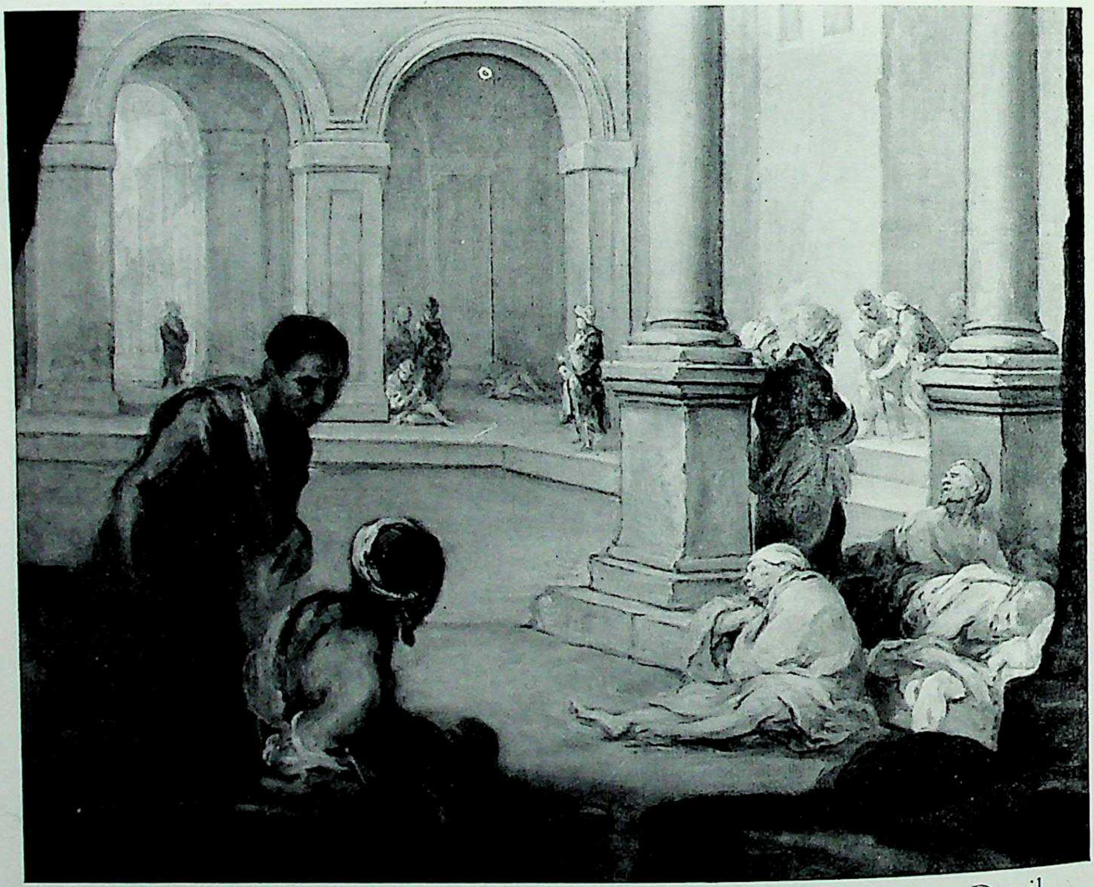
(A) Murillo: Family Group, *c.* 1660. *Monroe, Michigan, Erik Bergmann*



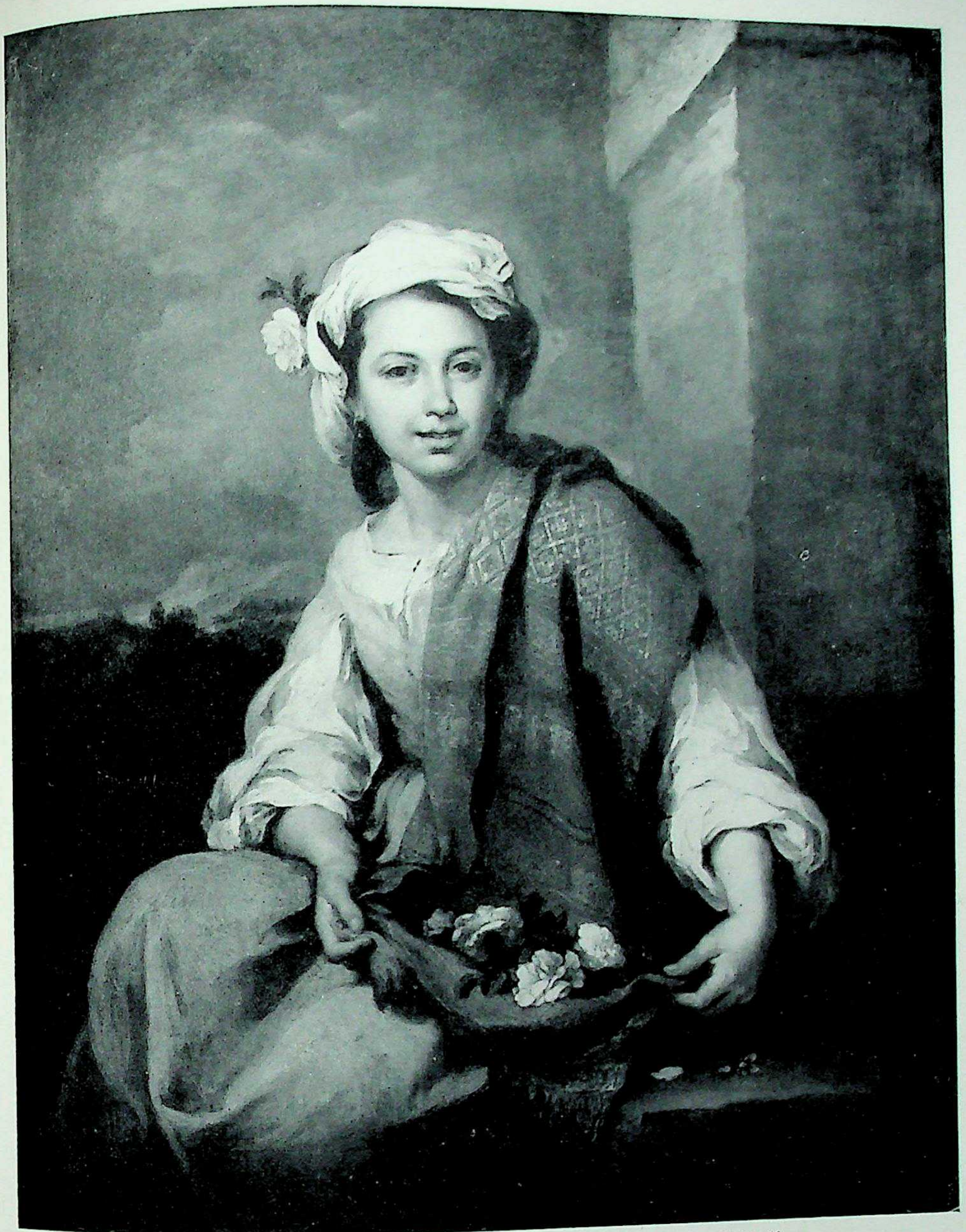
(B) Murillo: Marriage Feast at Cana, *c.* 1665–70. *Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts*



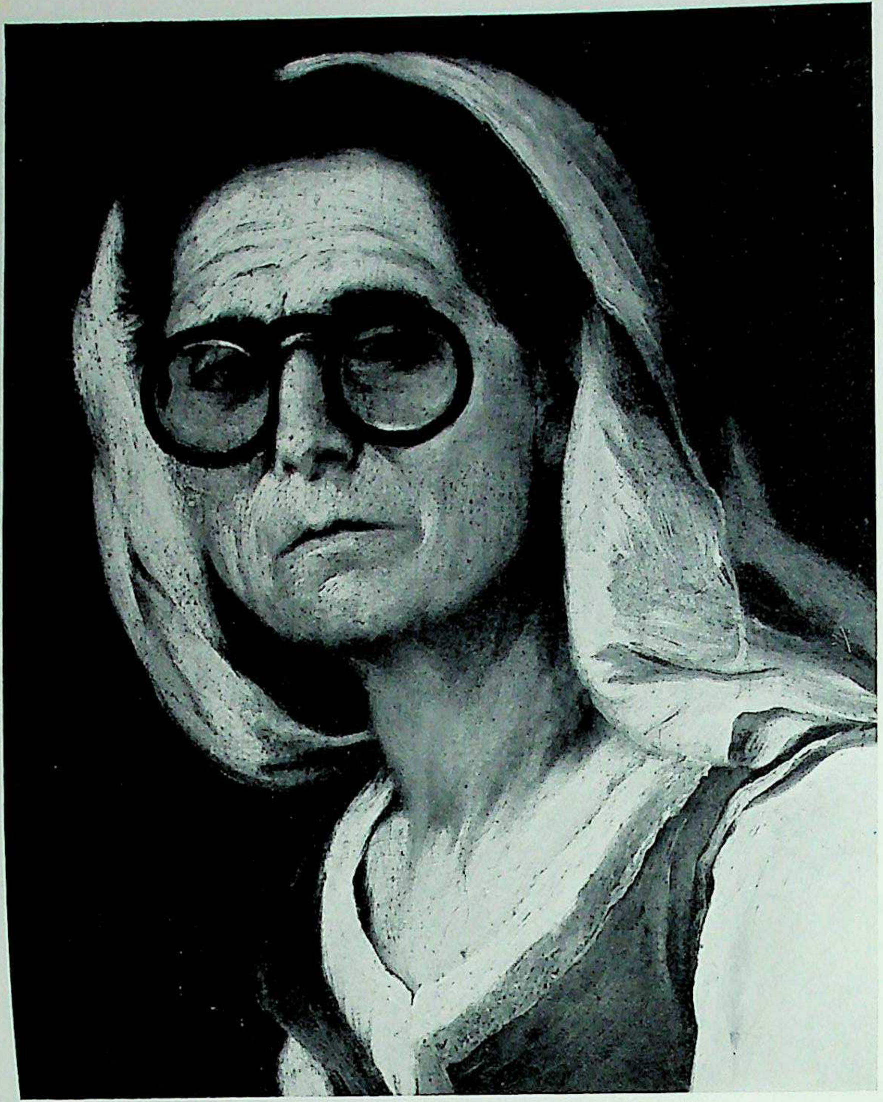
(A) Murillo: Jacob setting the streaked Rods before the Flocks of Laban, *c.* 1670.
London, Sidney F. Sabin



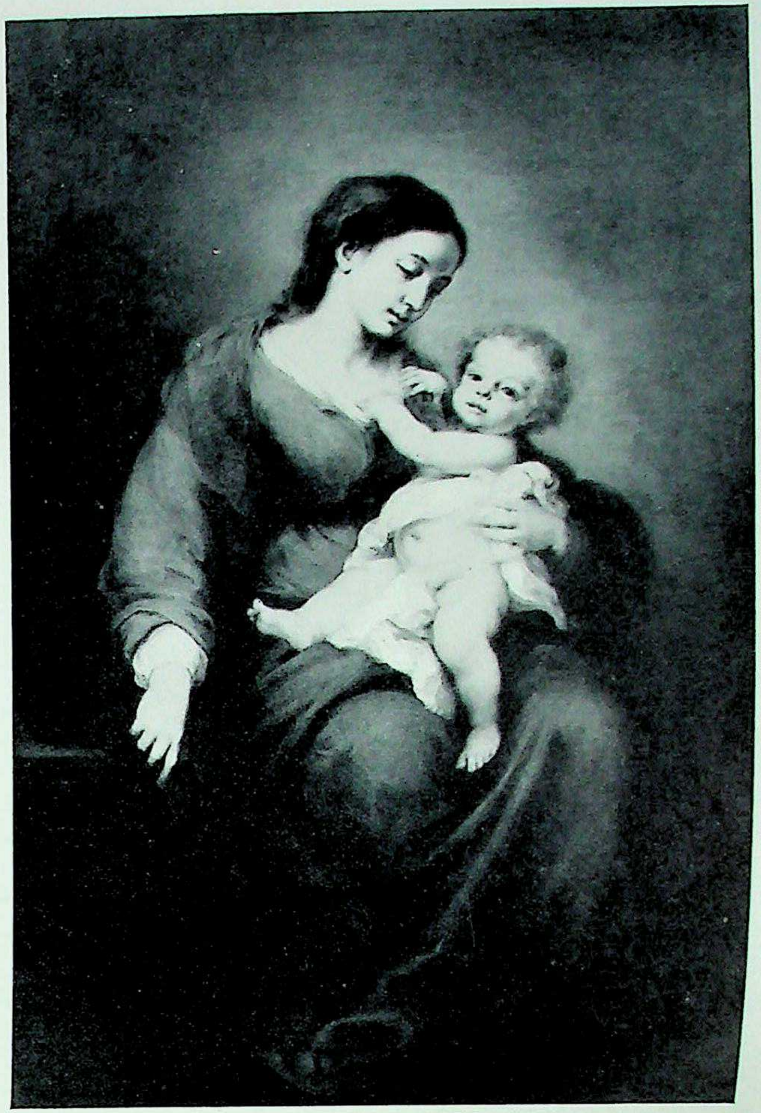
(B) Murillo: Christ healing the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda, 1670–4. Detail.
London, National Gallery



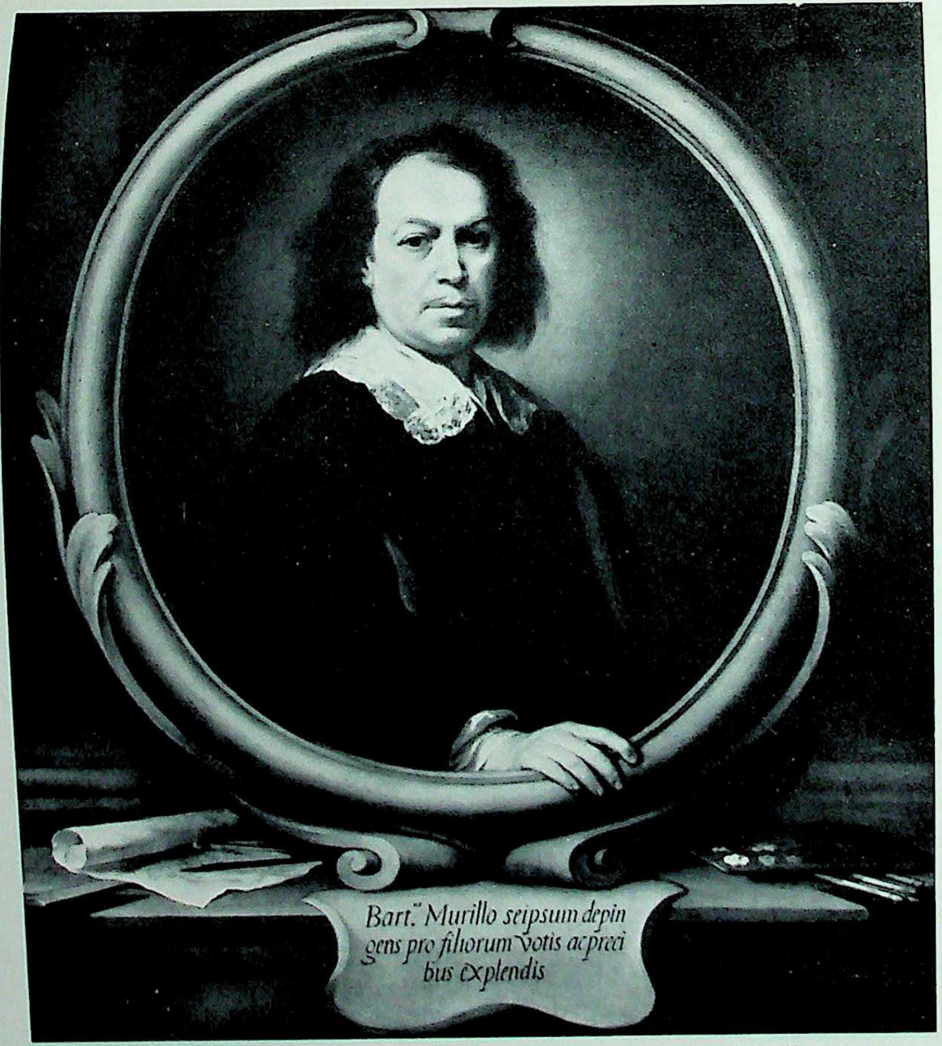
Murillo: The Flower Girl, *c.* 1665–70. *London, Dulwich College*



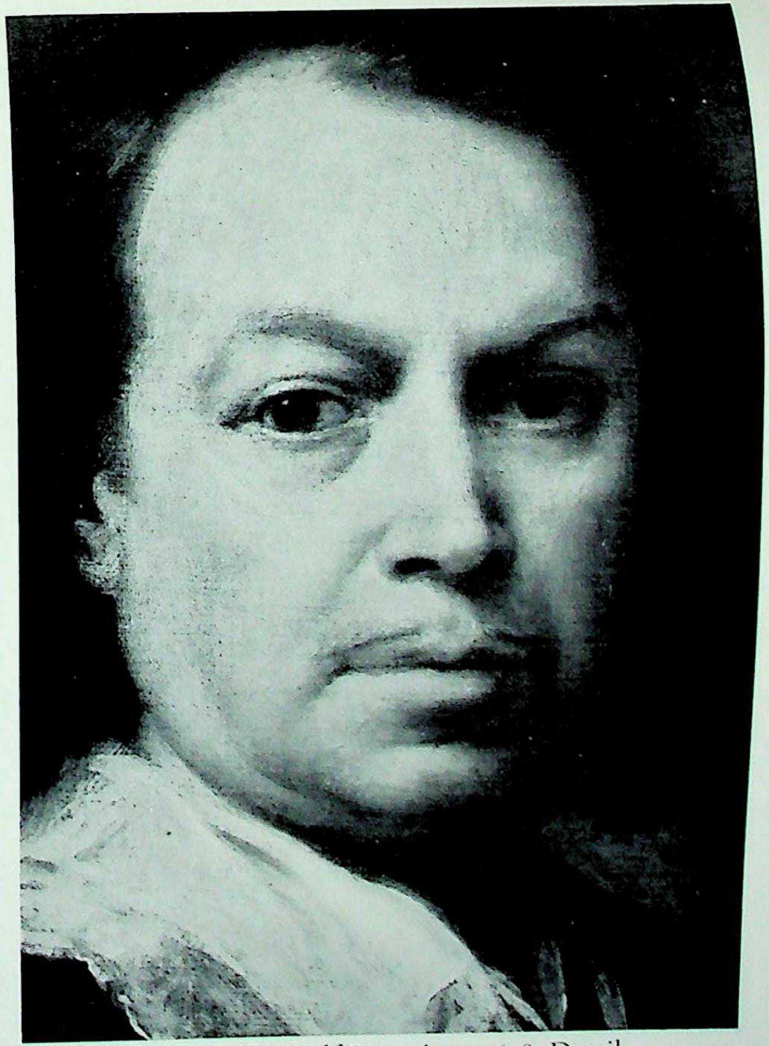
(A) Murillo: Family Group, *c.* 1660. Detail.
Monroe, Michigan, Erik Bergmann



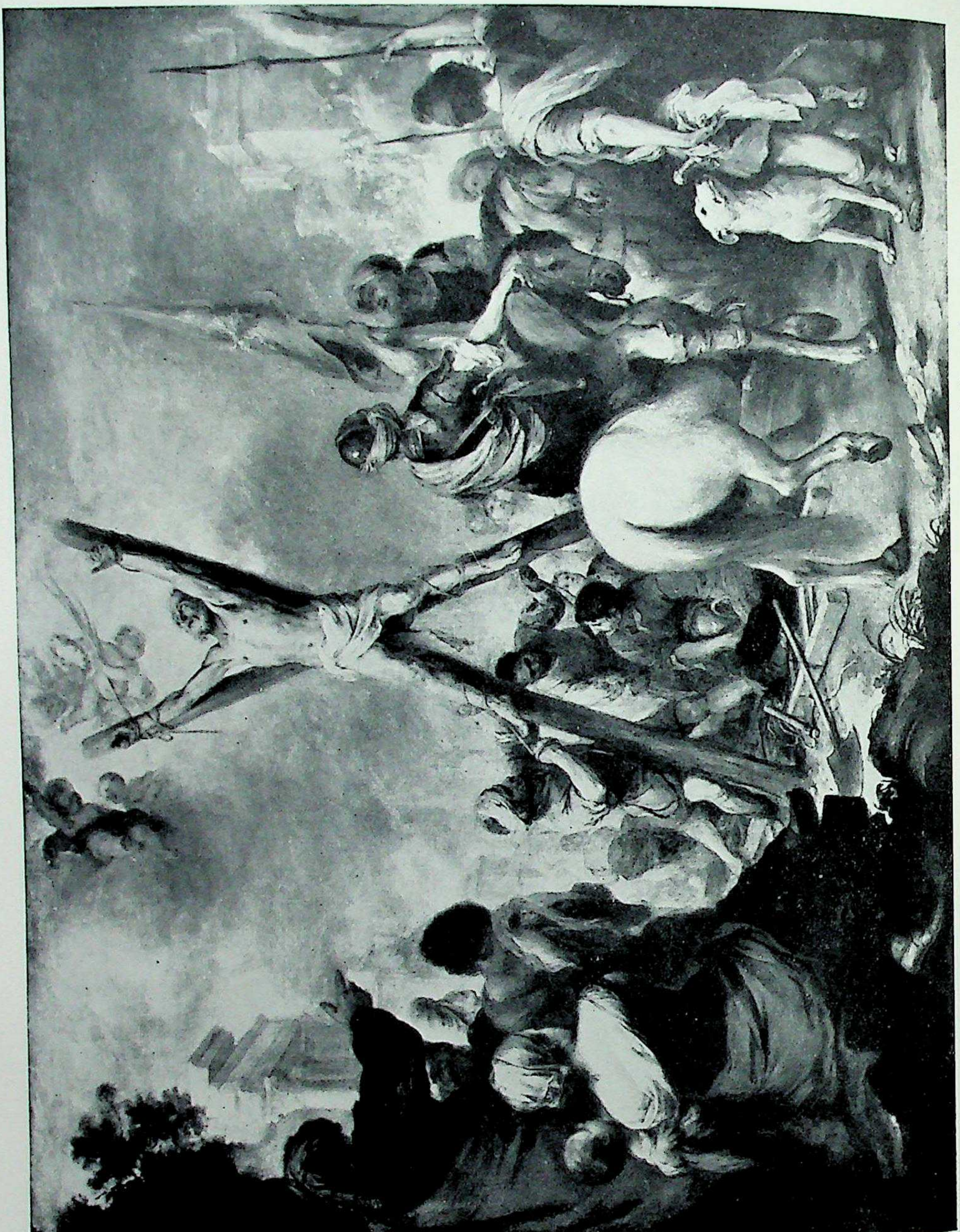
(B) Murillo: The Santiago Madonna, *c.* 1670–5.
New York, Metropolitan Museum


Bart.^us Murillo seipsum depin
gens pro filiorum votis acpreci
bus explendis

(A) Murillo: Self Portrait, *c.* 1678. *London, National Gallery*

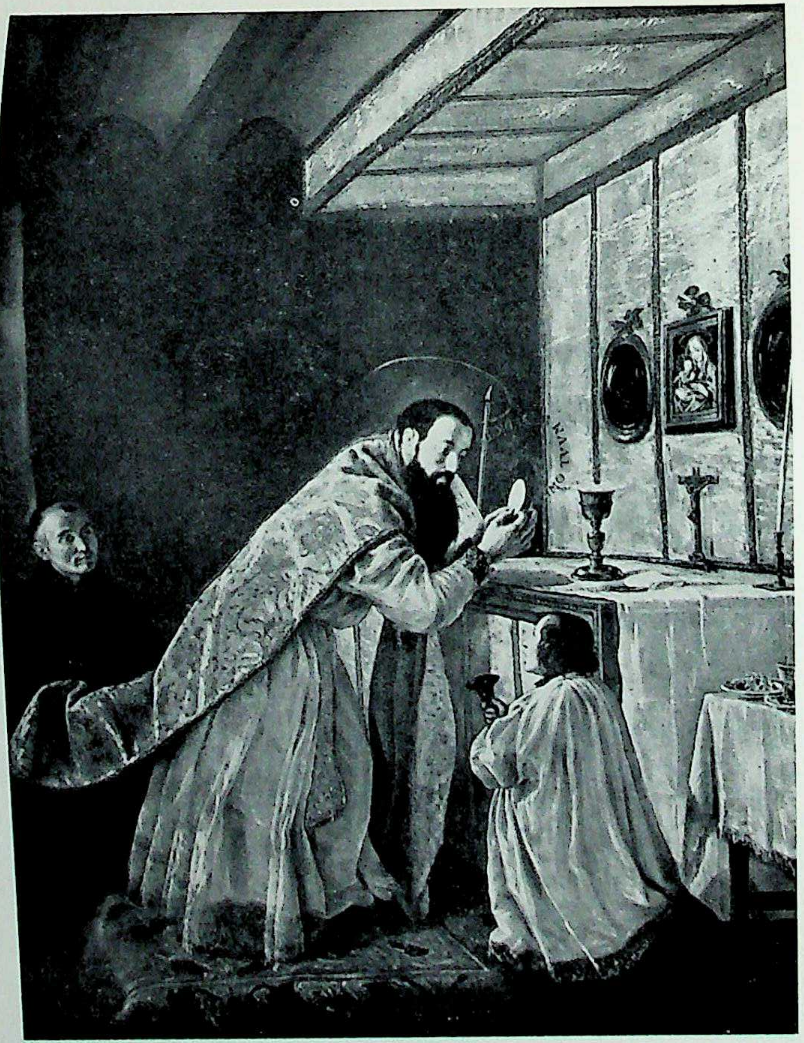


(B) Murillo: Self Portrait, *c.* 1678. Detail

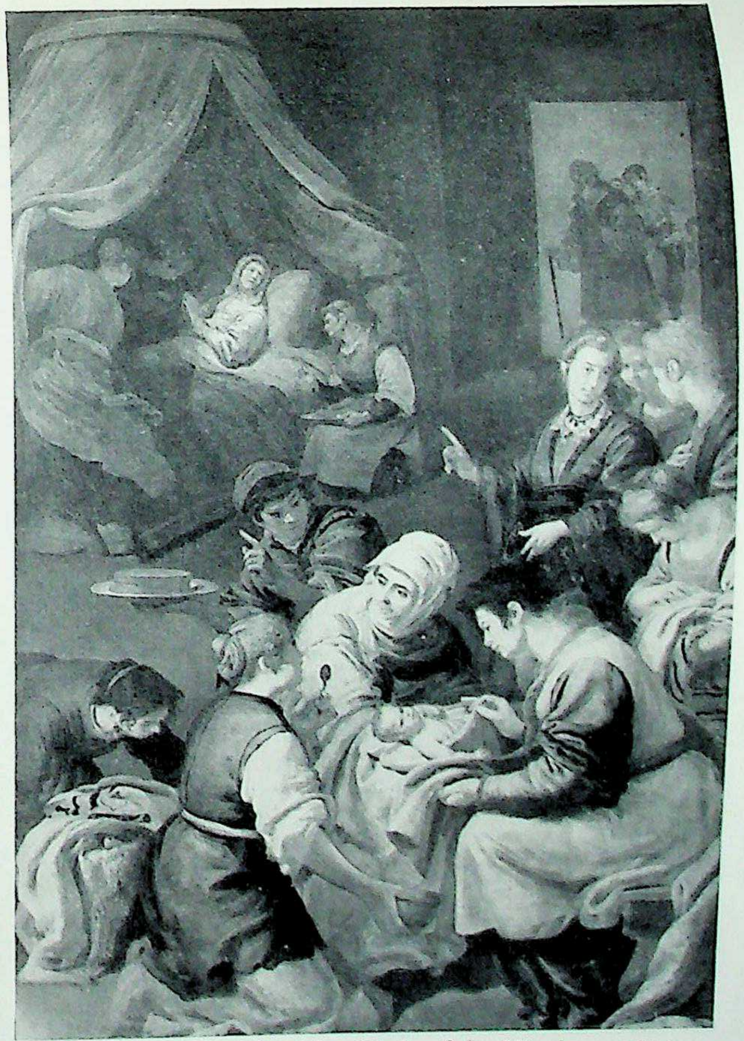


Murillo: The Martyrdom of St Andrew, *c.* 1680. *Madrid, Prado*

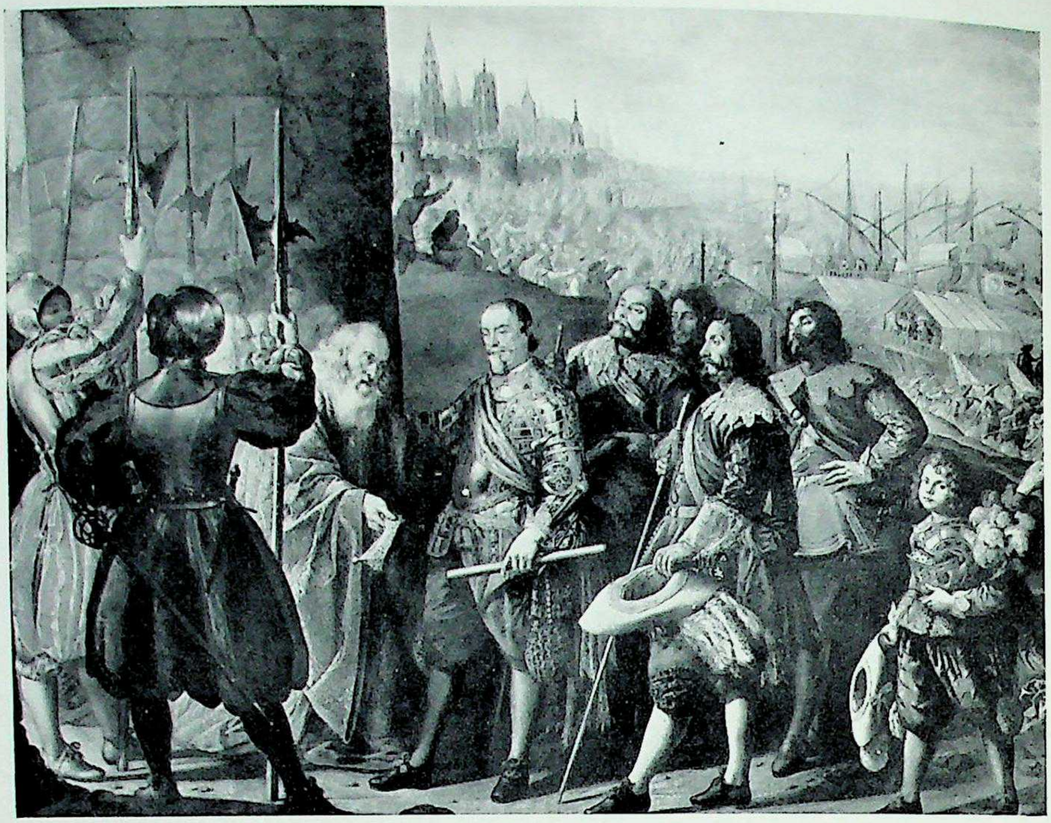
Murillo: The Martyrdom of St Andrew, *c.* 1680. *Madrid, Prado*



(A) Juan Ricci: The Mass of St Benedict, *c.* 1650.
Madrid, Academy

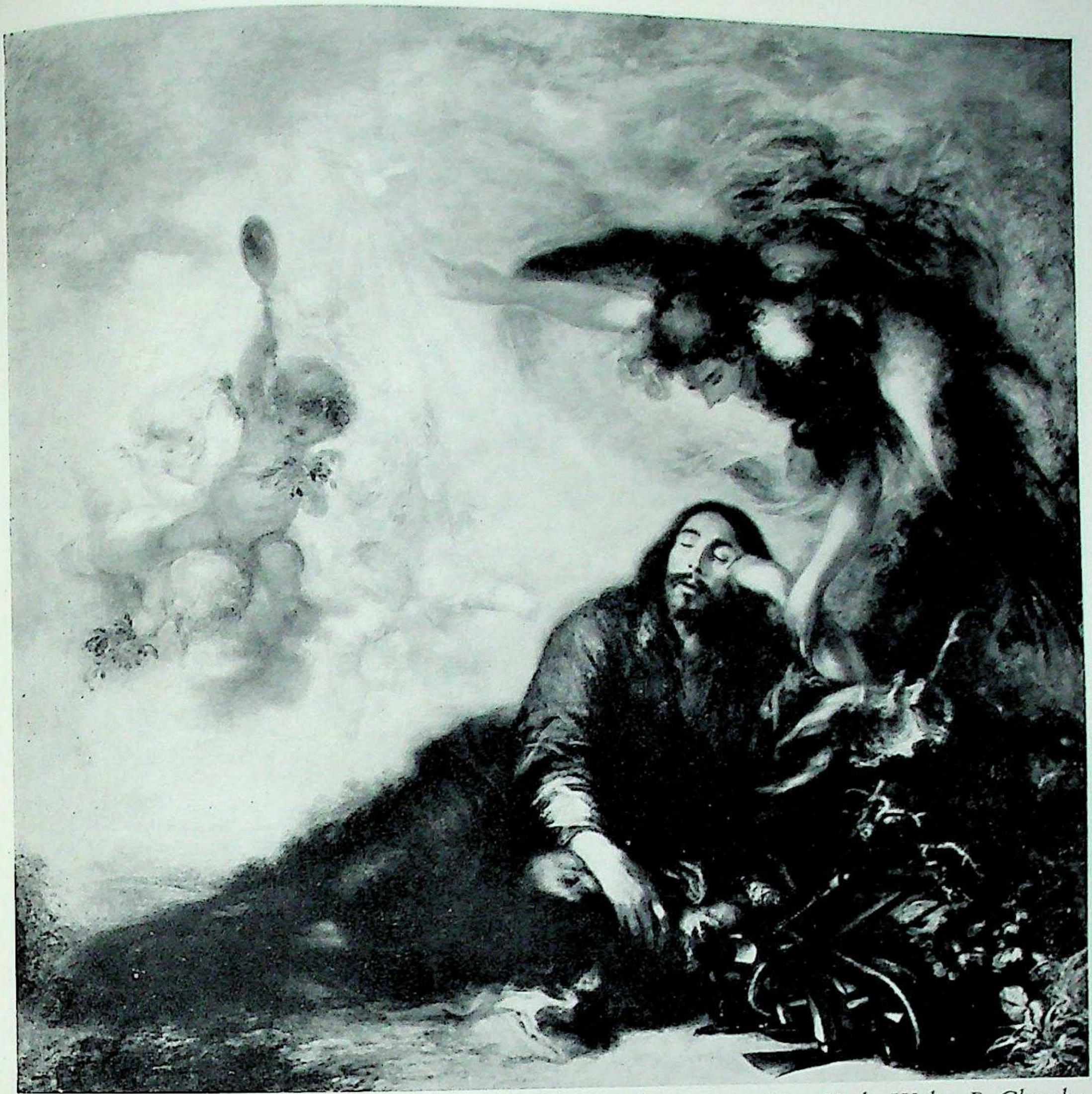


(B) Jusepe Leonardo: The Birth of the Virgin, *c.* 1635.
Madrid, Prado

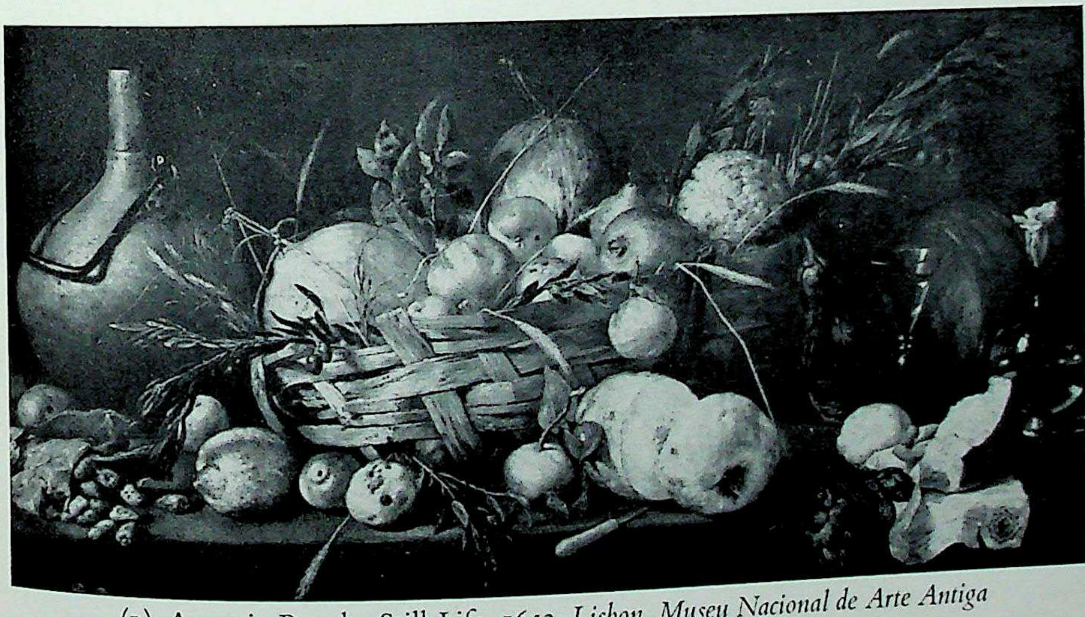


(A) Antonio Pereda: The Relief of Genoa, 1635. *Madrid, Prado*

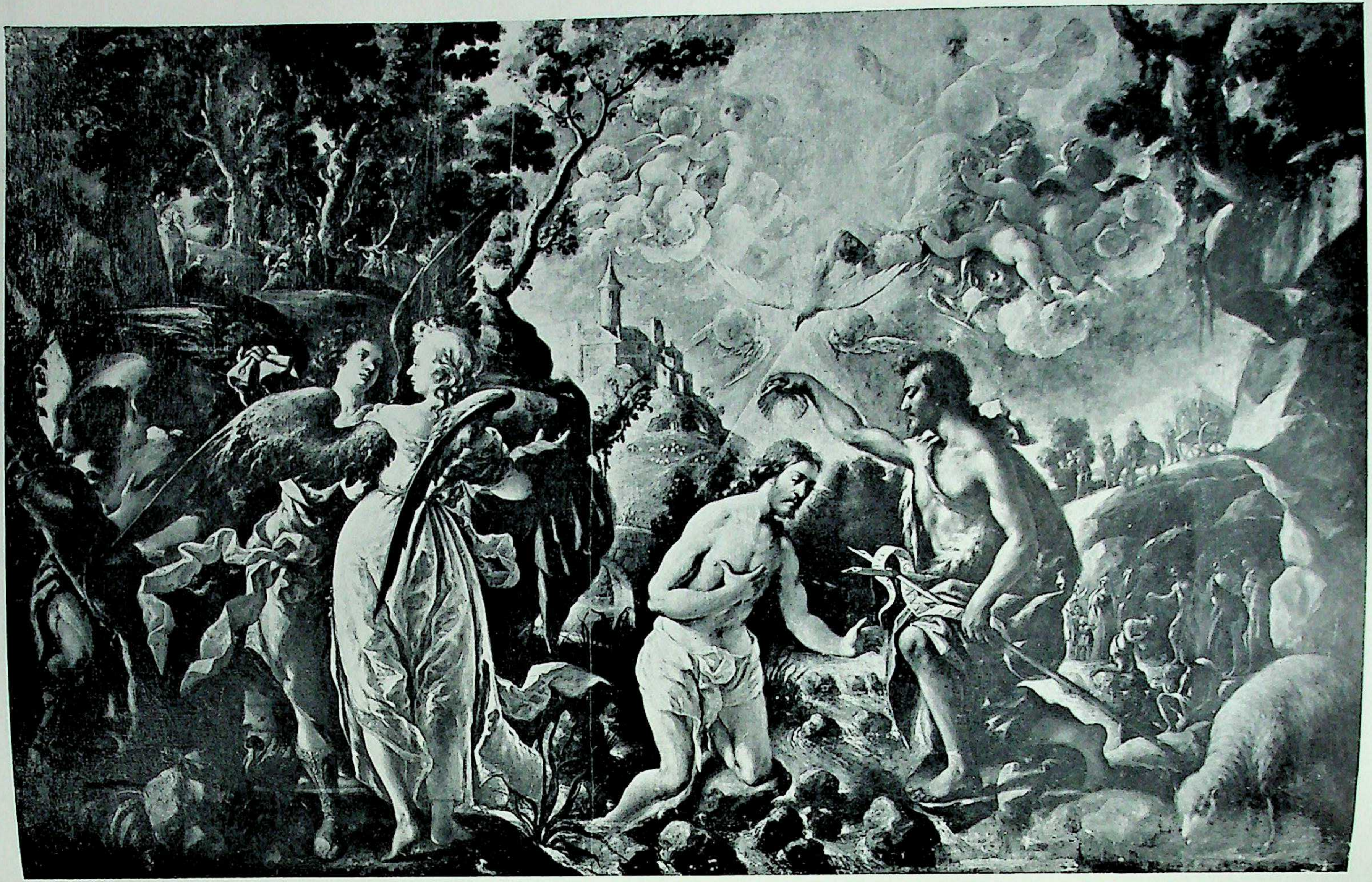
(B) Francisco Collantes: Hagar and the Angel, *c.* 1640–50.
Providence, R.I., Rhode Island School of Design



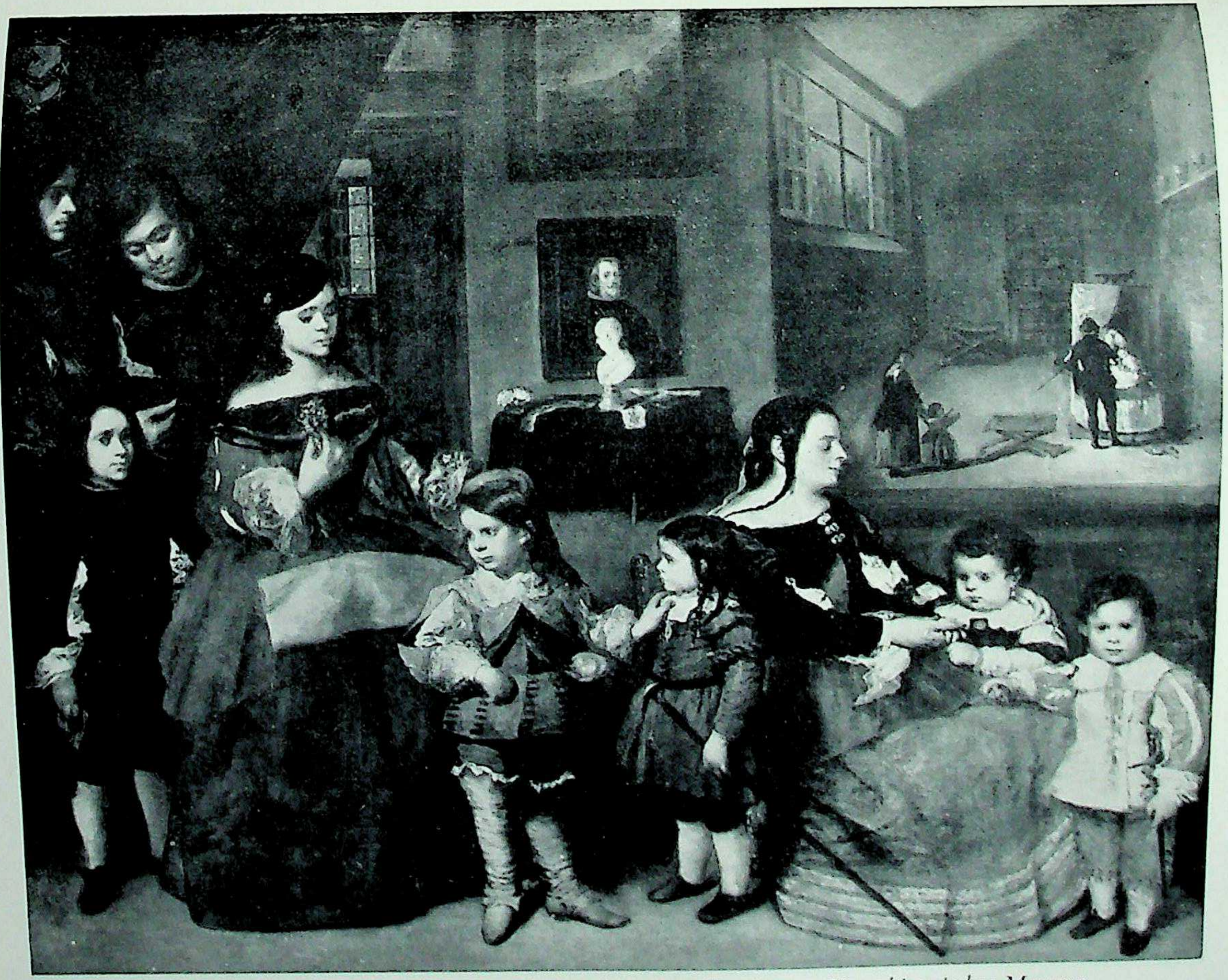
(A) Juan Antonio Escalante: The Dream of St Joseph, *c.* 1665. *New York, Walter P. Chrysler*



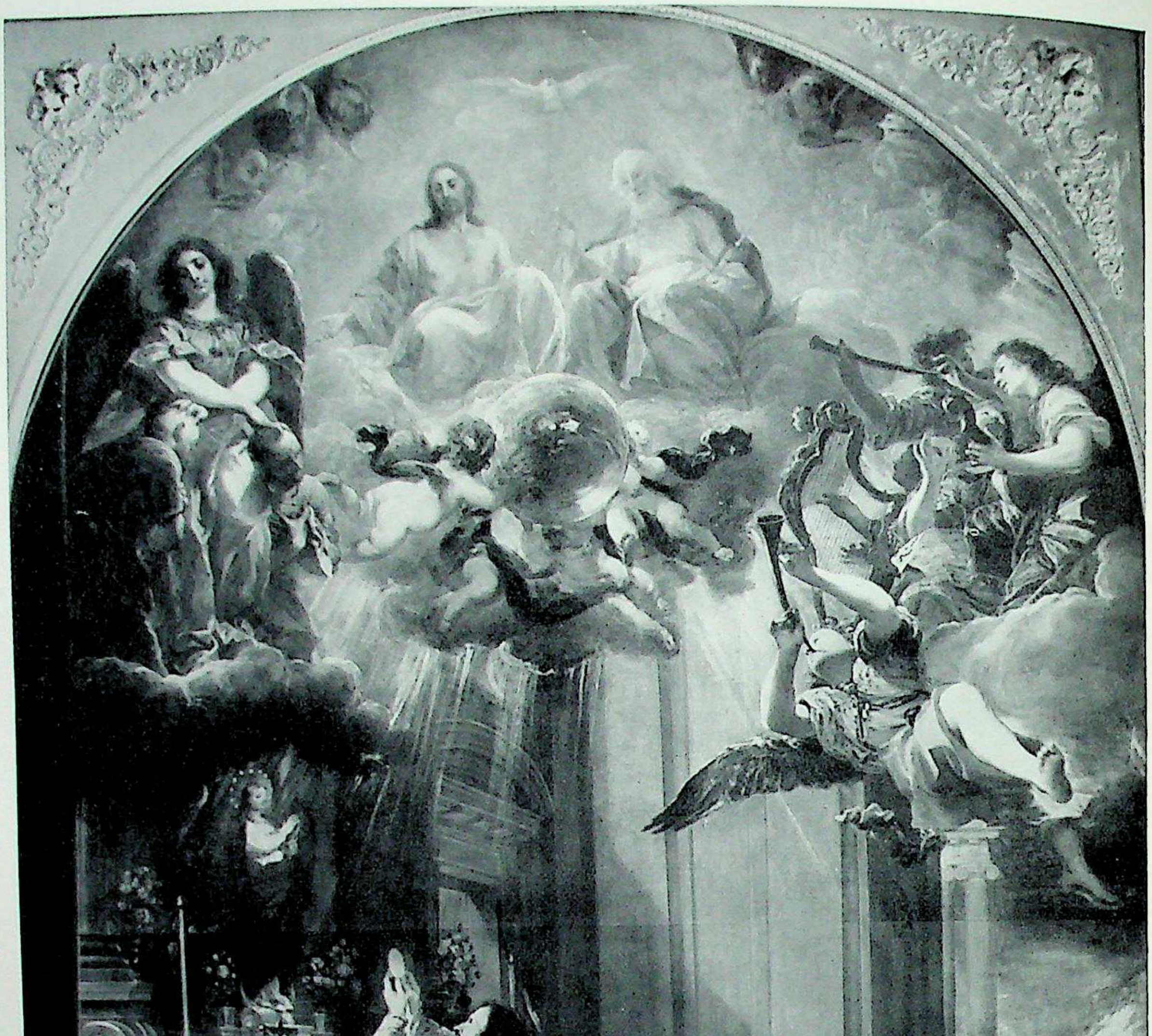
(B) Antonio Pereda: Still-Life, 1652. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*



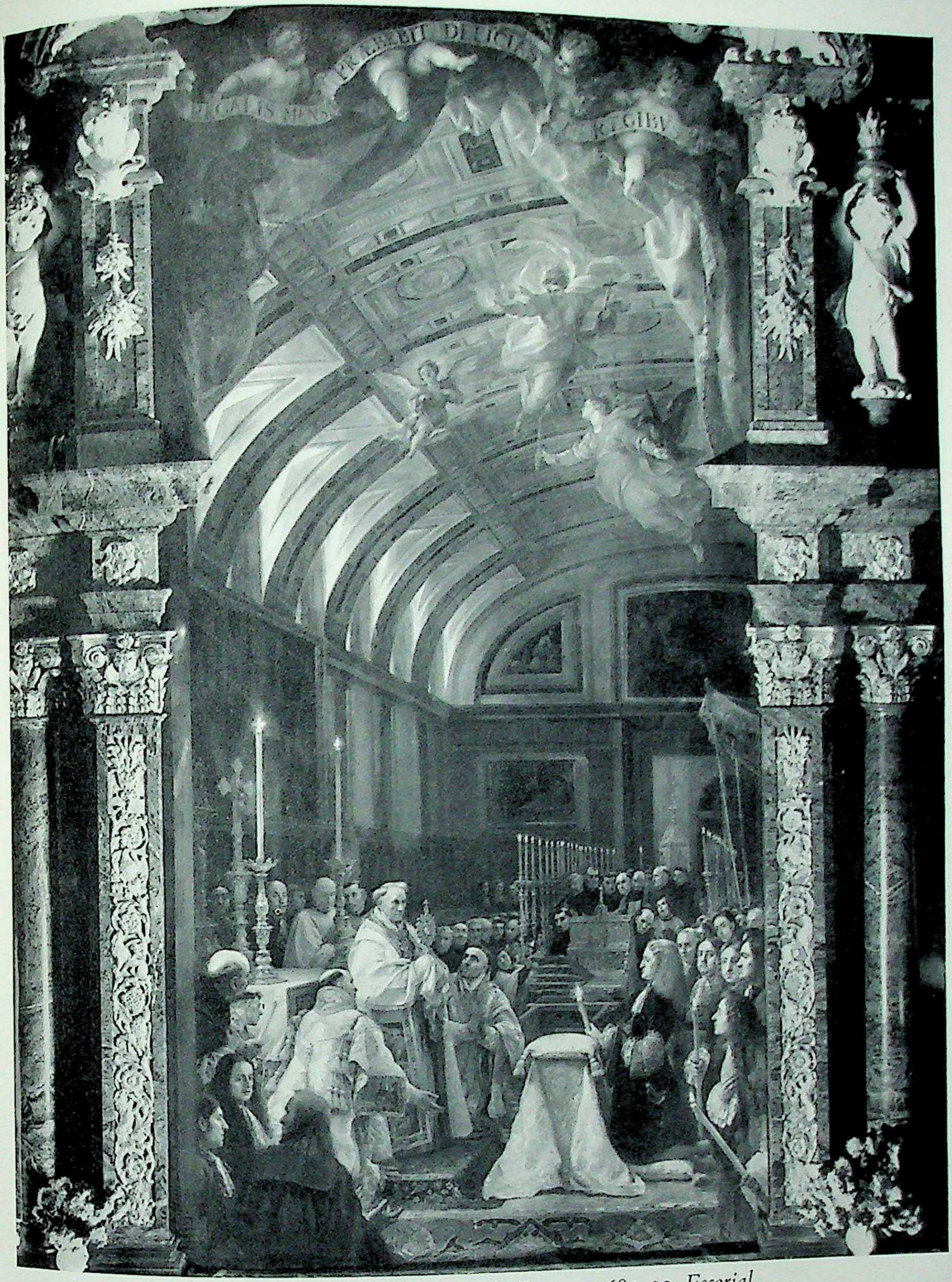
Juan Pareja: The Baptism of Christ, *c.* 1667. *Huesca, Museo Provincial*



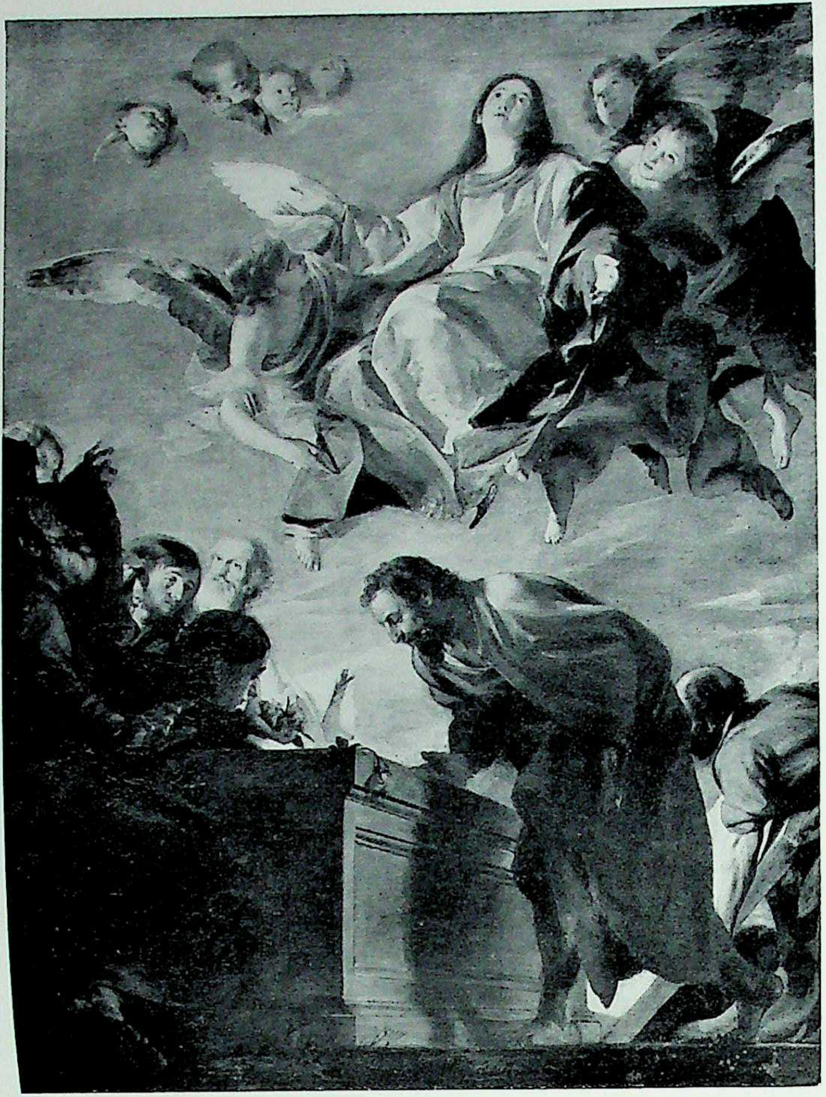
Juan Martínez del Mazo: The Artist's Family, 1658 (?). *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



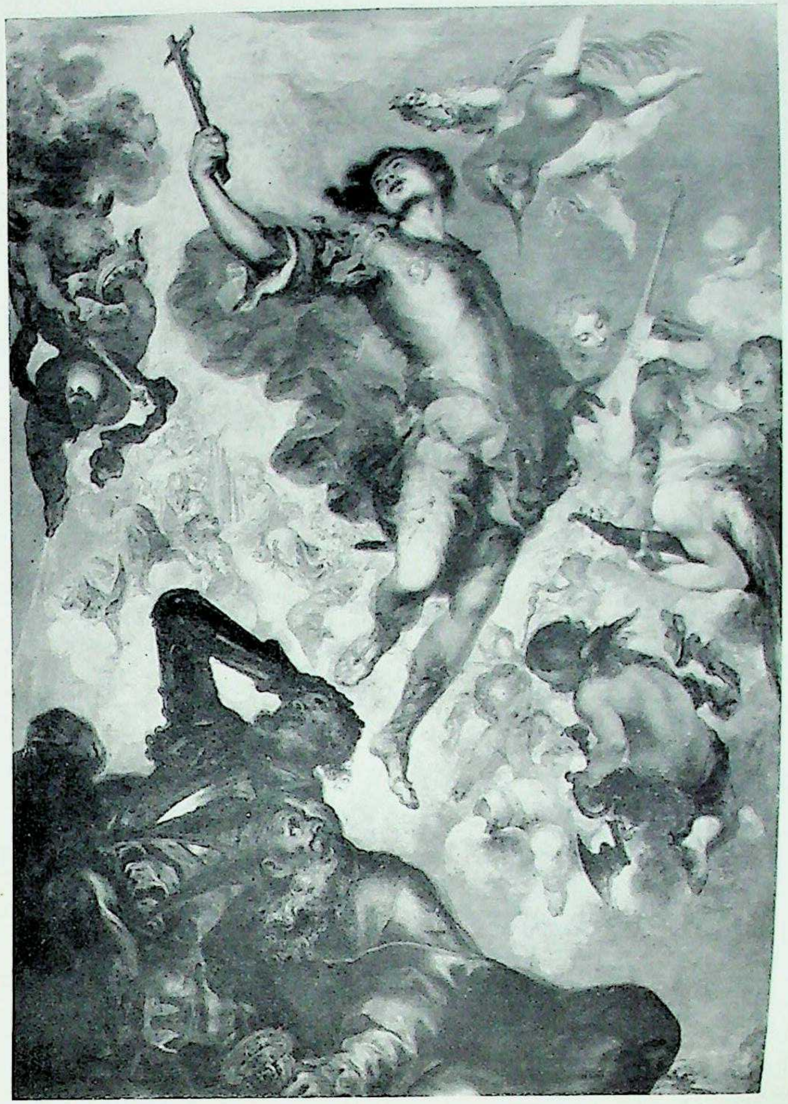
Juan Carreño: The Founding of the Trinitarian Order, 1666. *Courson, Count Caraman*



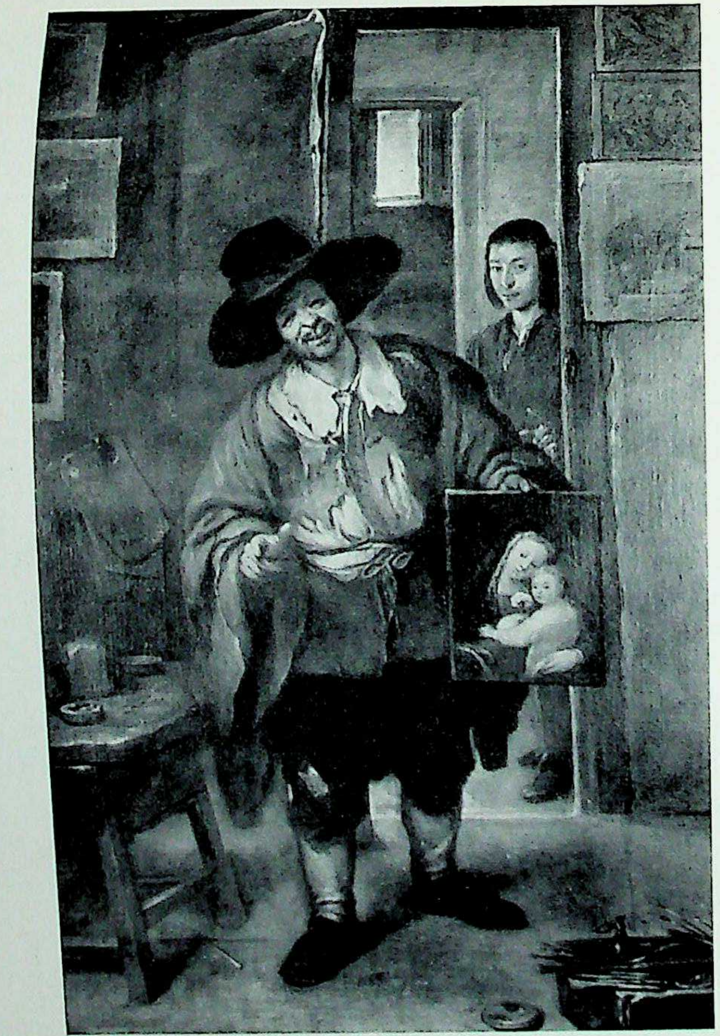
Claudio Coello: La Sagrada Forma, 1685–90. *Escorial*



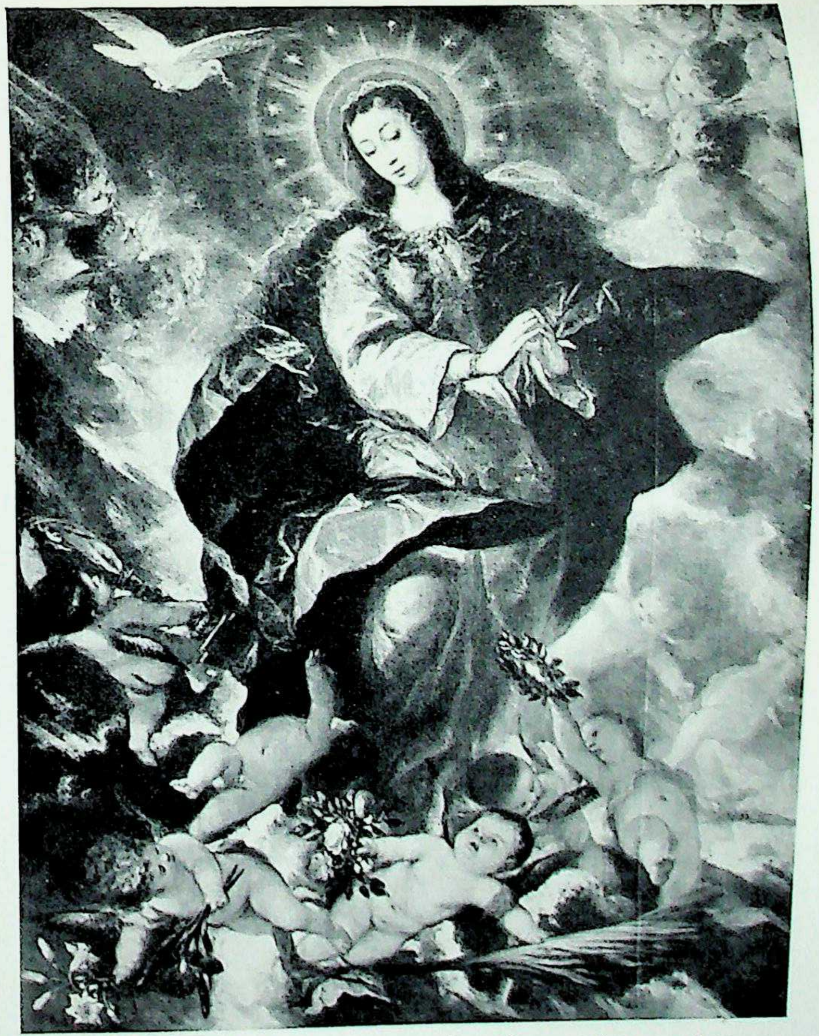
(A) Cabezalero: The Assumption, *c.* 1660. *Madrid, Prado*



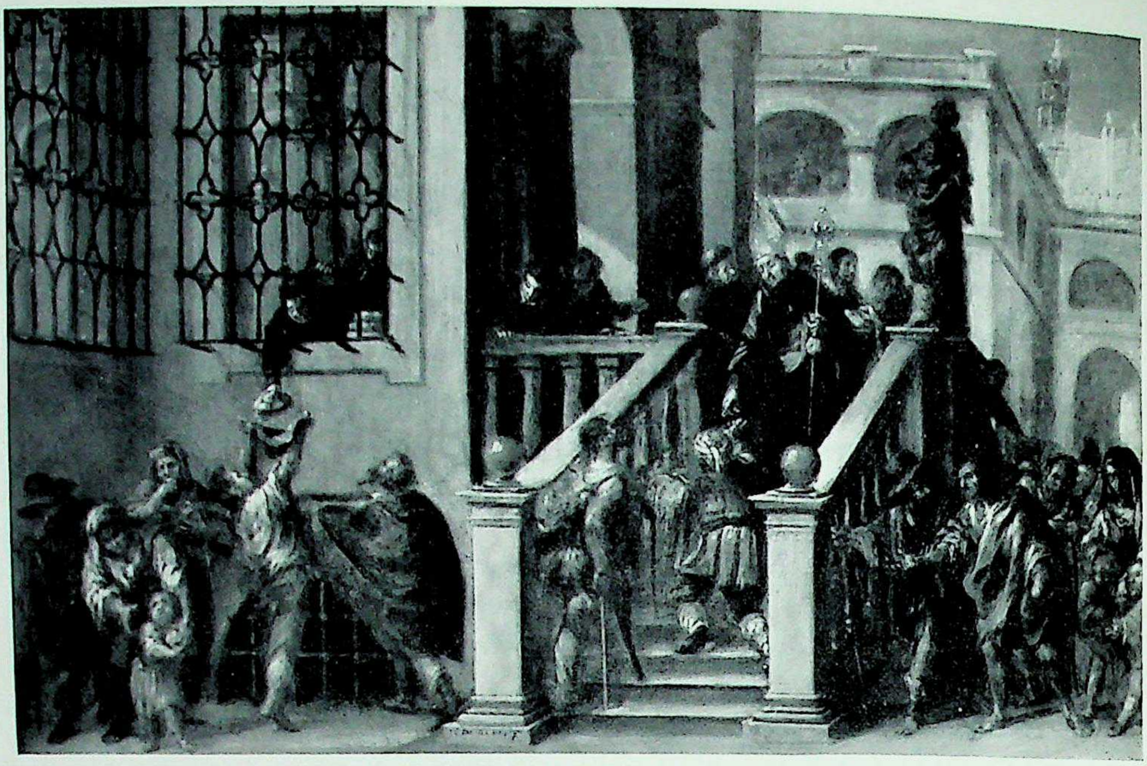
(B) Francisco Herrera the younger: The Triumph of St Hermengild, *c.* 1660–70. *Madrid, Prado*



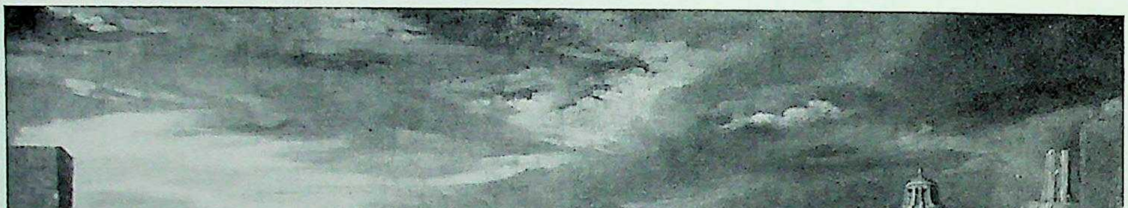
(A) José Antolínez: The Poor Painter's Drummer, *c.* 1670. *Schleissheim*



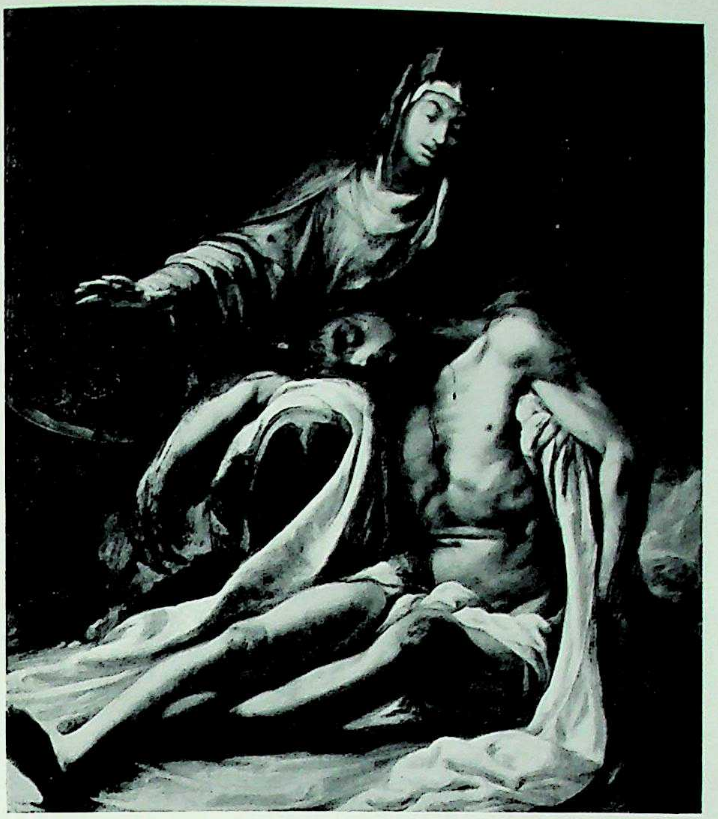
(B) José Antolínez: The Immaculate Conception, *c.* 1670. *Barcelona, Museum*



(A) Juan de Valdés Leal: St Thomas Villanueva giving Alms, *c.* 1665–70.
New York, Kress Foundation



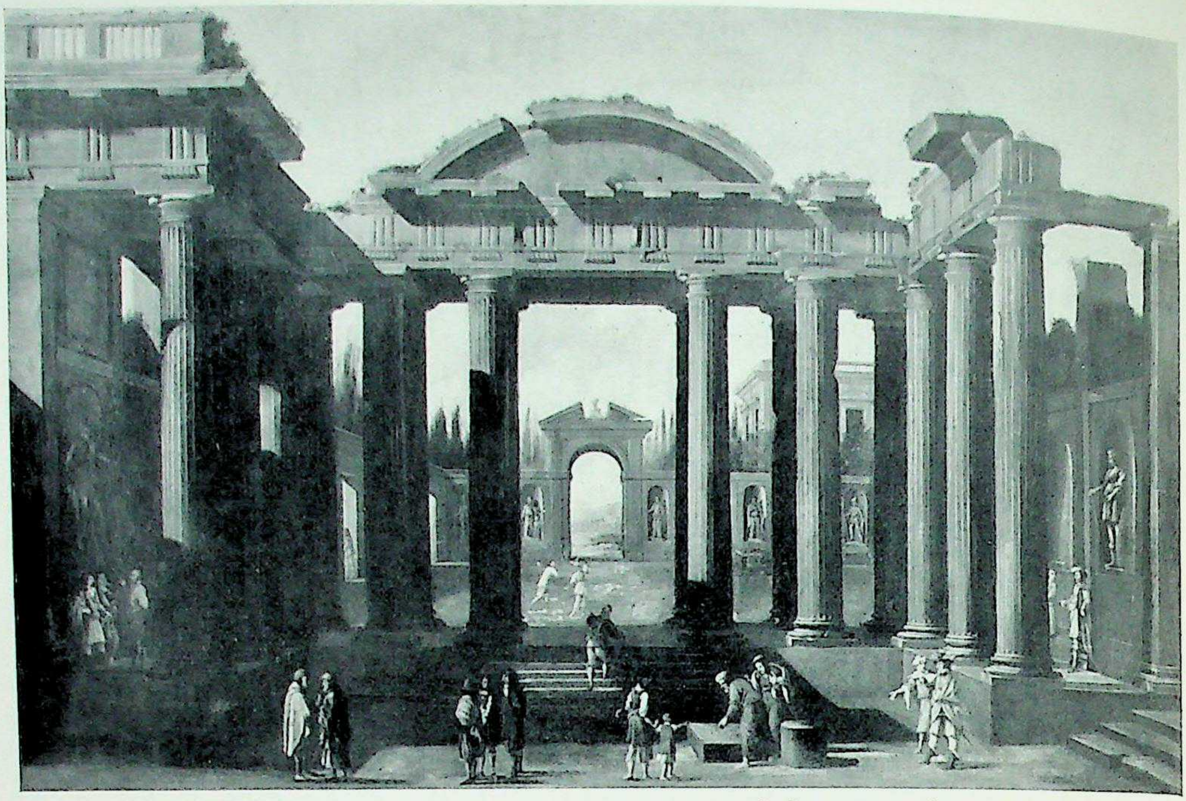
(B) Antonio del Castillo: The Triumph of Pharaoh, *c.* 1655. *Madrid, Prado*



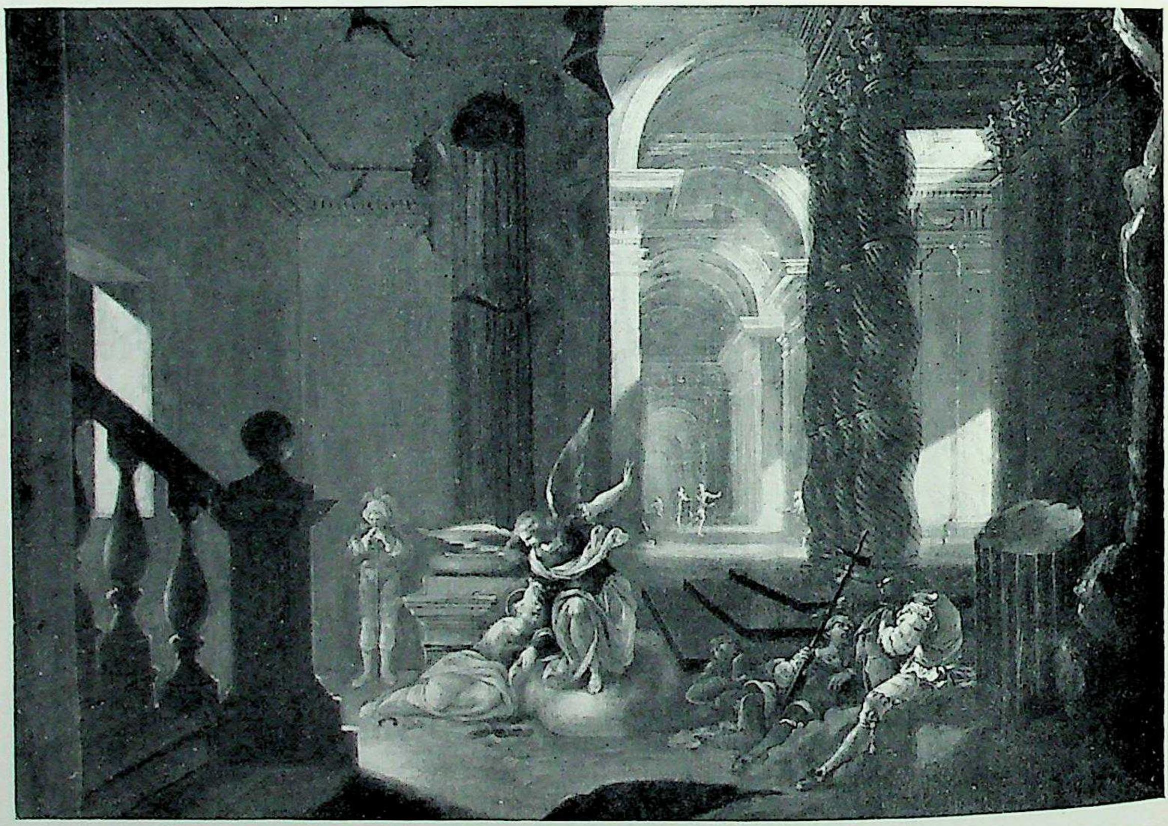
(A) Juan de Valdés Leal: The Pietà, *c.* 1657–60.
New York, Metropolitan Museum

IN ICTV OCVLI

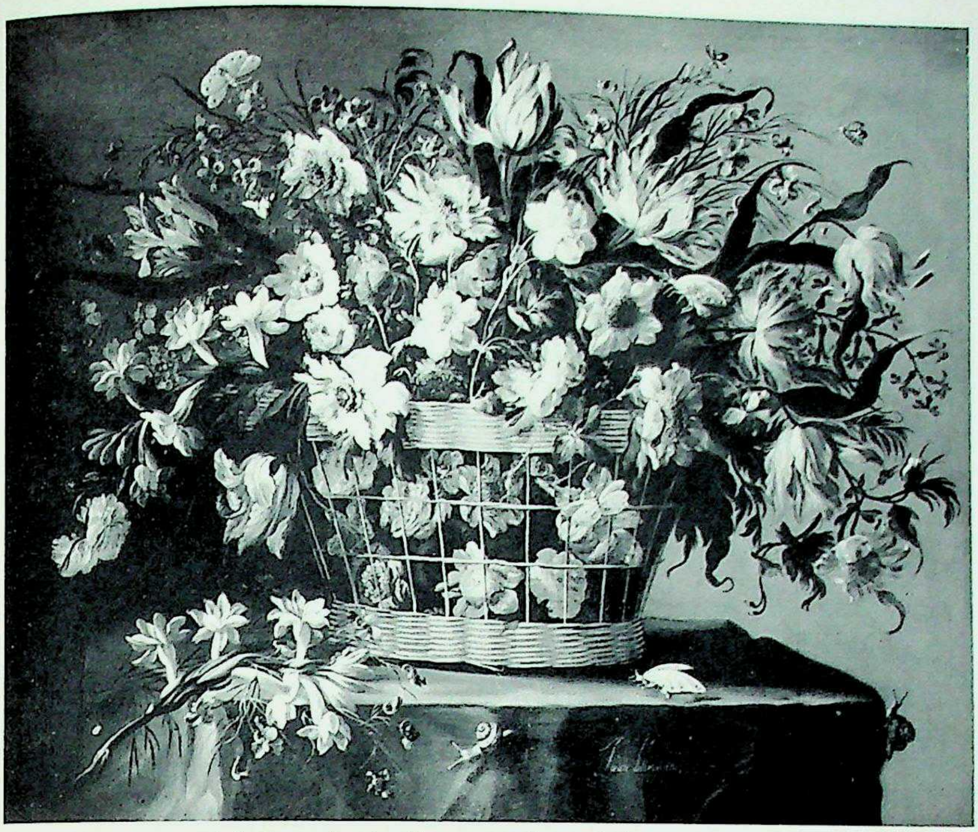
(B) Juan de Valdés Leal: The Triumph of Death, 1672.
Seville, Caridad



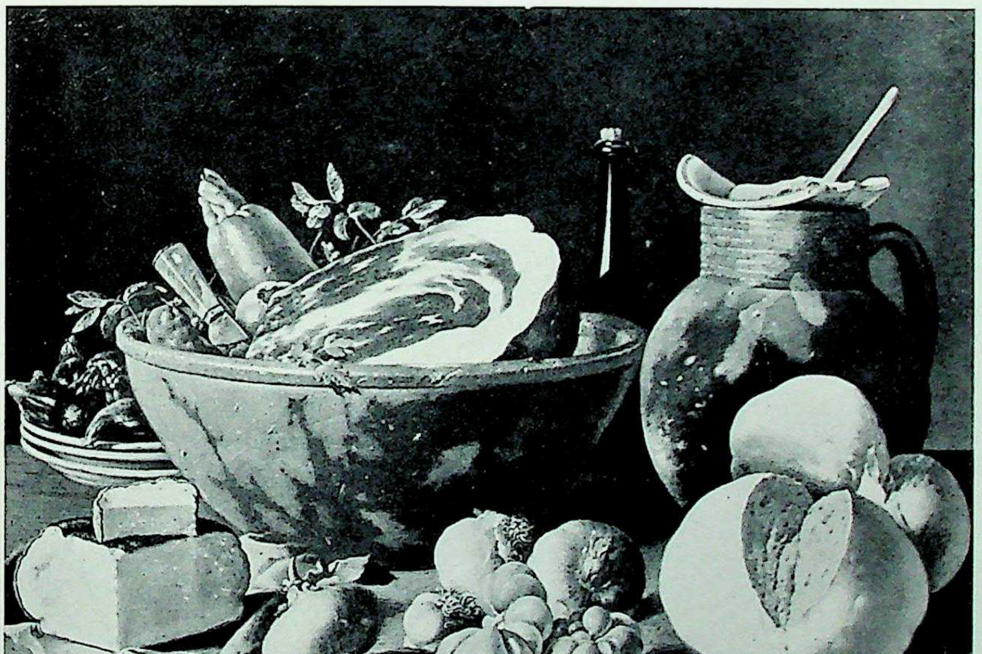
(A) Vicente Giner: An open Court, *c.* 1670. *Madrid, Sr González Conde*



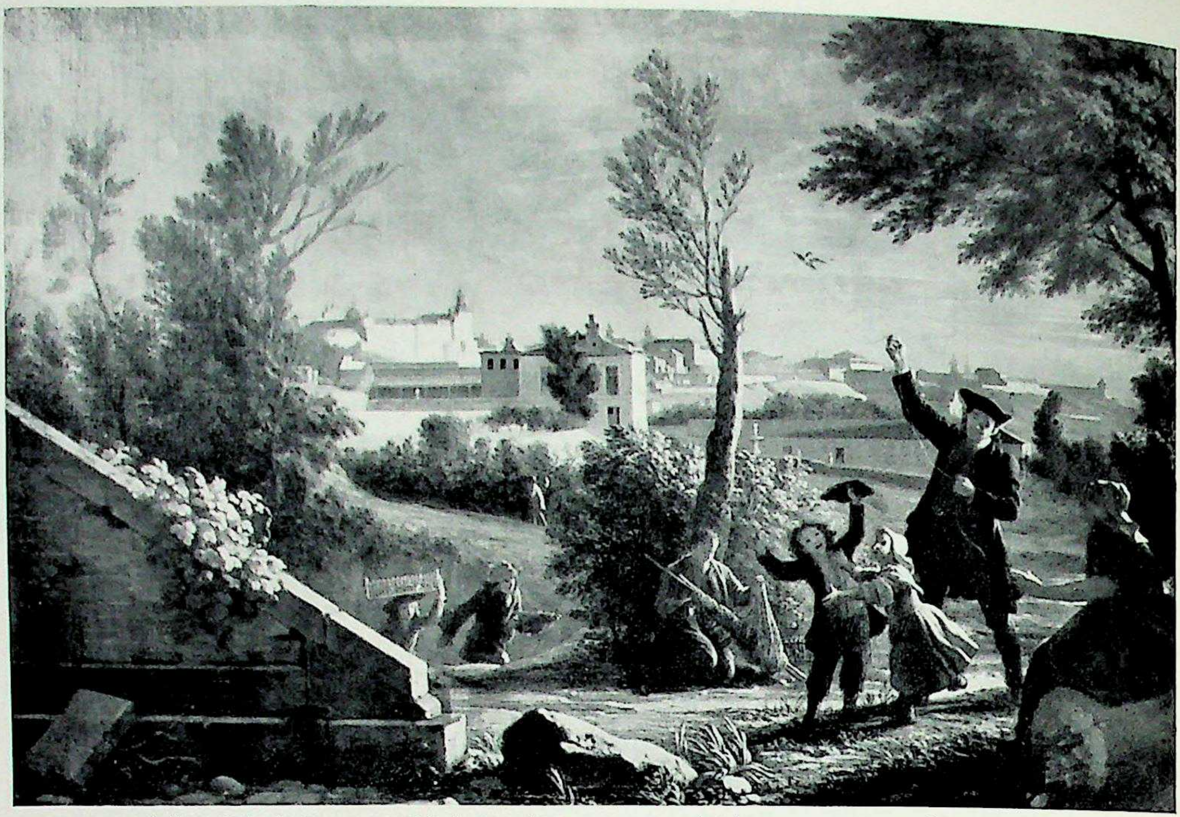
(B) Vicente Salvador y Gómez: The Liberation of St Peter, *c.* 1670–80.
Mexico City, Franz Mayer



(A) Juan de Arellano: Basket of Flowers, 1672. *New York, Sir William Wiseman*

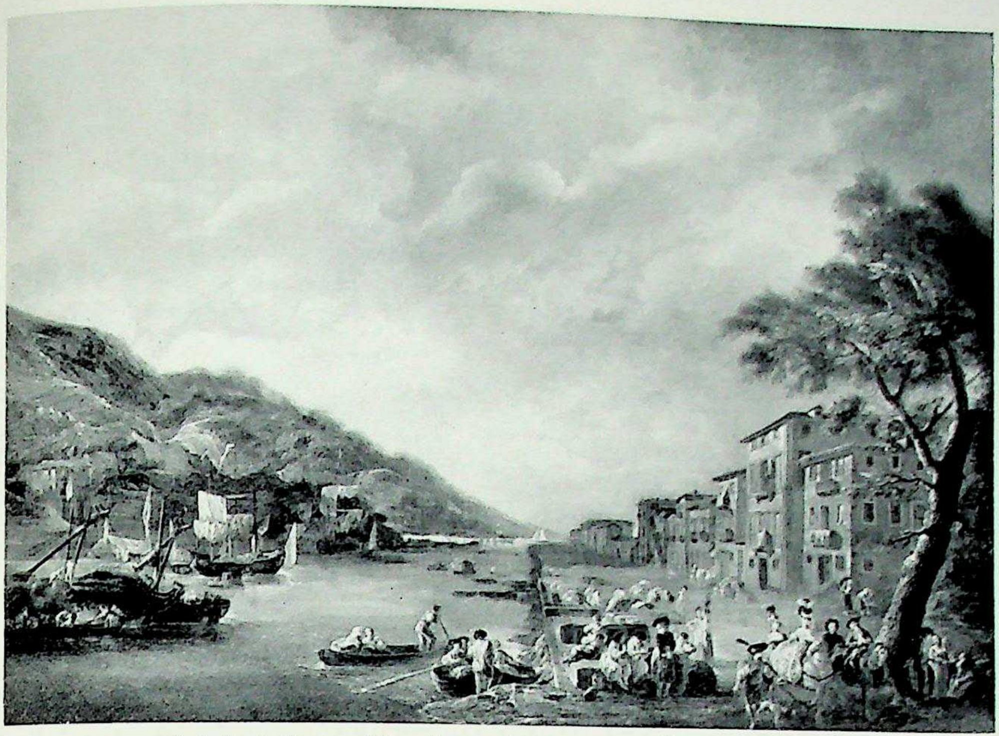


(B) Luis Egidio Meléndez: Still-Life with Bread, Bacon, and Vegetables, *c.* 1772. *Boston, Museum of Fine Arts*

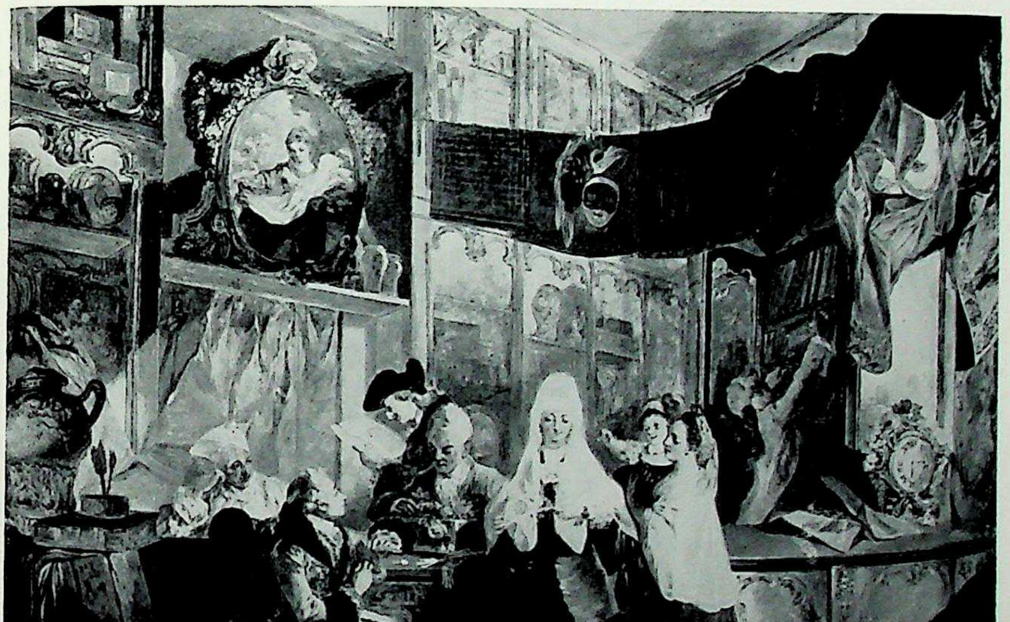


(A) Michel Houasse: Bird Catchers near Madrid, 1725–30. *Riofrío, Palace*

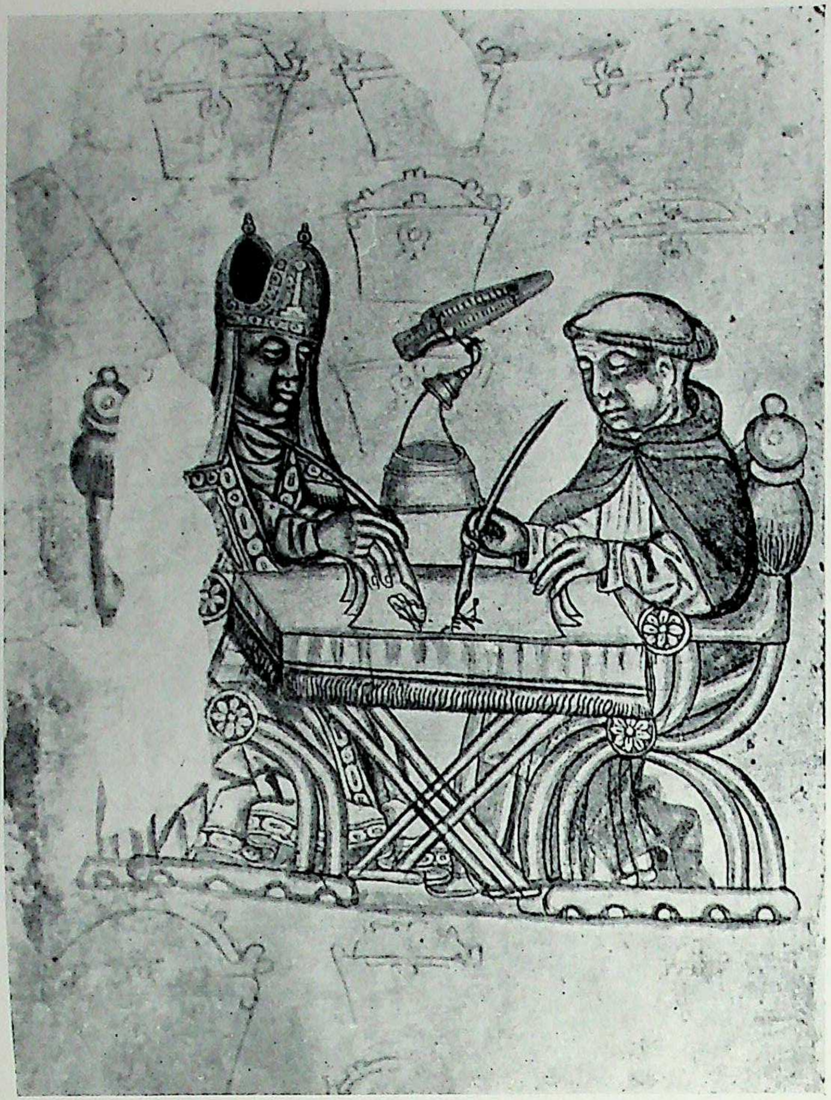
(B) José del Castillo: A Walk in the Park, *c.* 1770–90. *Madrid, Ministry of Education*



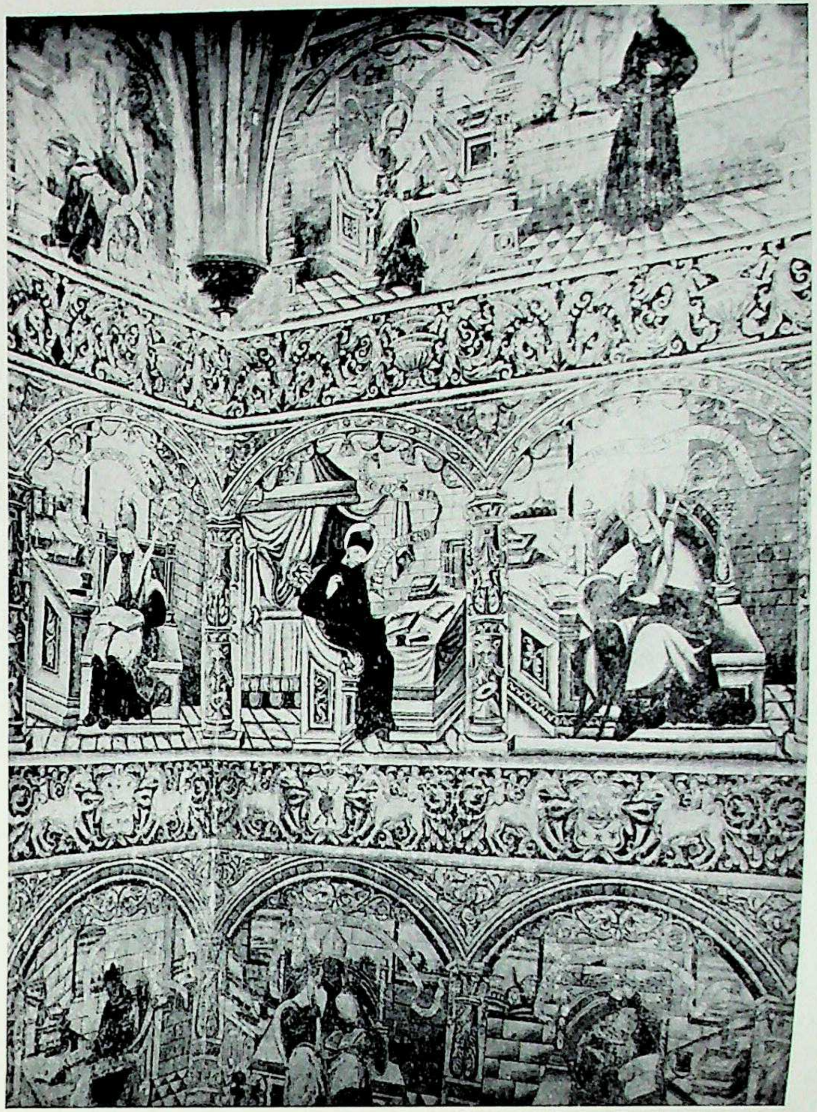
(A) Luis Paret: The Arsenal Quay at Bilbao, 1780–92.
The National Trust, Upton House, Oxfordshire



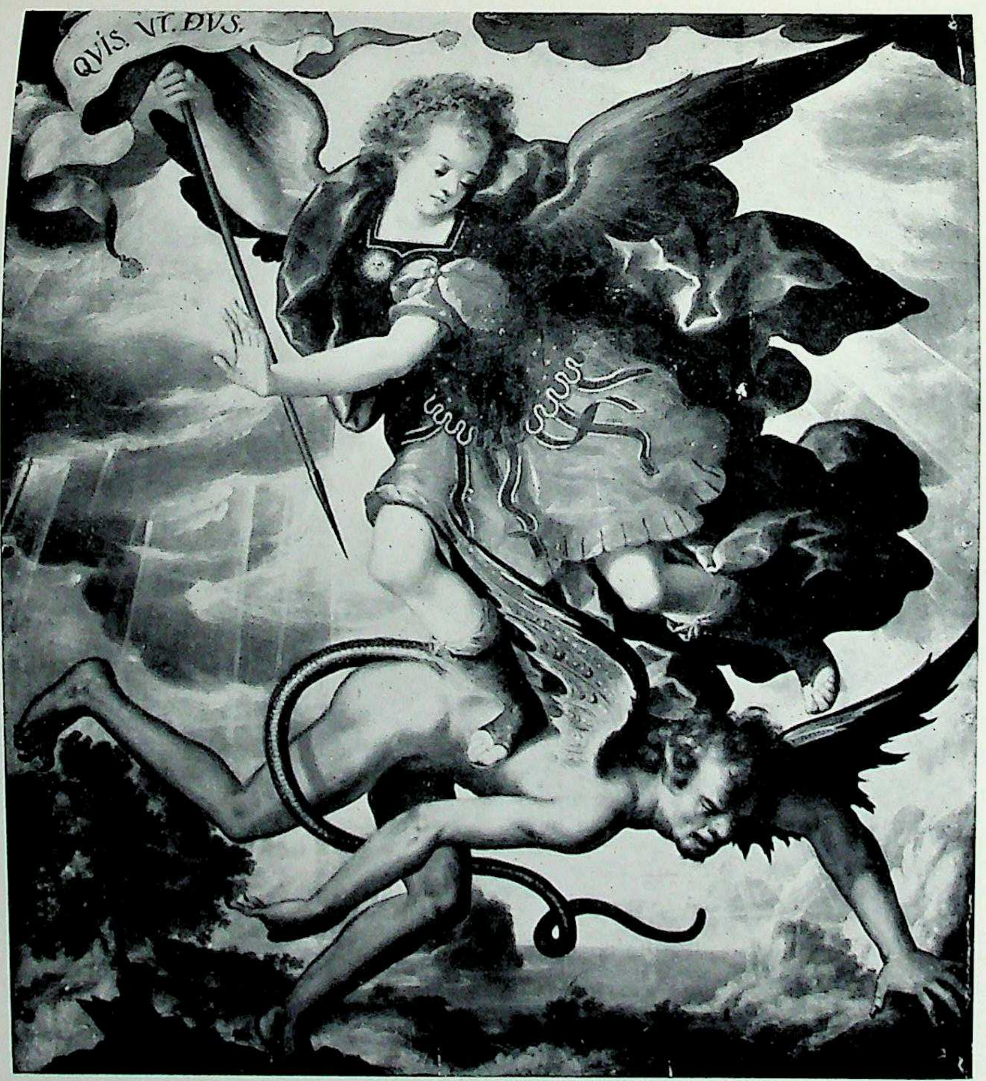
(B) Luis Paret: The Draper's Shop, 1773. *Madrid, Museo Lázaro*



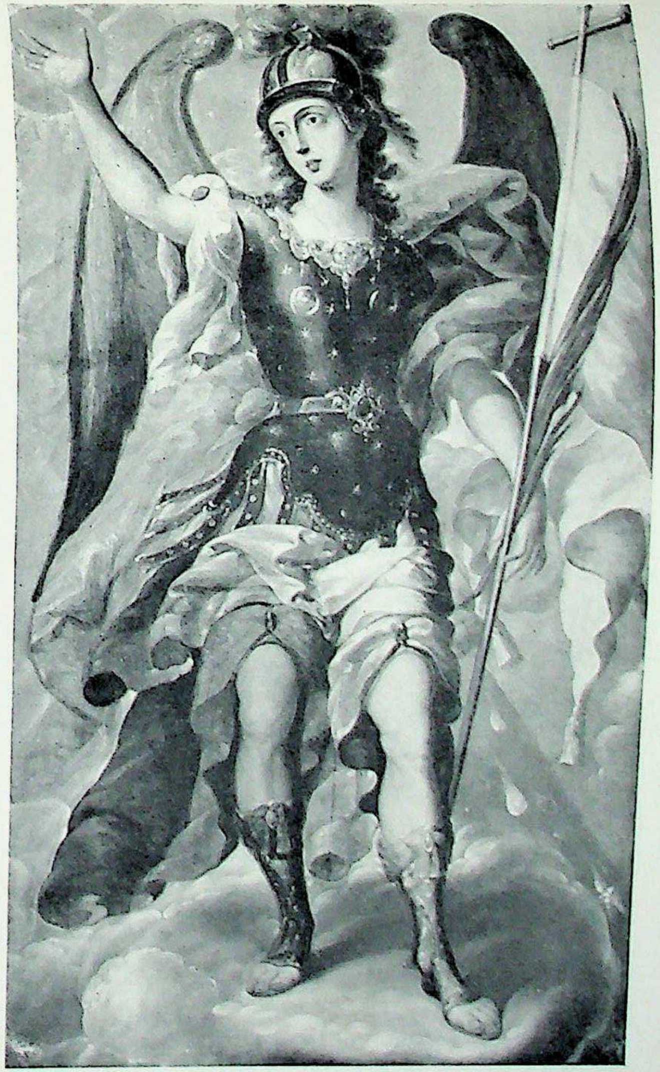
(A) Yanhuitlán Codex: Bishop and Dominican Friar, *c.* 1545–50. *Puebla, Academia de Bellas Artes*



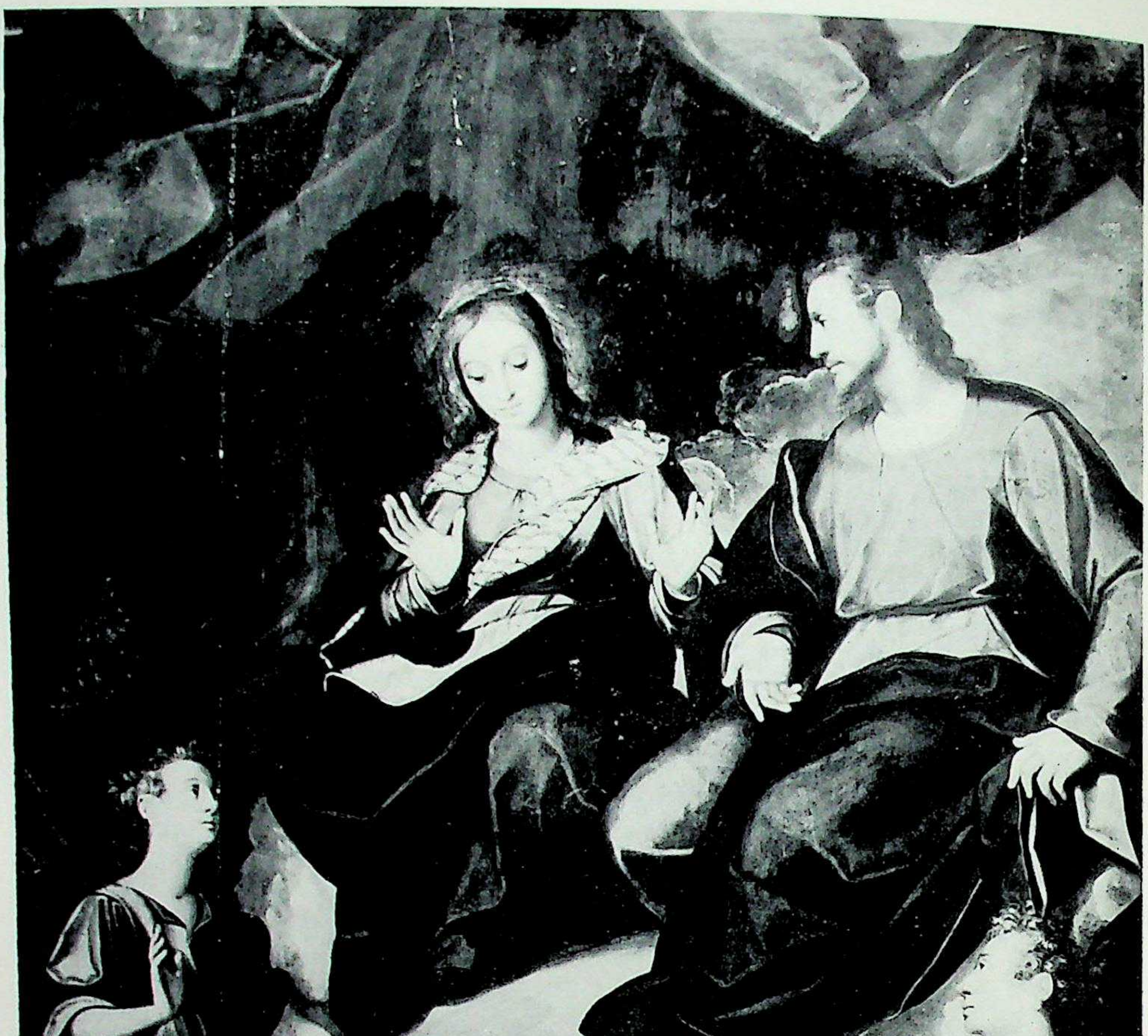
(B) Augustinian Bishops and Doctors, *c.* 1570–80. Wall-painting in stair-well, *Actopan, Hid., Mexico*



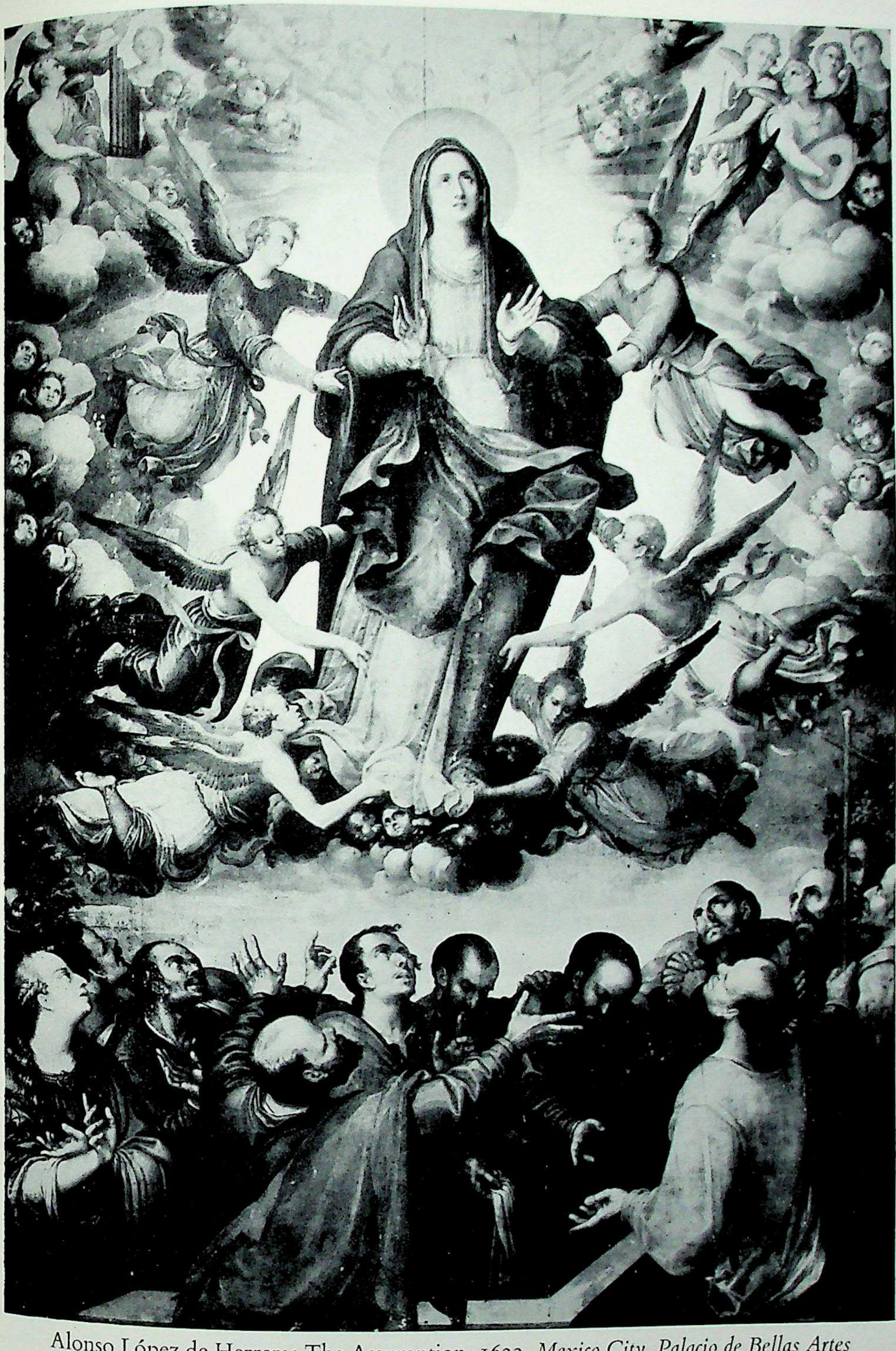
(A) Alonso Vázquez: St Michael casting out the Devil, 1603–8.
Mexico City, Academia de San Carlos



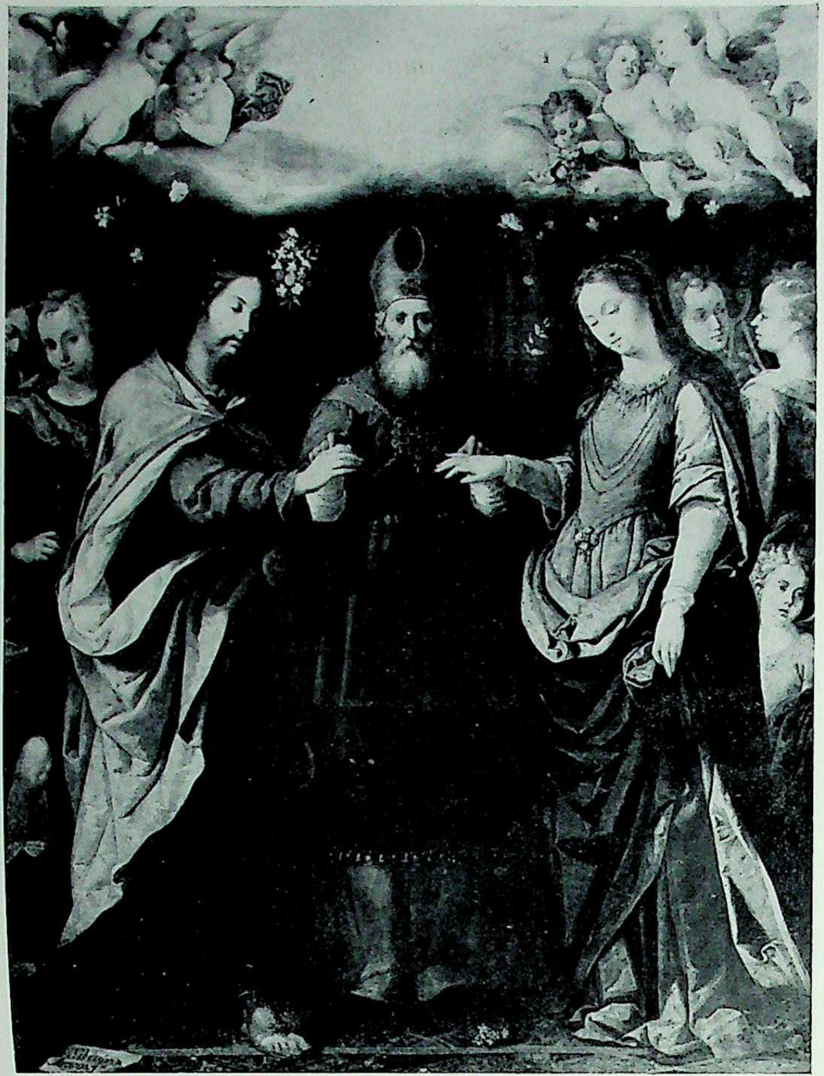
(B) Cristóbal de Villalpando: St Michael, *c.* 1700.
Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum



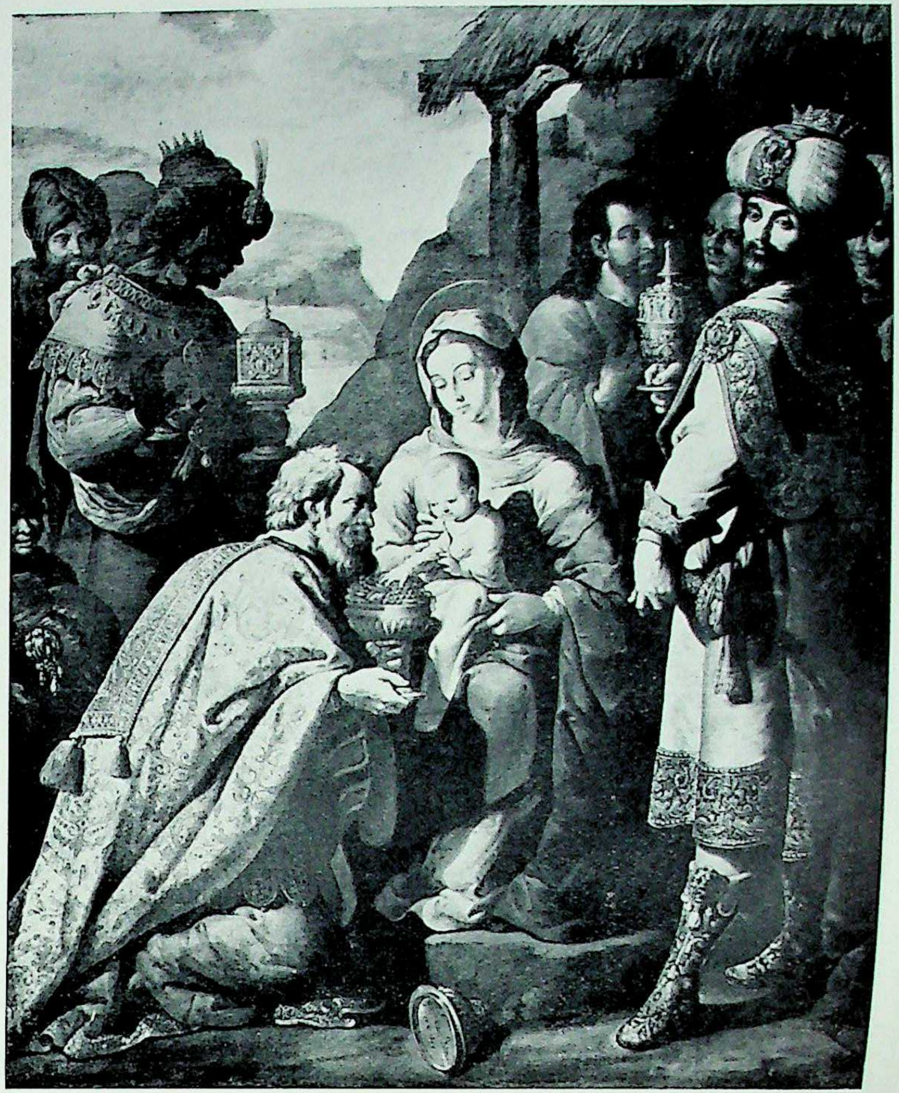
Baltasar de Echave Orio: The Porciuncula, 1609. *Mexico City, Academia de San Carlos*



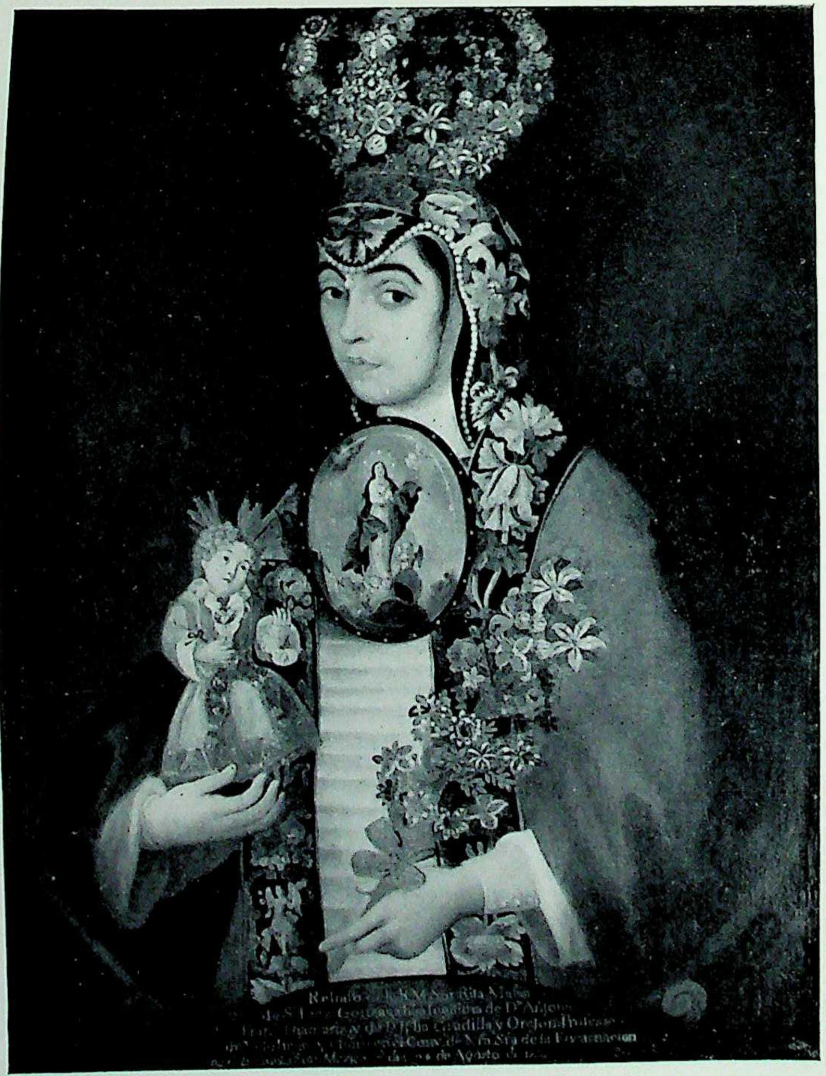
Alonso López de Herrera: The Assumption, 1622. *Mexico City, Palacio de Bellas Artes*



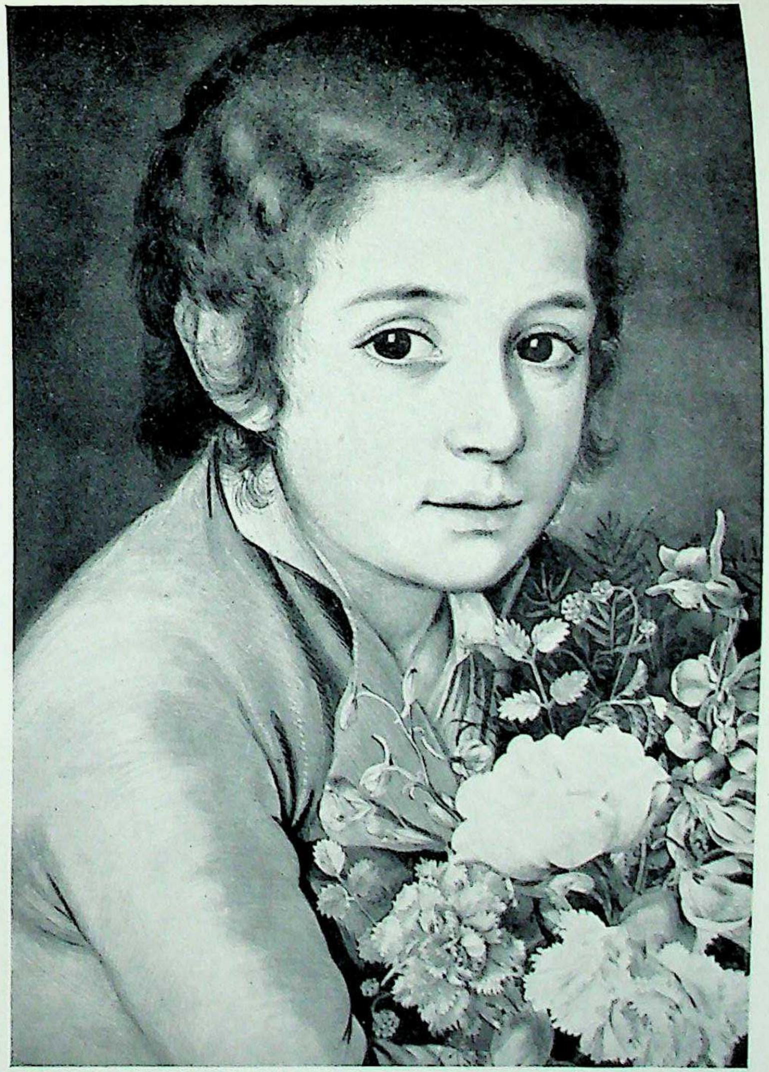
(A) José Juárez: The Marriage of the Virgin, *c.* 1655–60. *Mexico City, Academia de San Carlos*



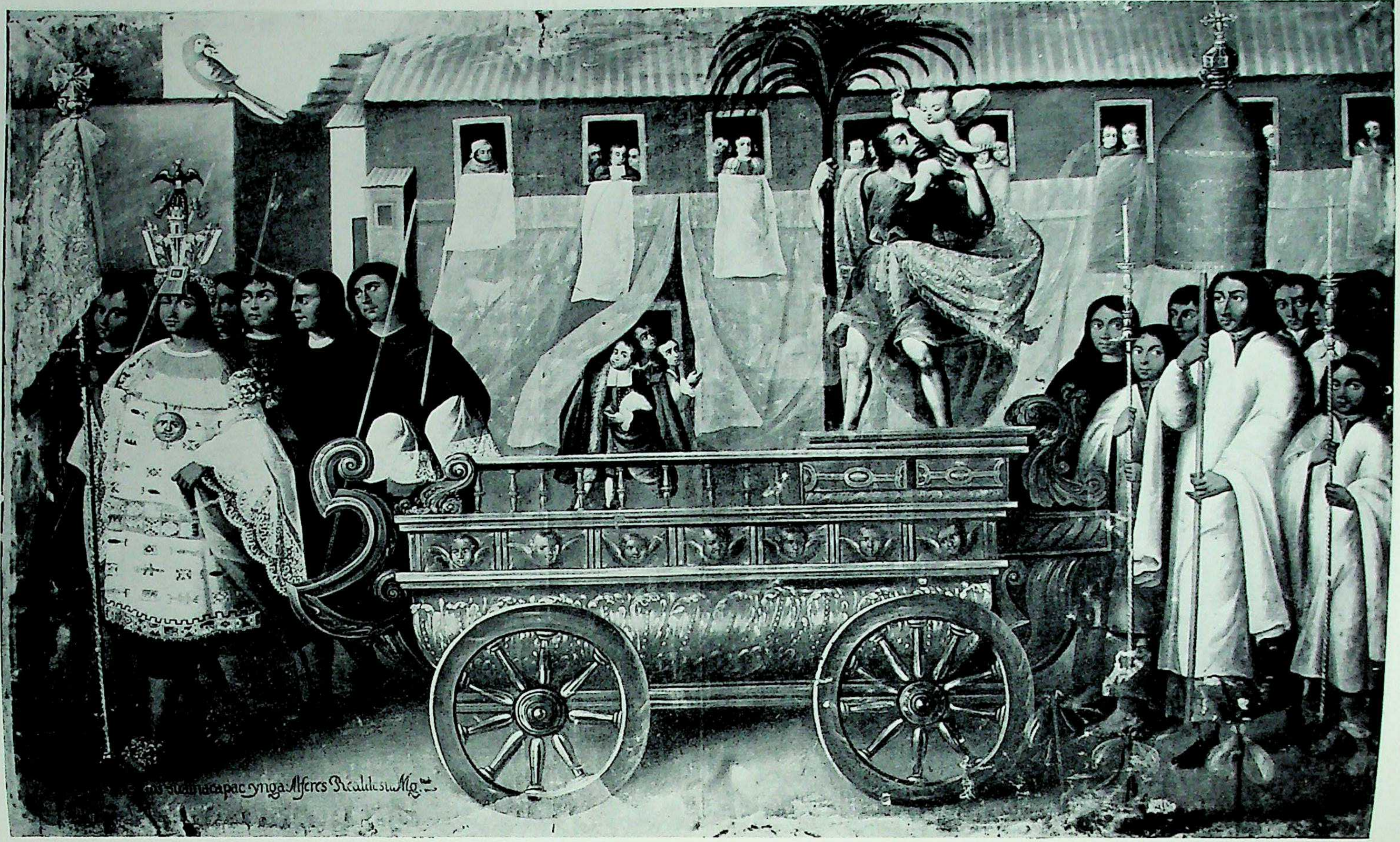
(B) José Juárez: The Epiphany, 1655. *Mexico City, Palacio de Bellas Artes*



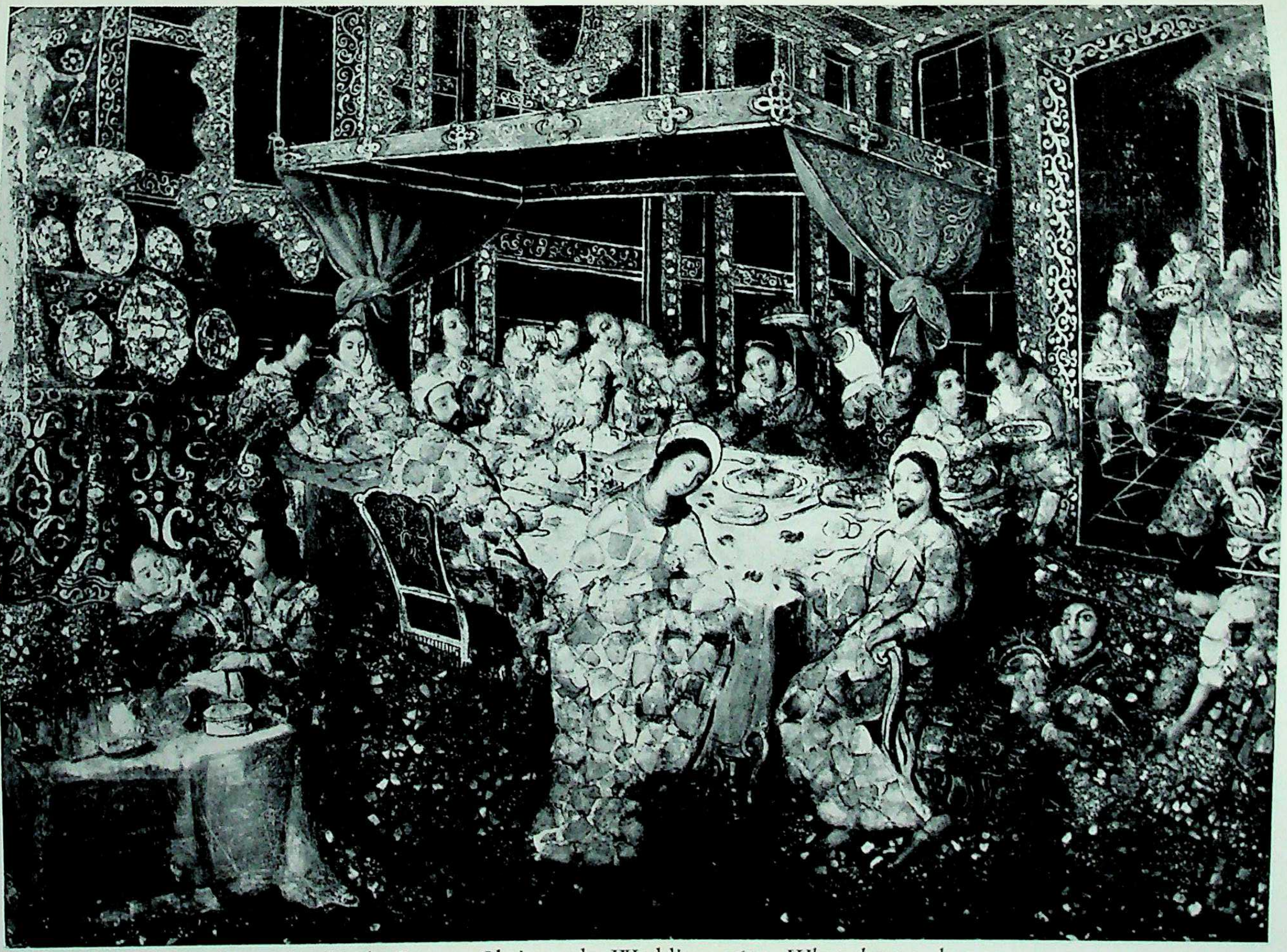
(A) Circle of Cabrera: Sor Rita María de San Luis Gonzaga, *c.* 1750.
Mexico City, Sra Viuda de Martínez del Río



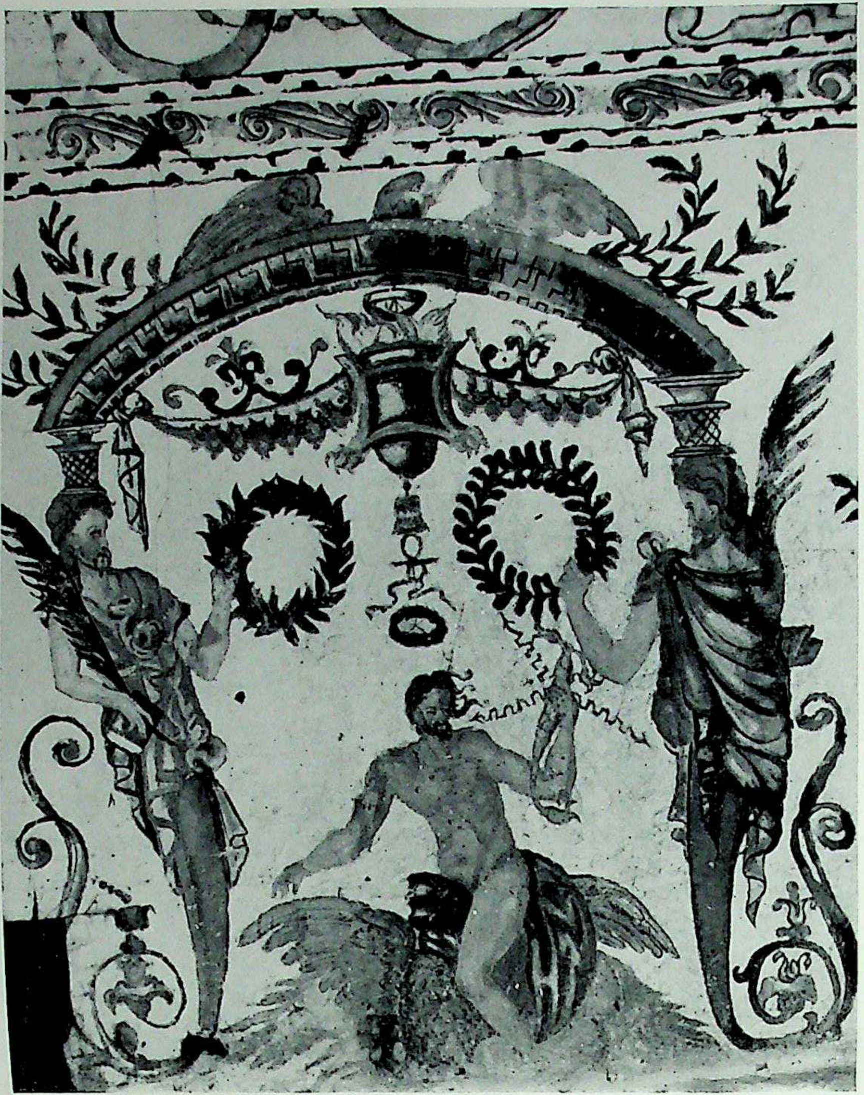
(B) José Guerrero: His Son José Manuel, aged 8, 1798.
Puebla, Academia de Bellas Artes


guainacapac ynga Alferes Real de su Mg.

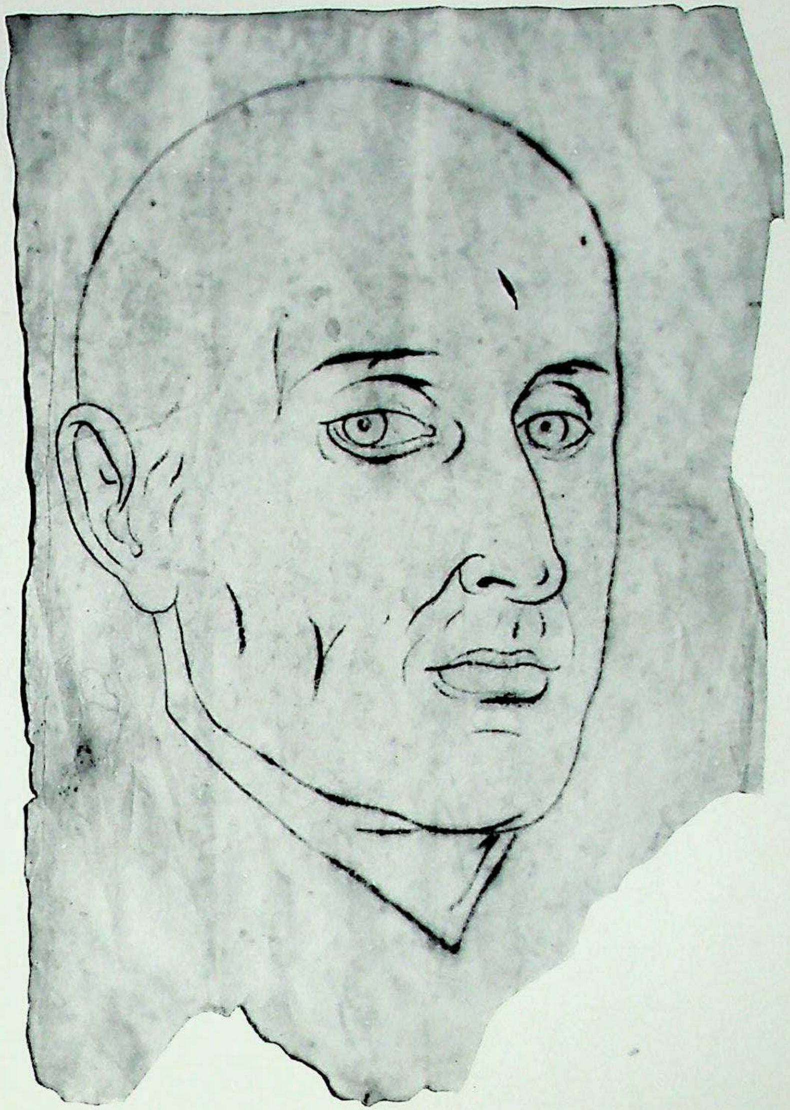
Cuzco School: Corpus Christi Procession with the Parishioners of San Cristóbal, *c.* 1660. *Cuzco, Santa Ana*



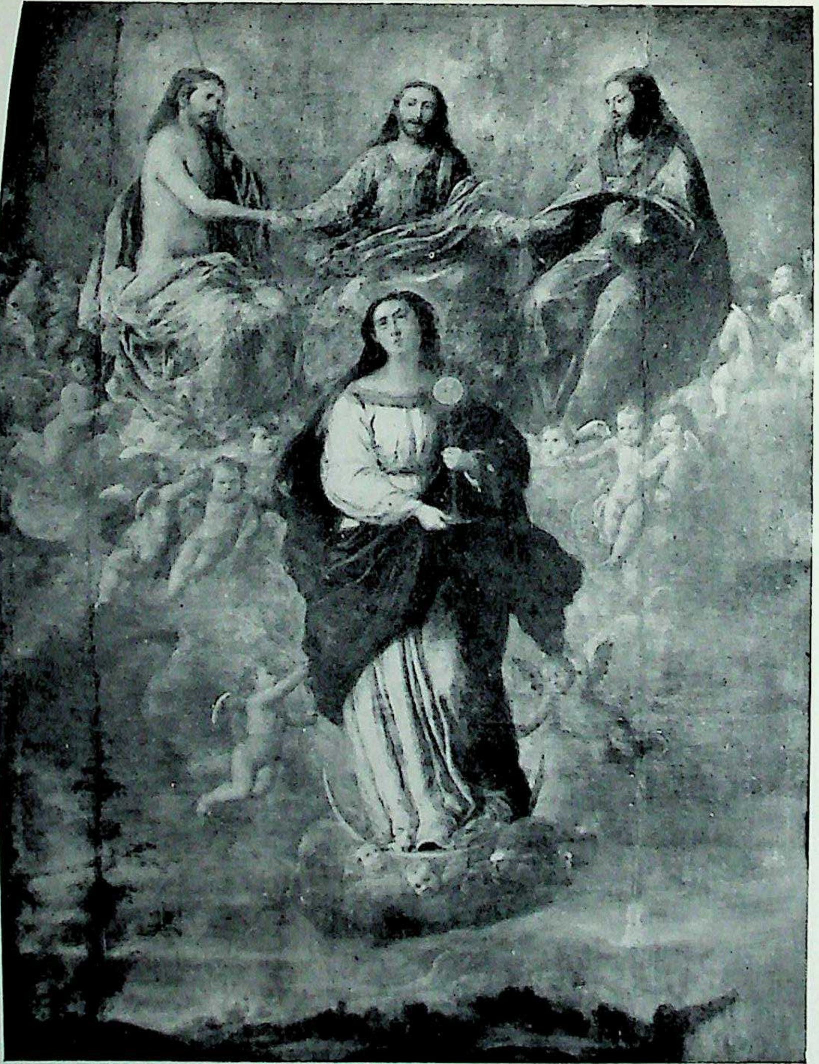
Nicolás de Correa: Christ at the Wedding, 1693. *Whereabouts unknown*



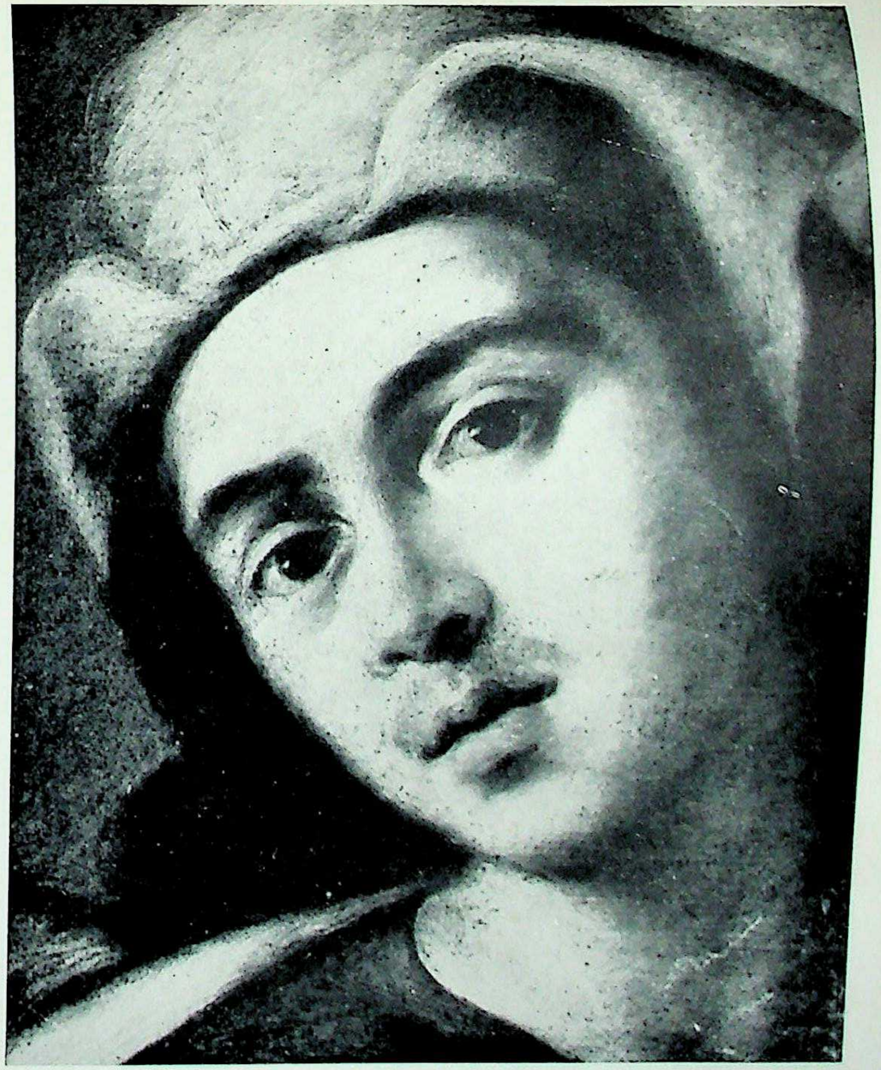
(A) Jupiter, *c.* 1590. Wall painting.
Tunja, House of Vargas



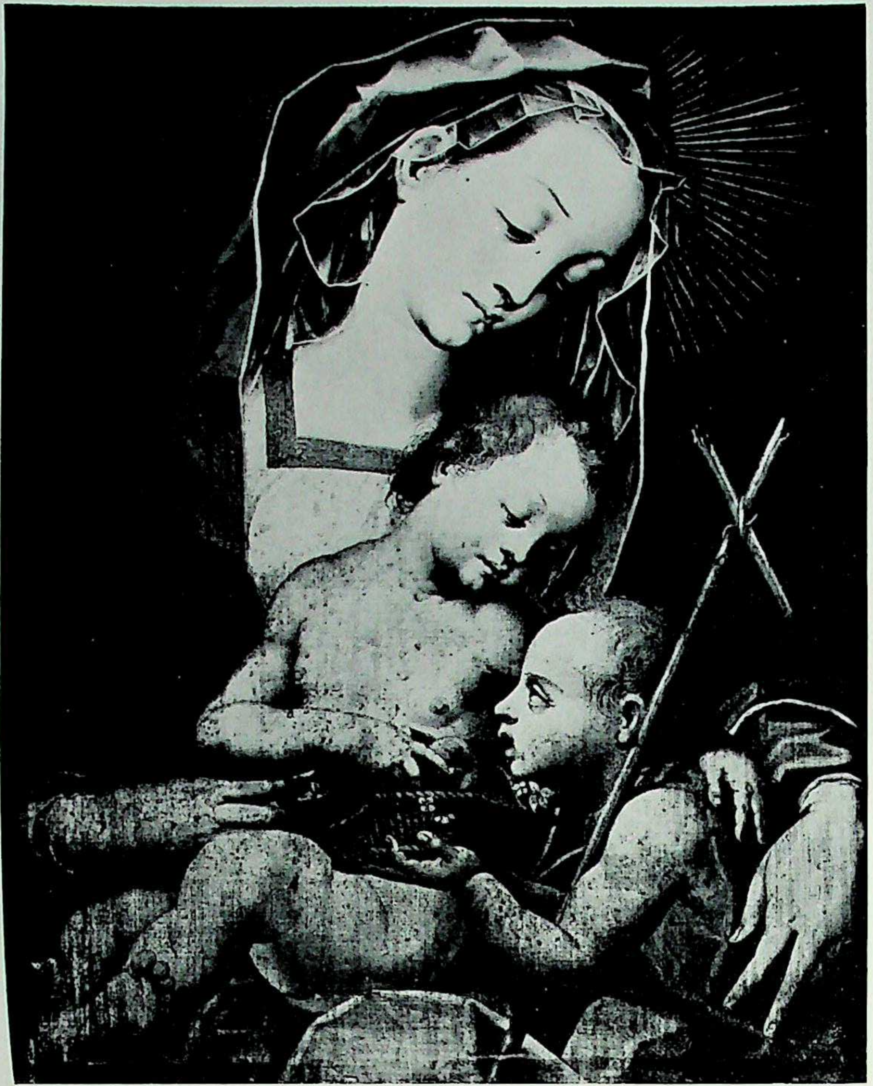
(B) Gregorio Vázquez Ceballos: St Ignatius, *c.* 1700. Pen.
Bogotá, Museo



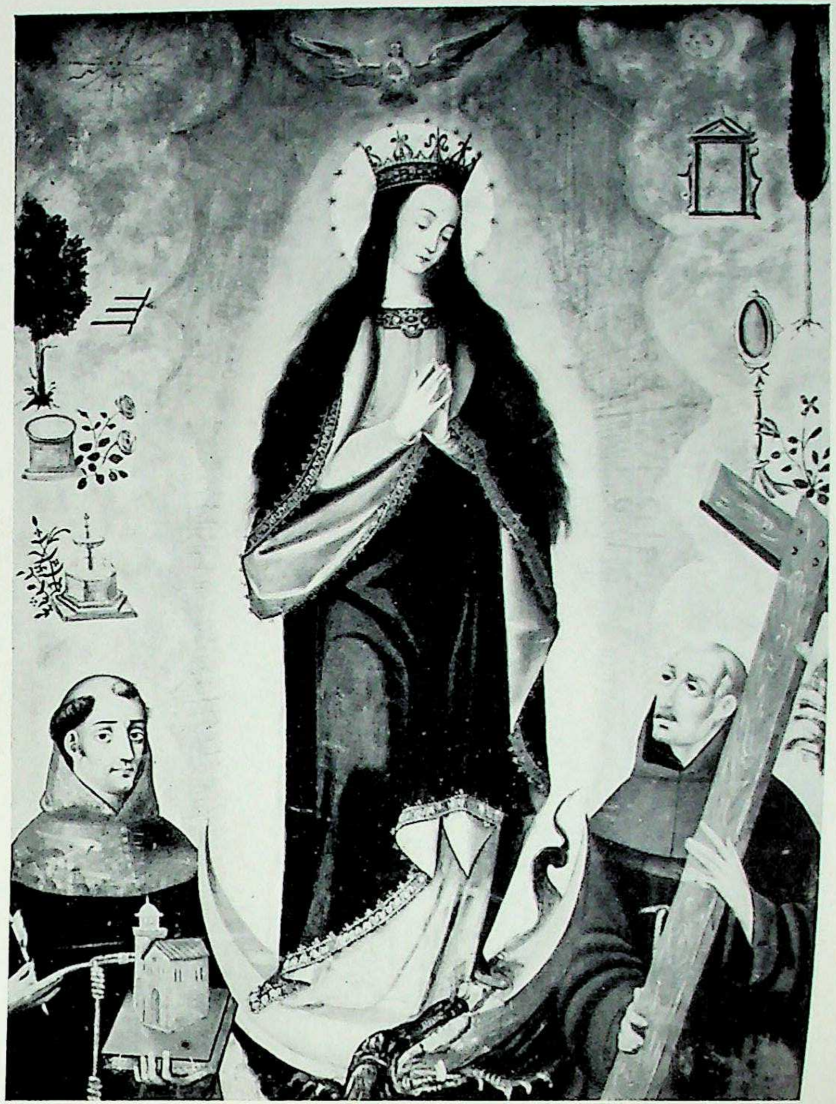
(A) Miguel de Santiago: The Virgin of the Eucharist, *c.* 1680.
Quito, San Francisco



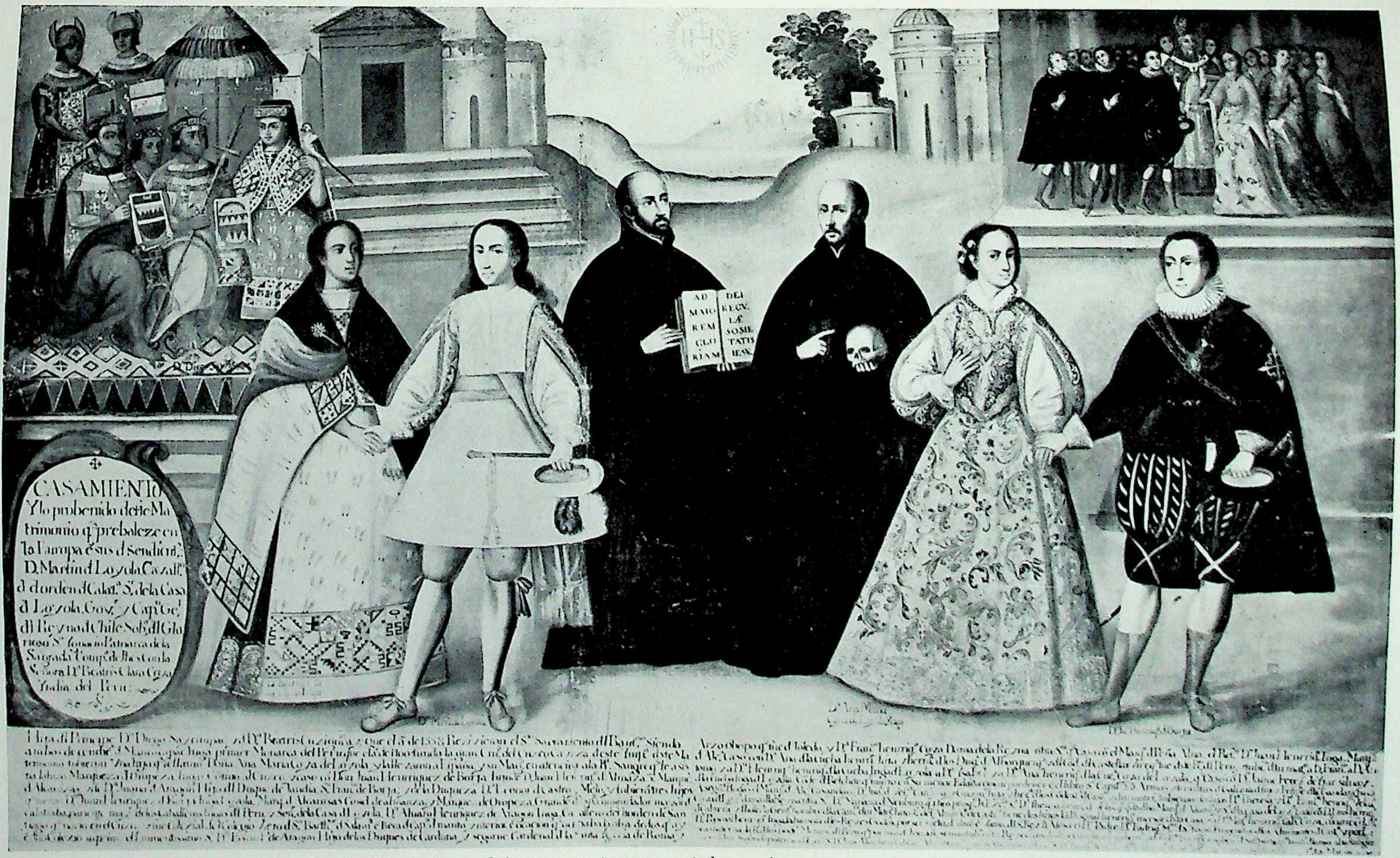
(B) Nicolás Javier Goríbar: Malachi, *c.* 1700. Detail.
Quito, Compañía



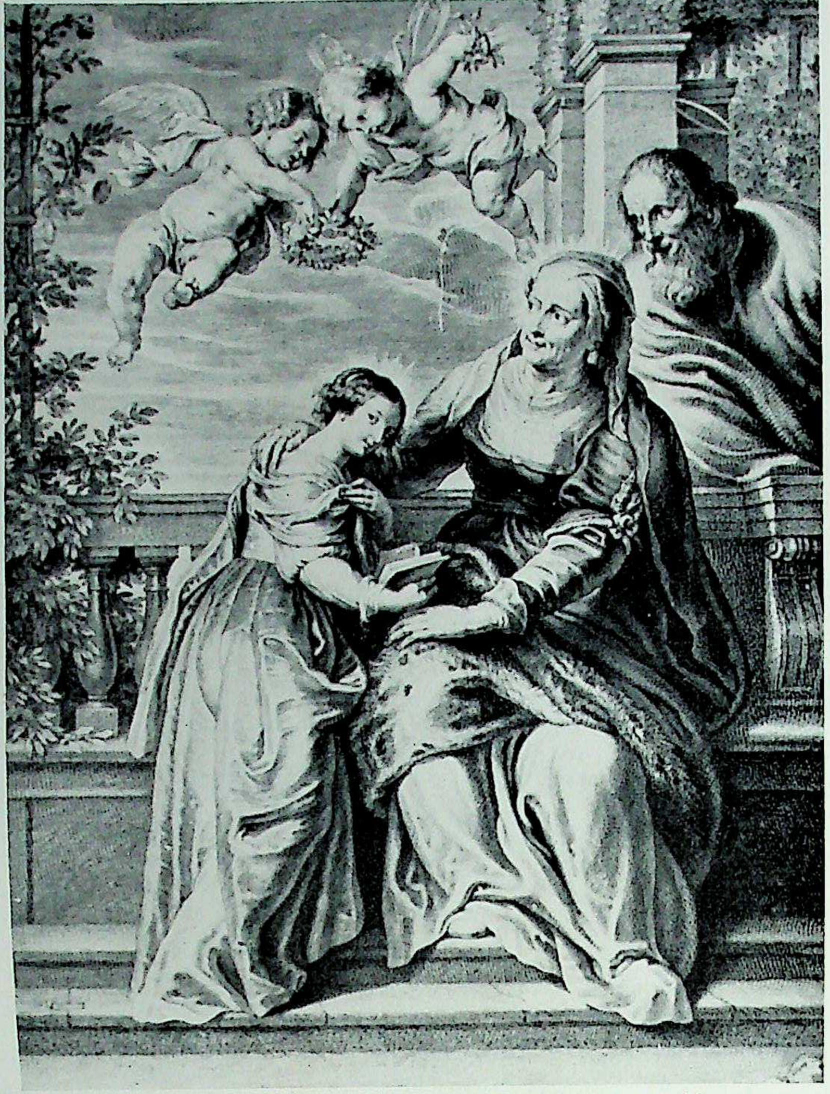
(A) Bernardo Bitti, S.J.: Madonna and Child with St John Baptist, *c.* 1592–3. *Sucre, Seminario*



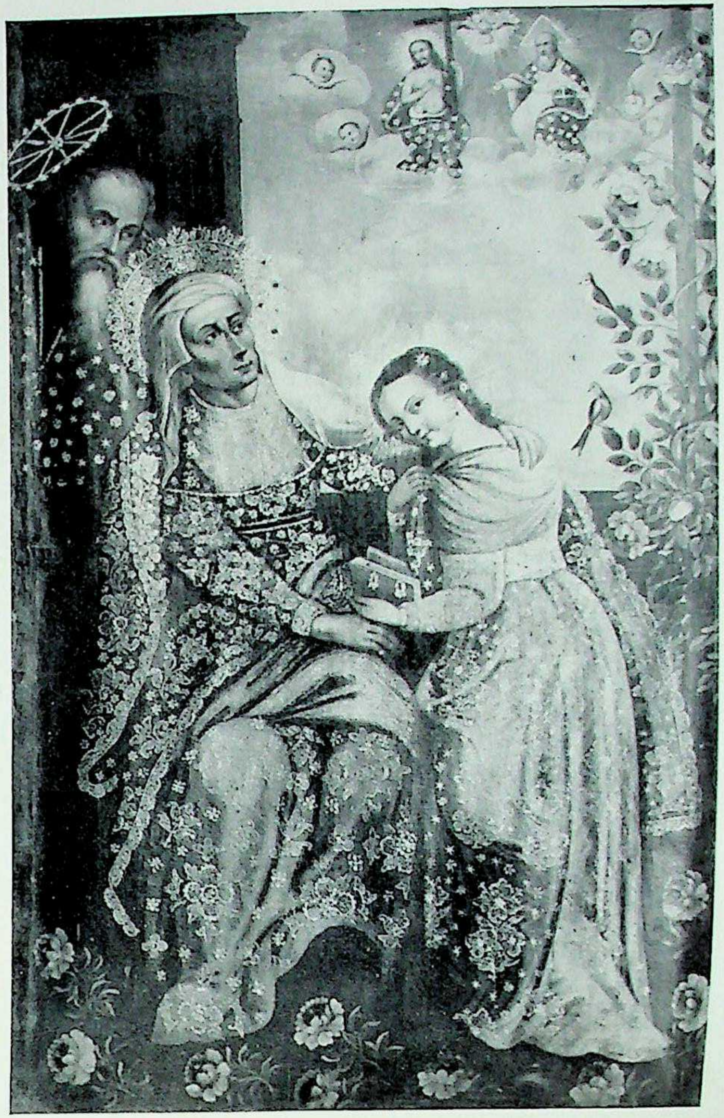
(B) Gregorio Gamarra: The Virgin with St Bonaventura and St Diego of Alcalá, *c.* 1607. *Cuzco, Recoleta*


CASAMIENTO
AD MAIO REM GLO RIAM
DEI REGV LÆ SOSIE TATIS IESV

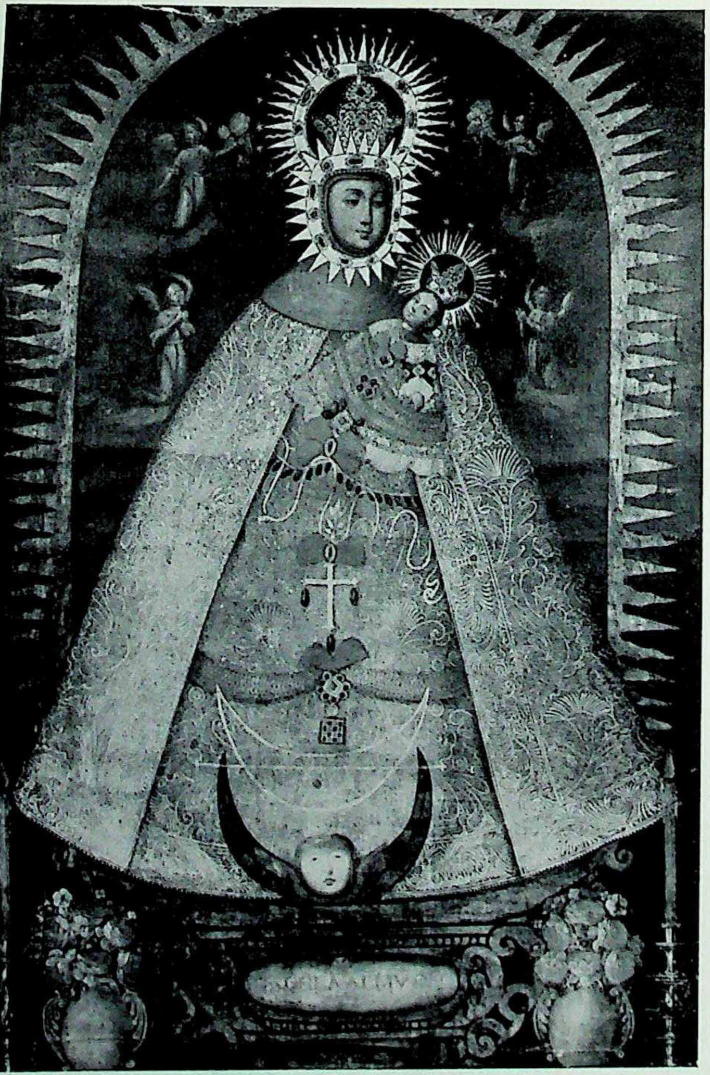
Cuzco School: The Wedding of the Inca Princesses, eighteenth century. *Lima, Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*



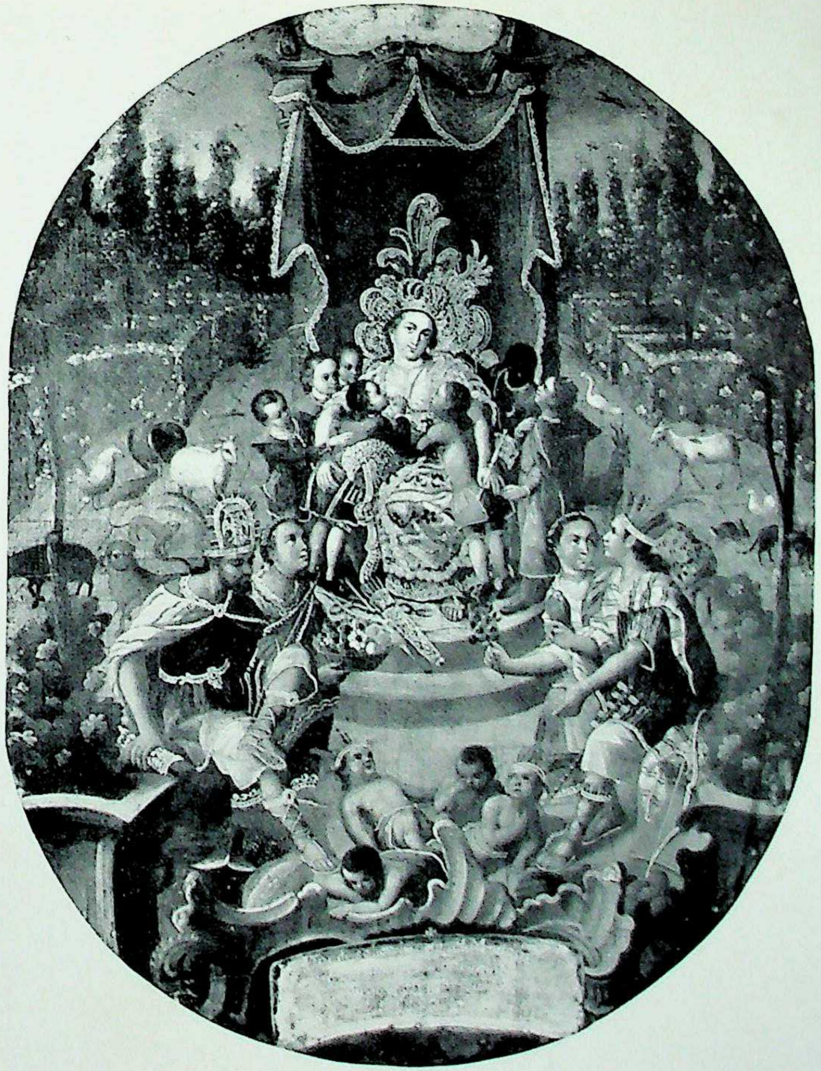
(A) Rubens: St Anne and the Virgin, engraved by Schelte à Bolswert



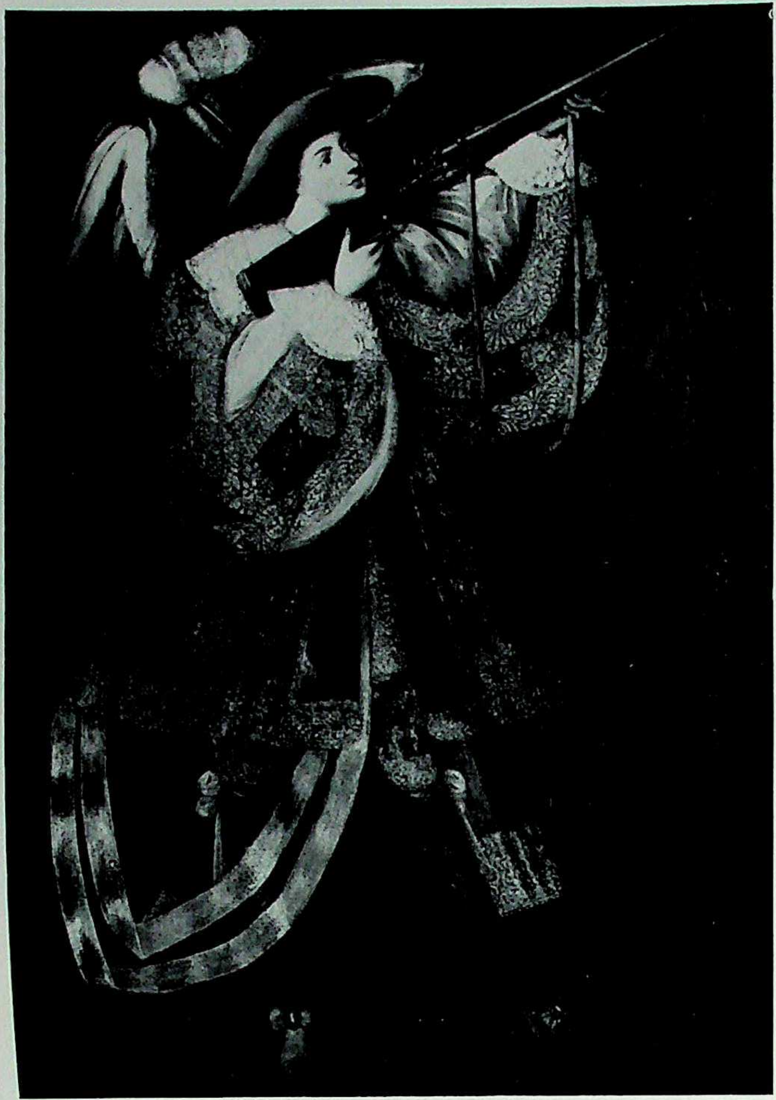
(B) Cuzco School: St Anne and the Virgin, *c.* 1680–1720. *La Paz, Private Collection*



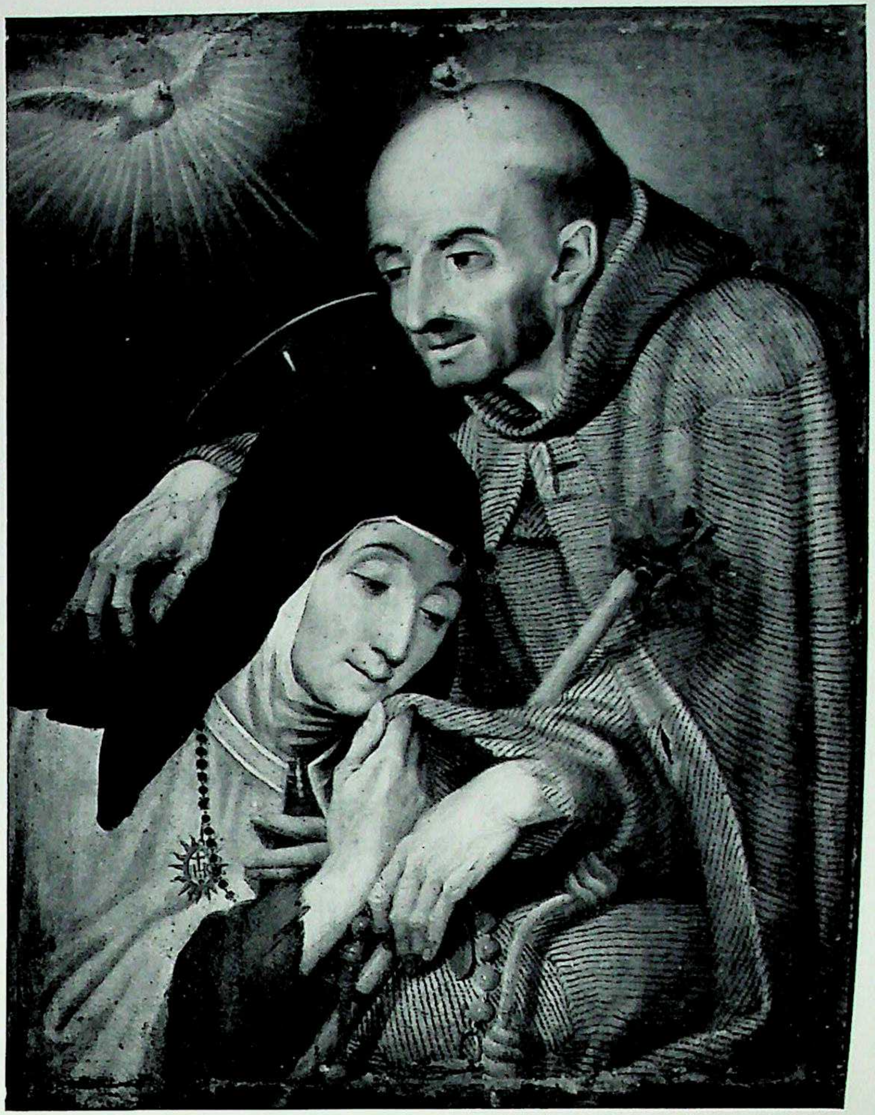
(A) Cuzco School: The Virgin of the Almudena, late seventeenth century. *Rio de Janeiro, Museum*



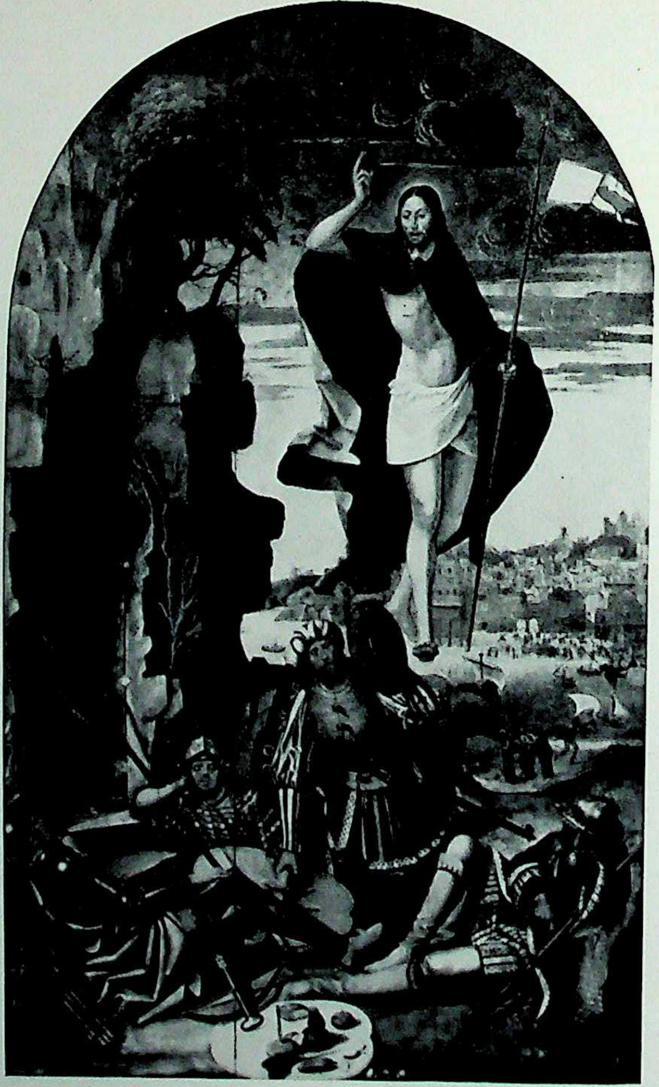
(B) Peruvian School: America nursing Spanish Noble Boys, *c.* 1780. *Montevideo, Dennis Osborne*



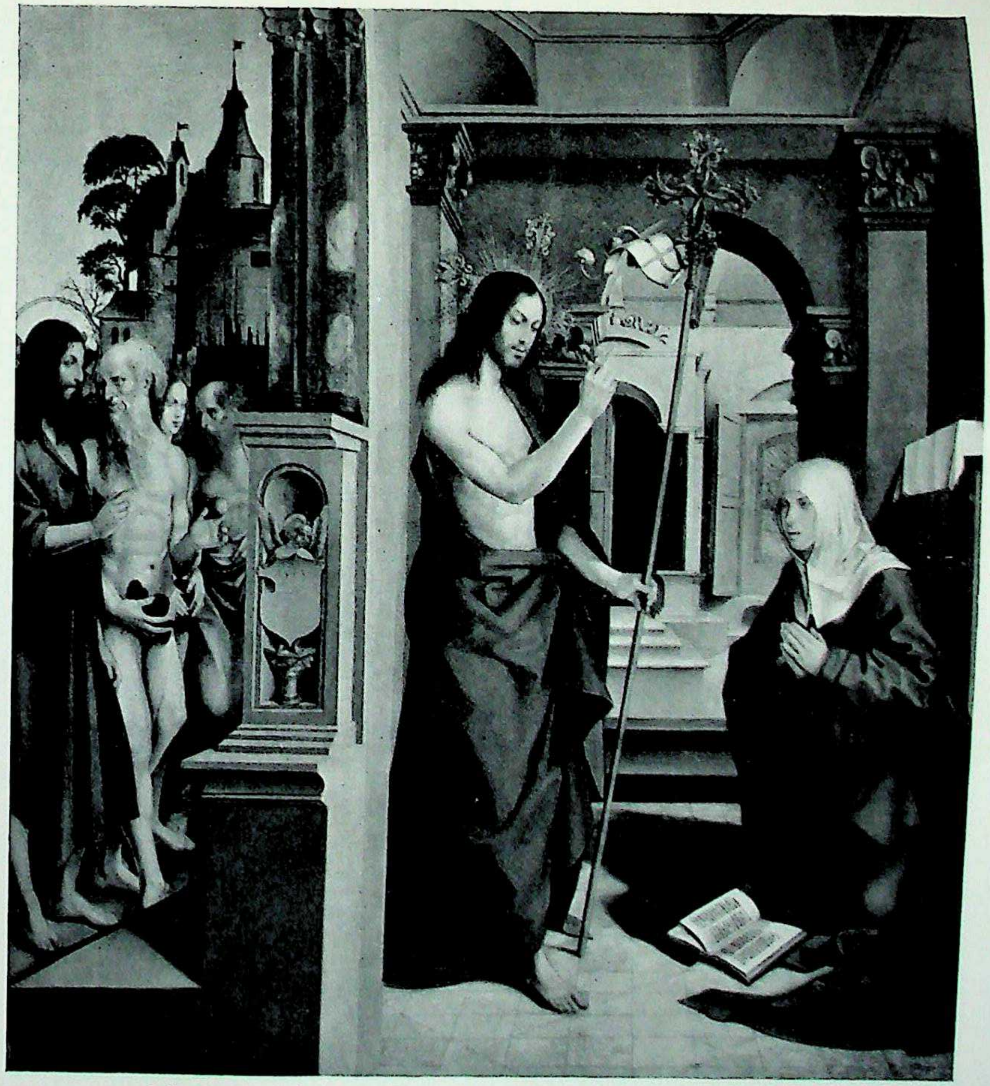
(A) Bolivian School: Archangel Asiel shooting, *c.* 1700. *La Páz, Ministry of Education*



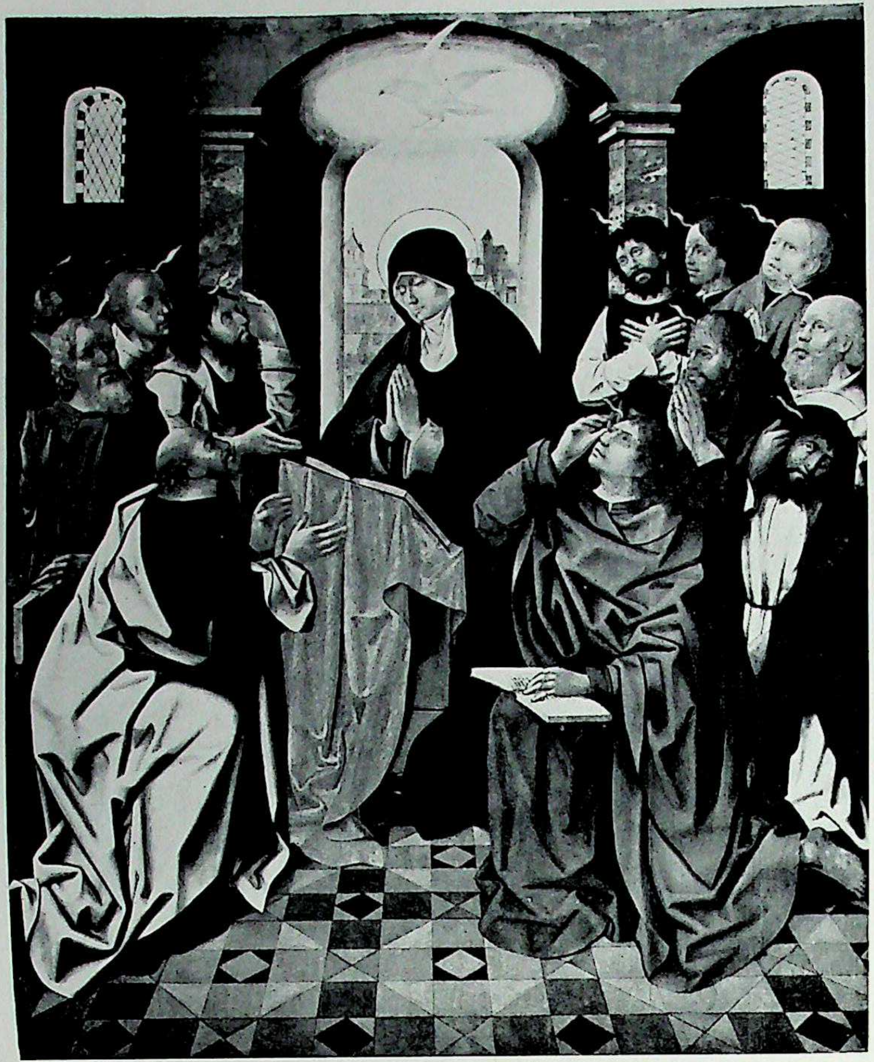
(B) Melchor Pérez Holguín: St Peter of Alcántara and St Teresa, *c.* 1700. *Mondragón near Potosí, Zenón Guerra Vera*



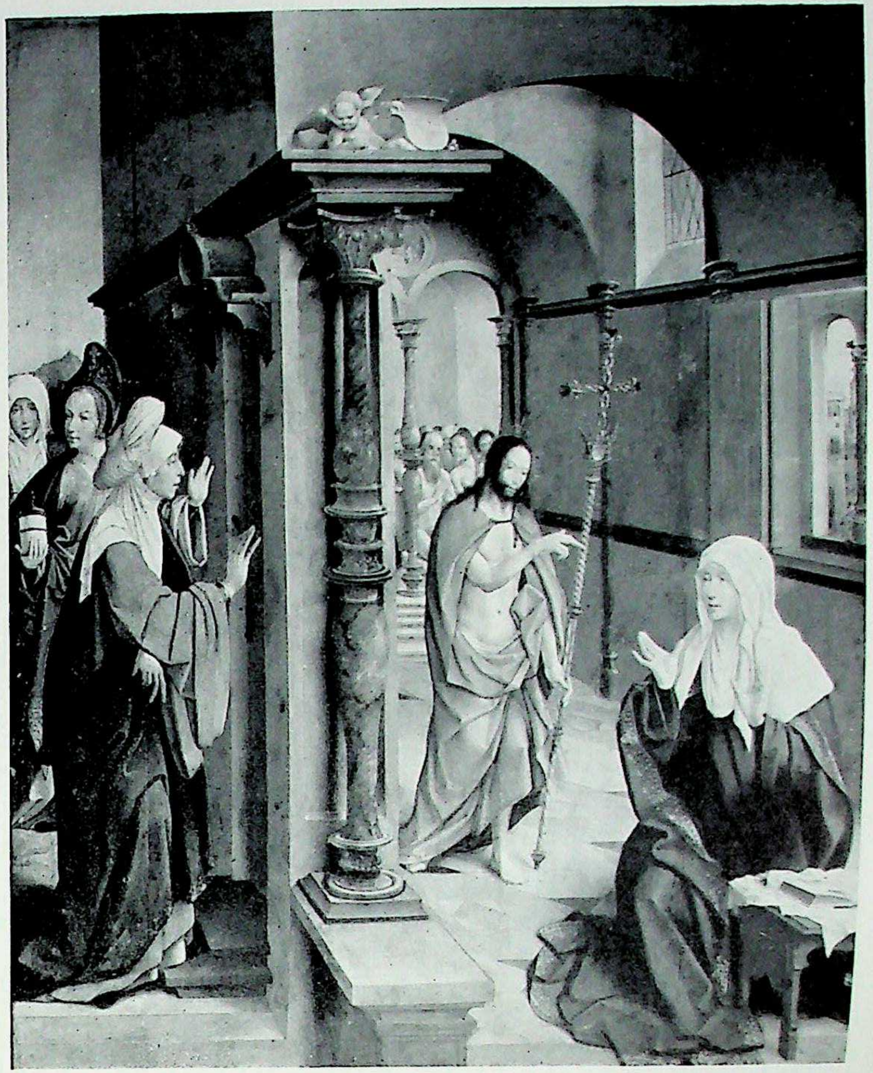
(A) Jorge Afonso: The Resurrection, *c.* 1510.
Tomar, Monastery of the Order of Christ



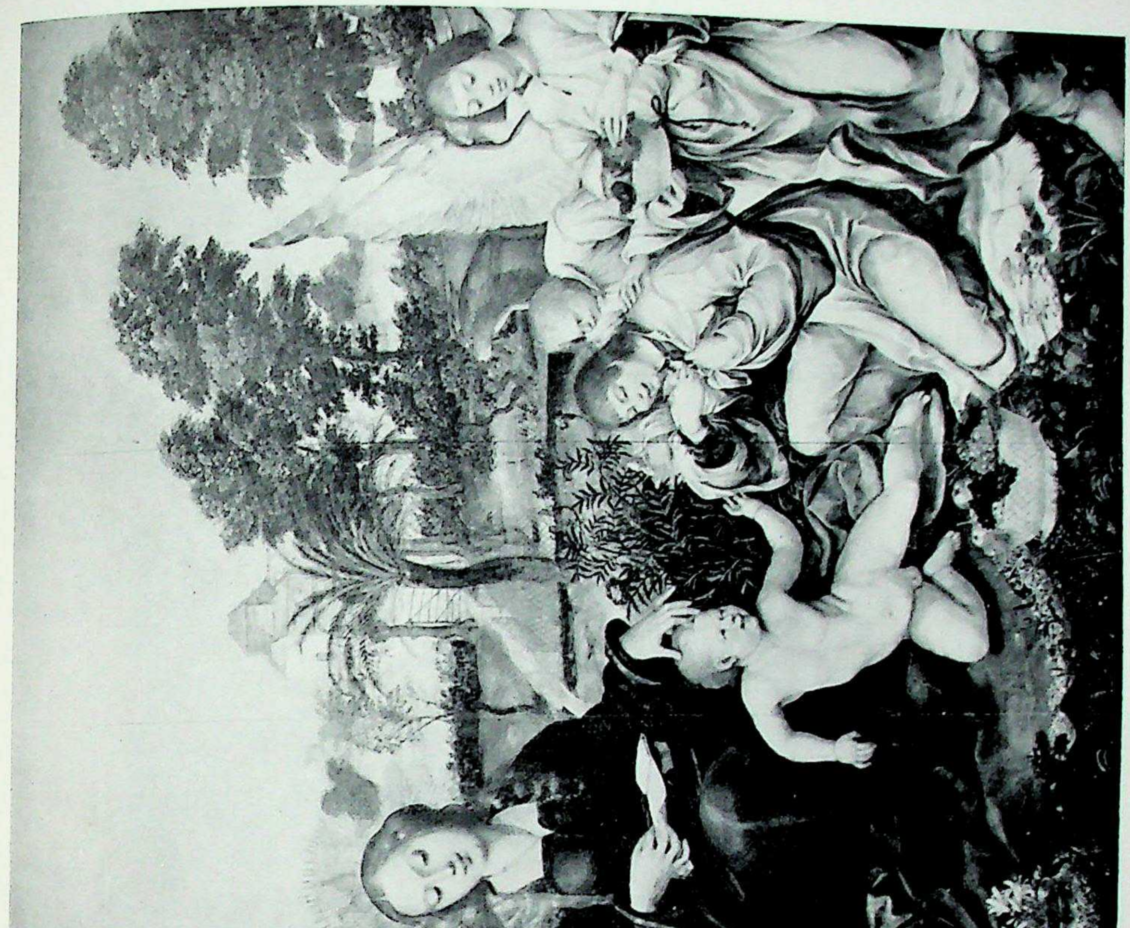
(B) Jorge Afonso: Christ appearing to the Virgin, 1515.
Lisbon, Madre de Deus



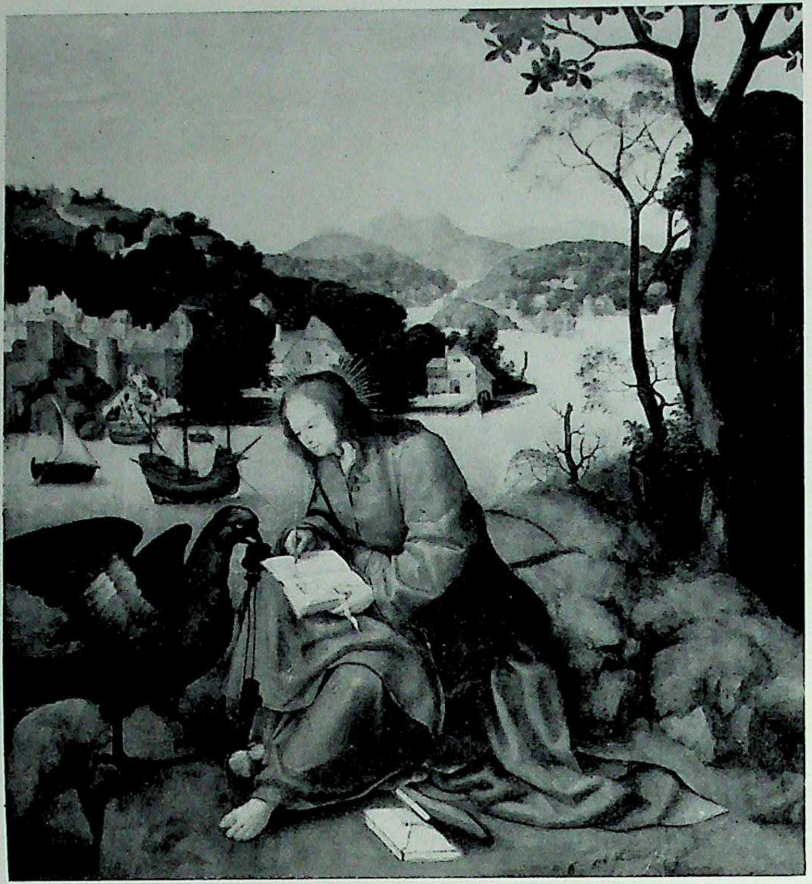
(A) Francisco Henriques: The Pentecost, 1509–11.
Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga



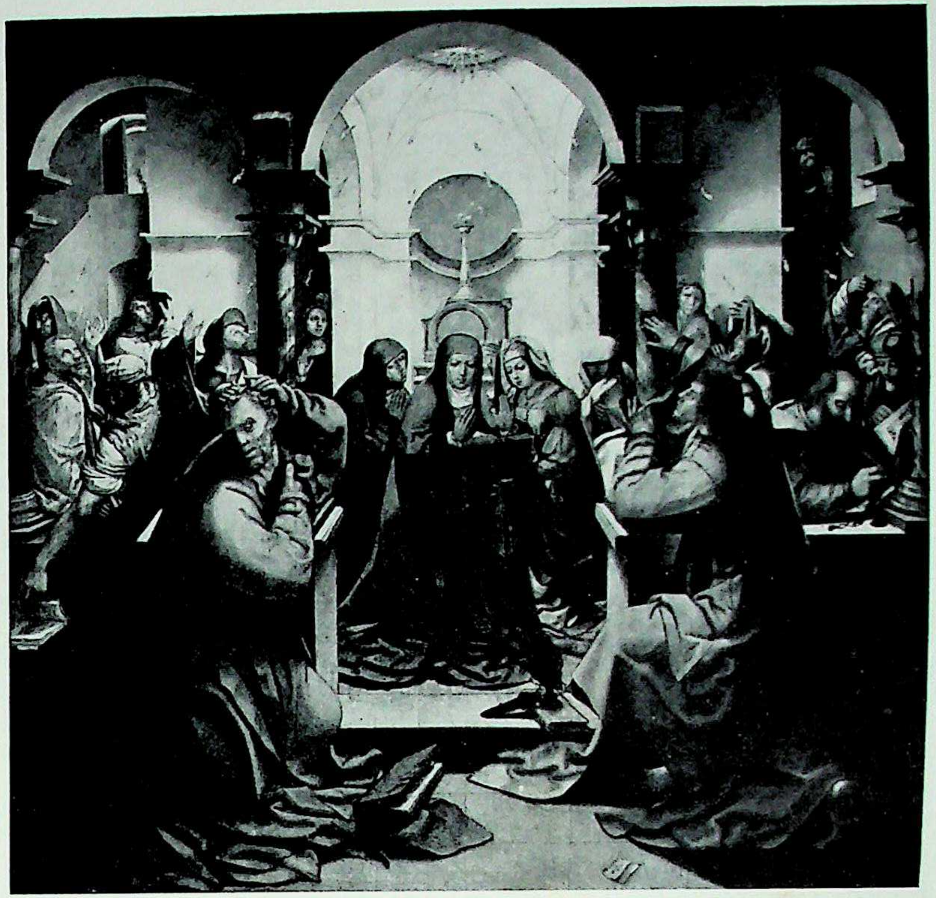
(B) Frei Carlos: Christ appearing to the Virgin, 1529.
Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga



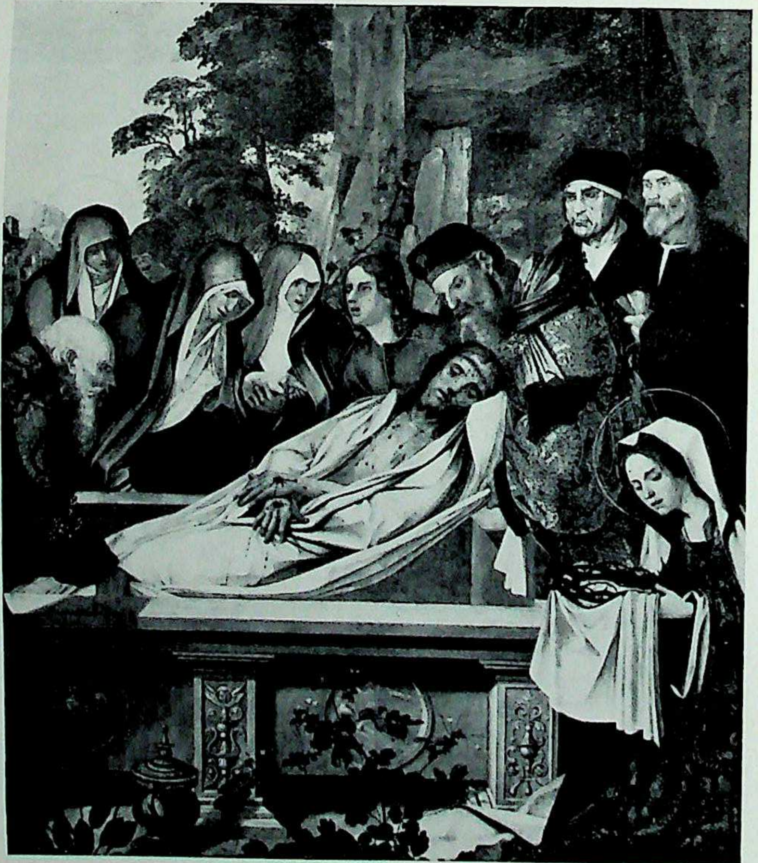
Gregório Lopes: The Virgin and Child with Angels, *c.* 1536. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*



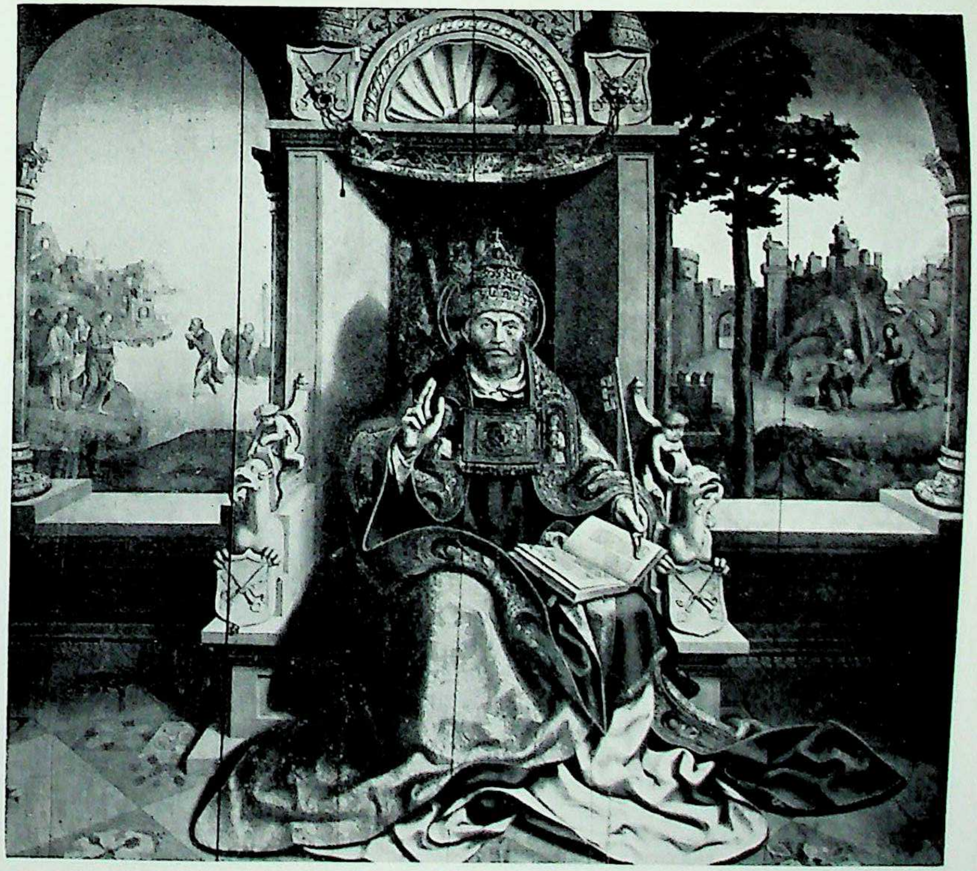
(A) Lourinhã Master: St John on Patmos, *c.* 1515–20.
Lourinhã, Misericórdia



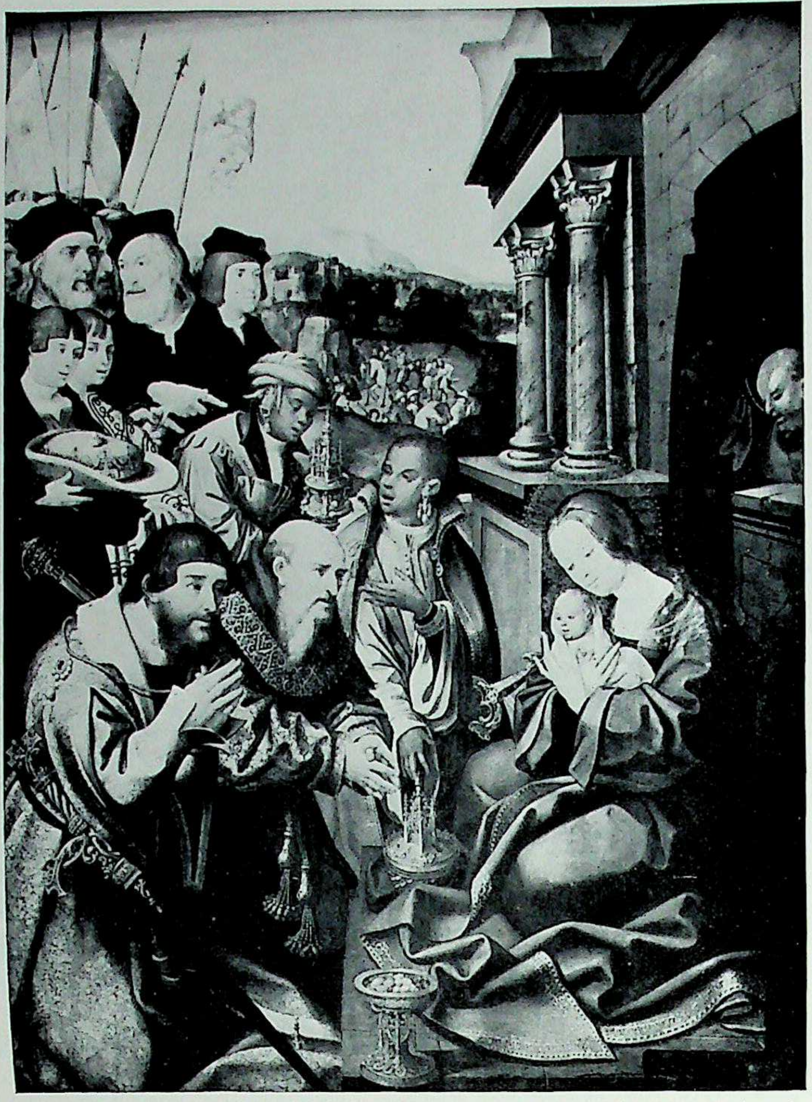
(B) Vasco Fernandes: The Pentecost, 1535.
Coimbra, Santa Cruz



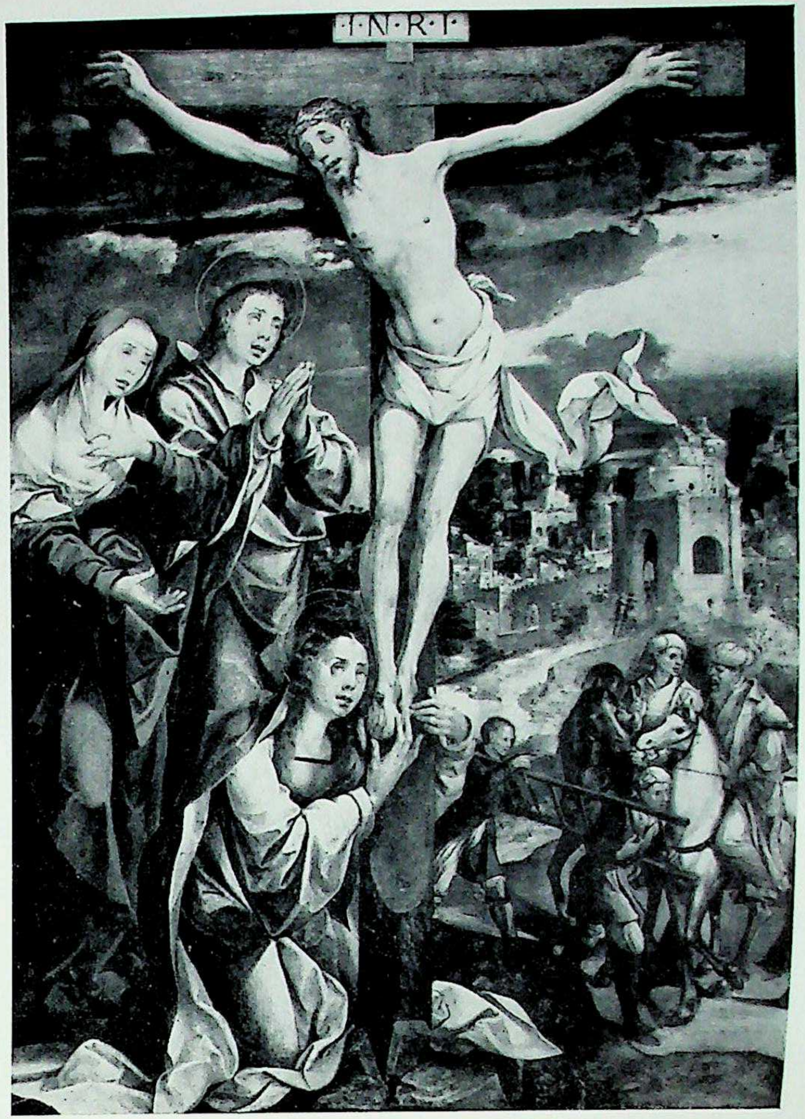
(A) Cristóvão de Figueiredo: The Entombment of Christ, *c.* 1529–30. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*



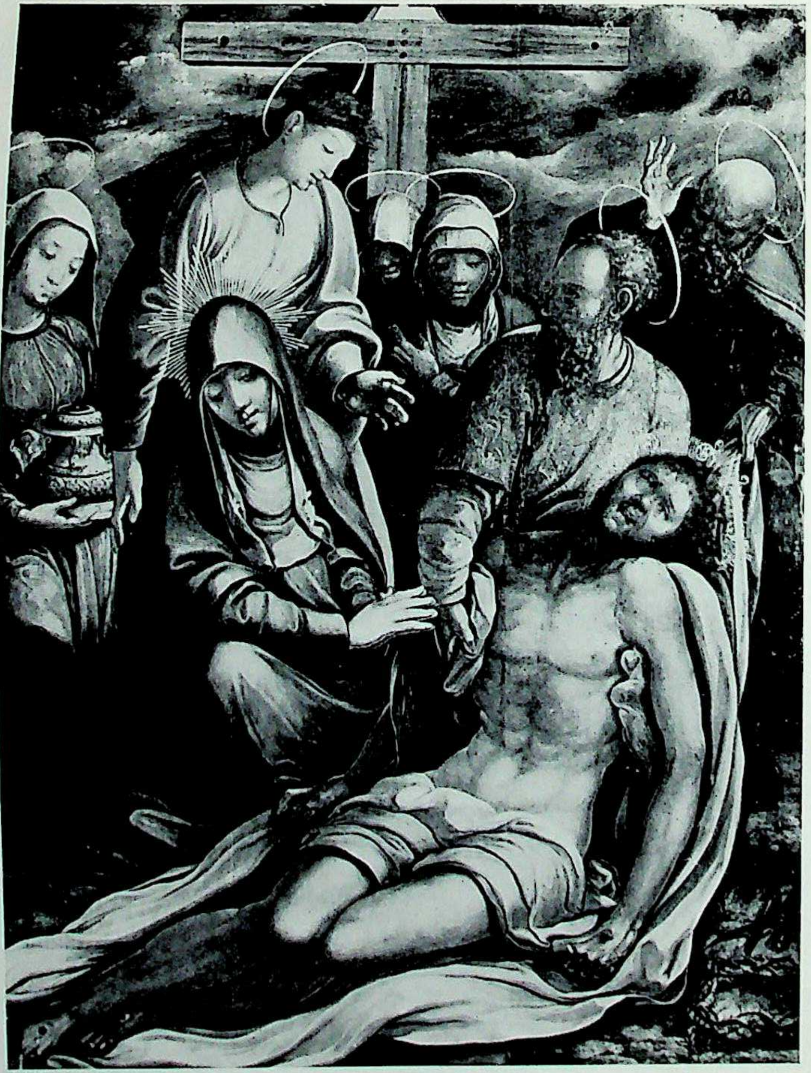
(B) Vasco Fernandes: St Peter, *c.* 1540. *Viseu, Museu do Grão Vasco*



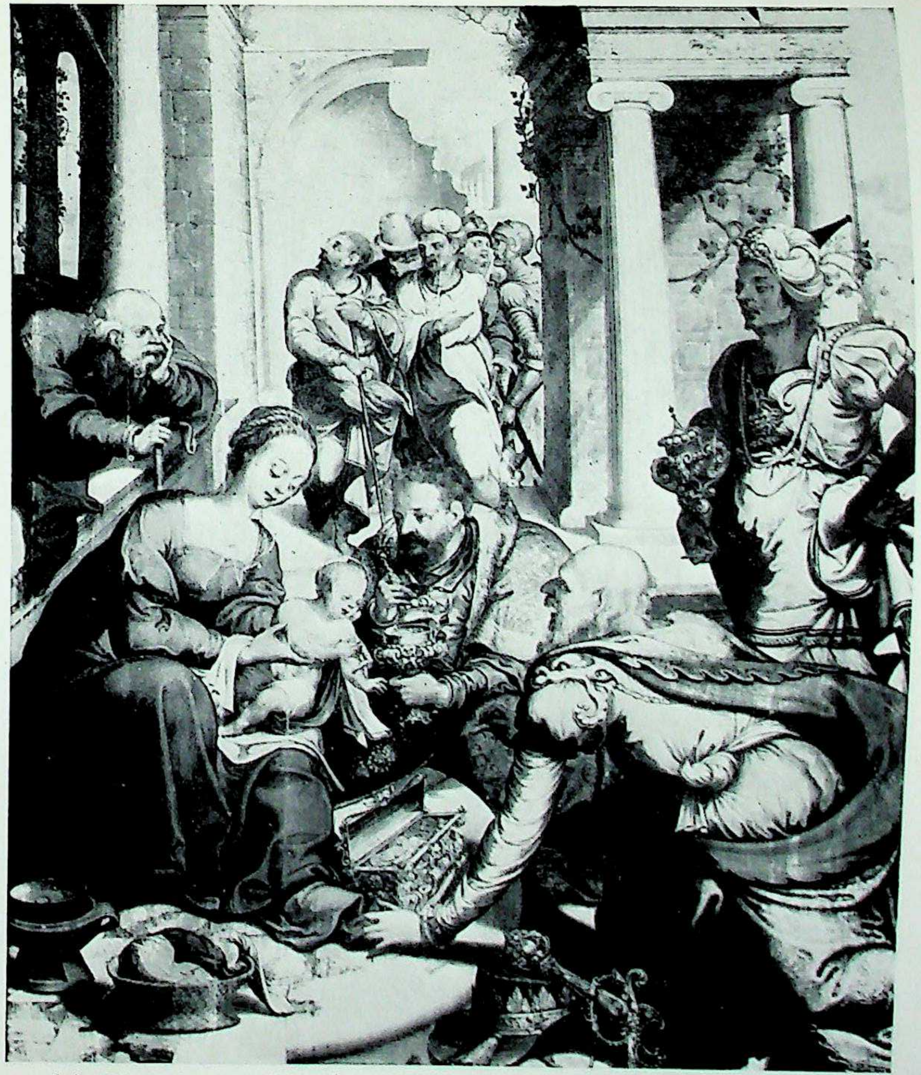
(A) Garcia Fernandes: The Epiphany, *c.* 1525 (with portrait heads by Jorge Afonso?). *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*



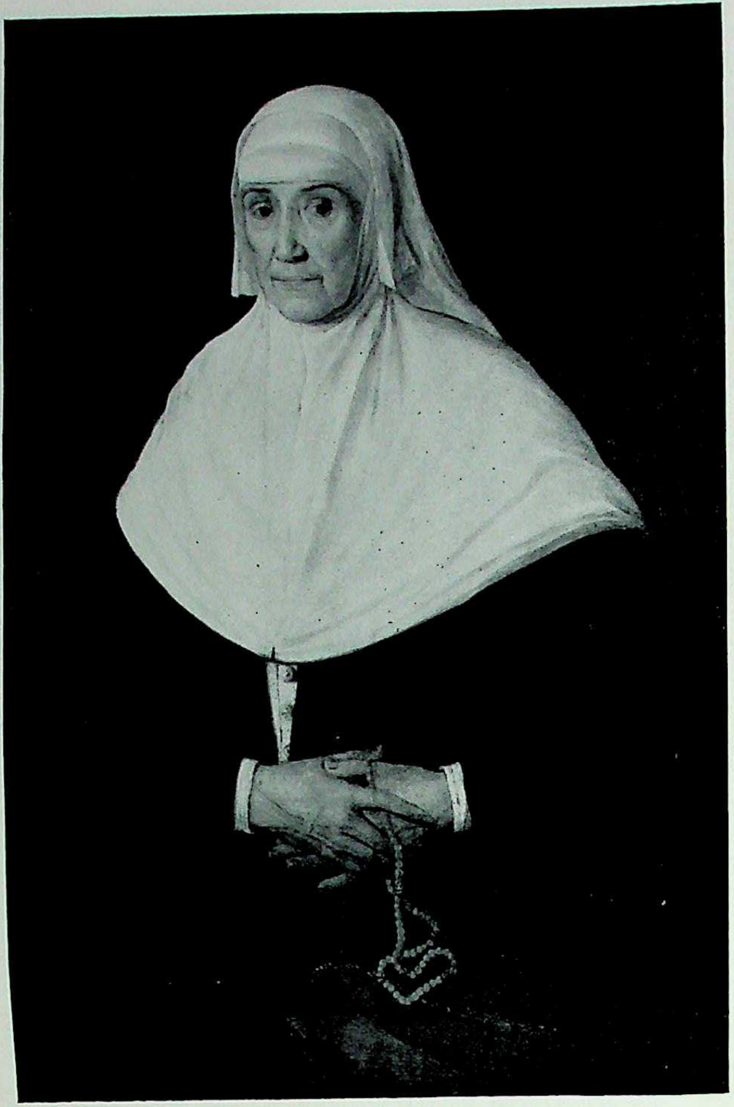
(B) Gregório Lopes: Calvary, *c.* 1548. *Abrantes, Misericórdia*



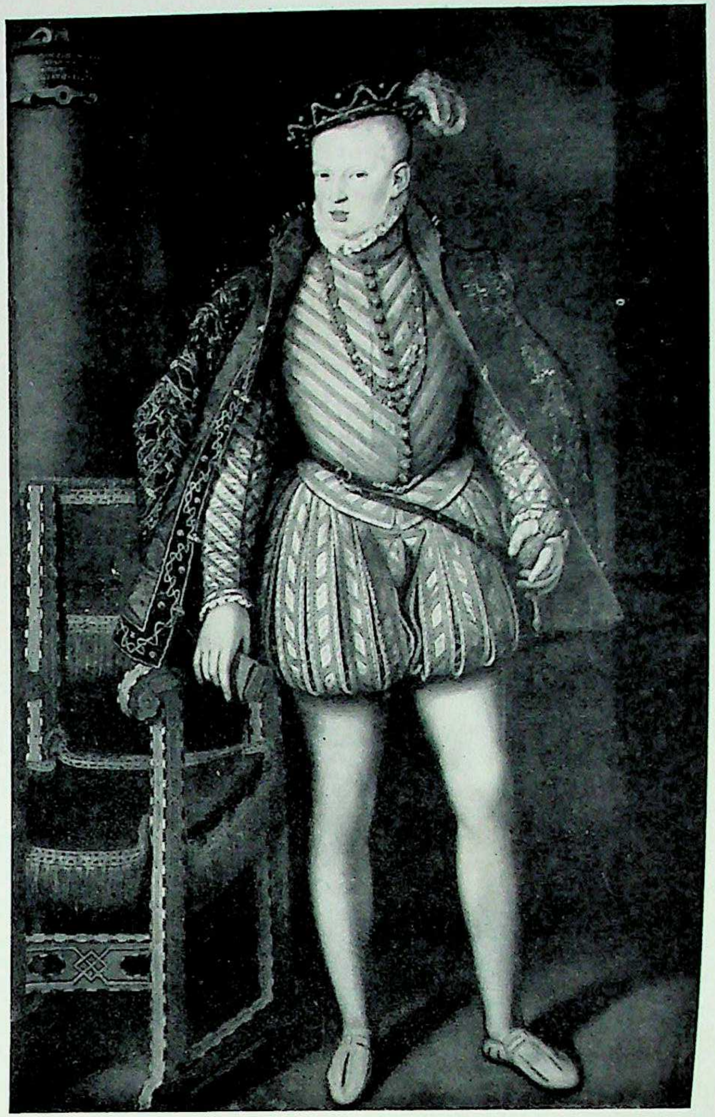
(A) São Quintino Master: The Lamentation over Christ, *c.* 1555. *Lisbon, Count Rilvas*



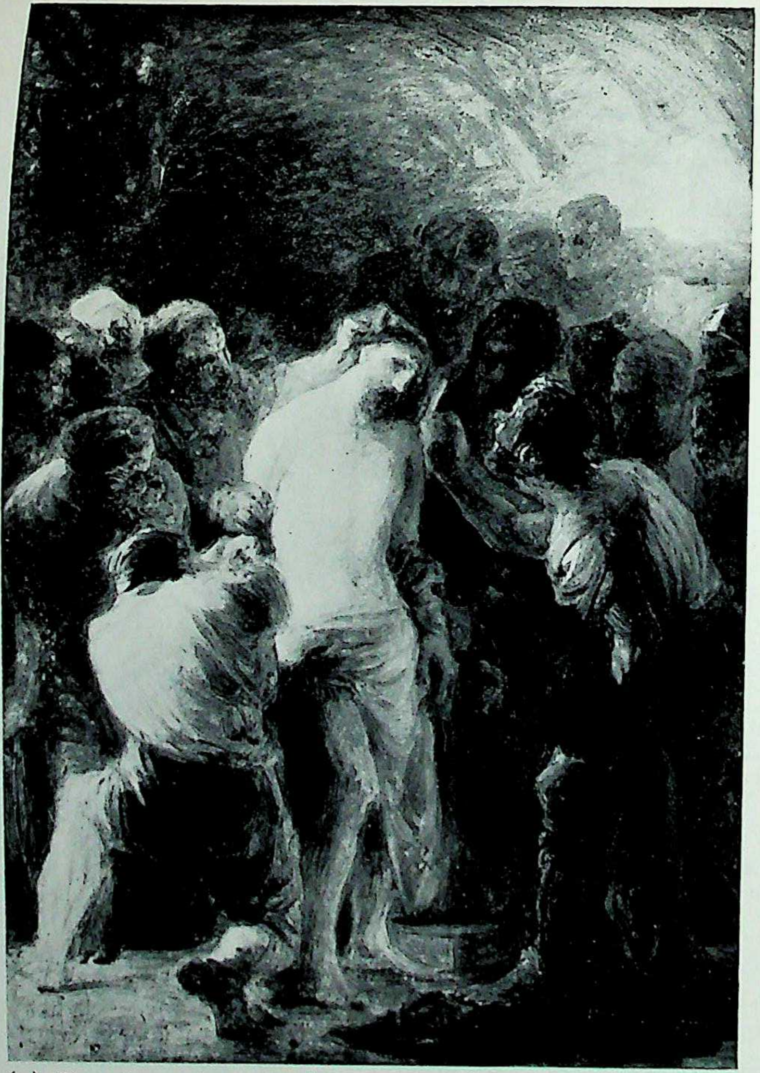
(B) The Master of the Évora Cathedral Epiphany: The Epiphany, *c.* 1560–70. *Évora, Cathedral*



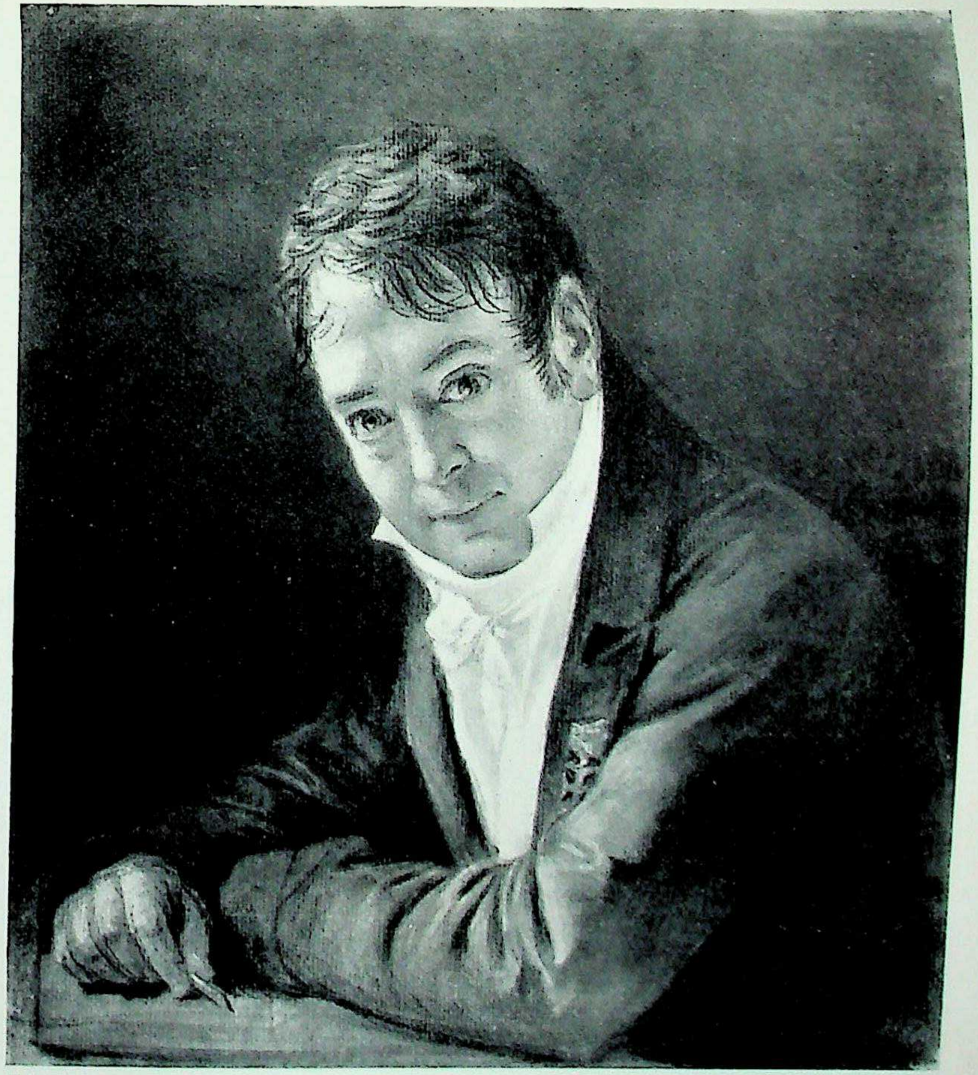
(A) Portuguese School: A Lady with a Rosary, *c.* 1550–60. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*



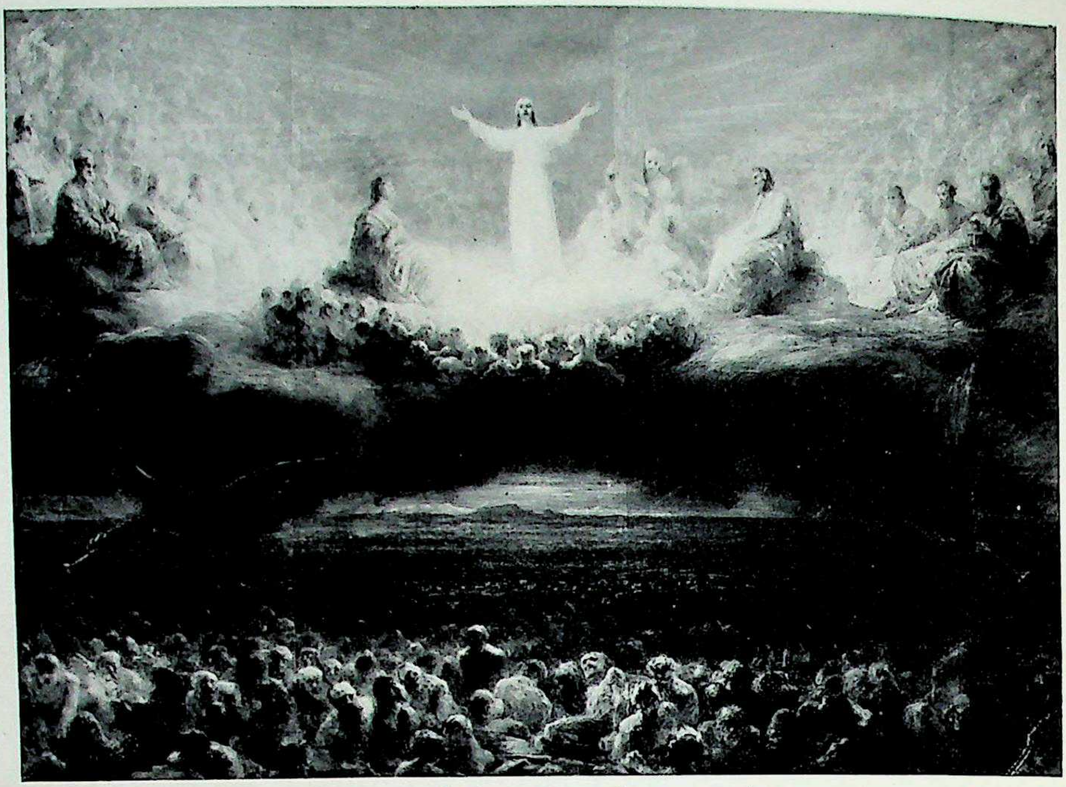
(B) Cristóvão de Morais: King Sebastian of Portugal, 1565. *Madrid, Descalzas Reales*



(A) Domingos António de Sequeira: The Mocking of Christ, *c.* 1830. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*

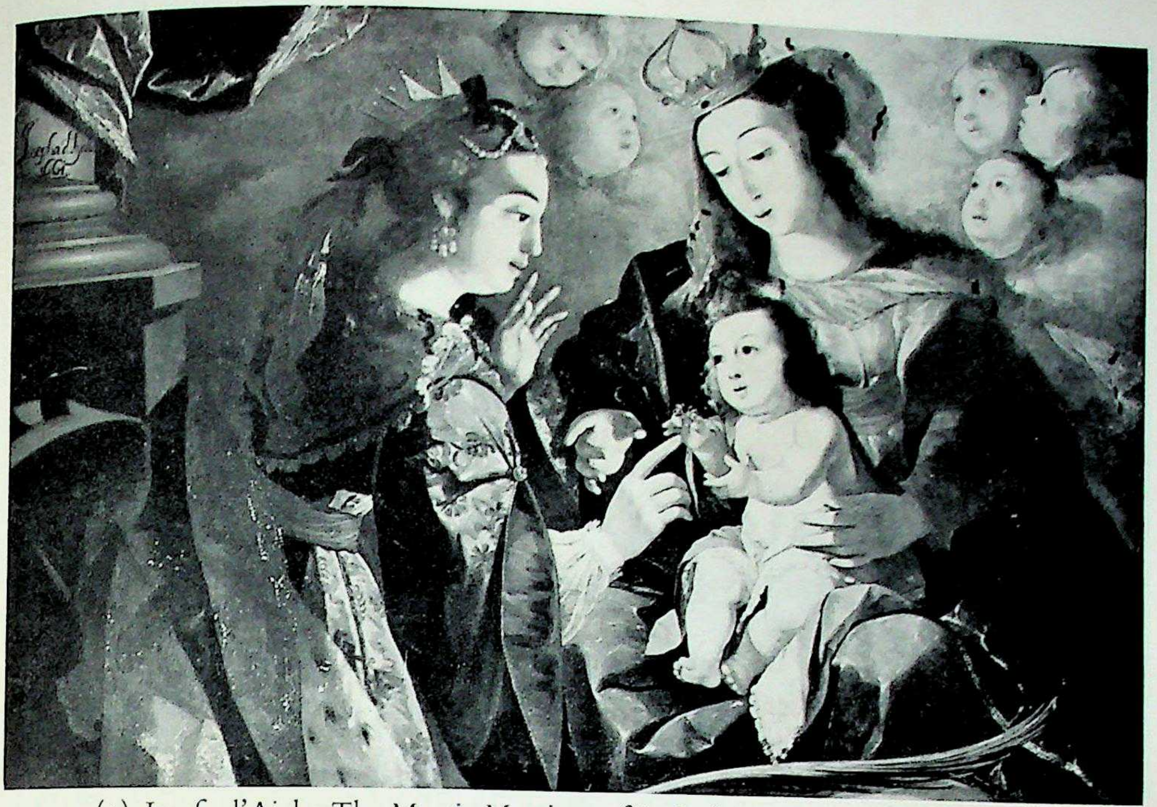


(B) Domingos António de Sequeira: Gregório Francisco de Queirós, *c.* 1823. Charcoal and chalk. *Lisbon, Private Collection*

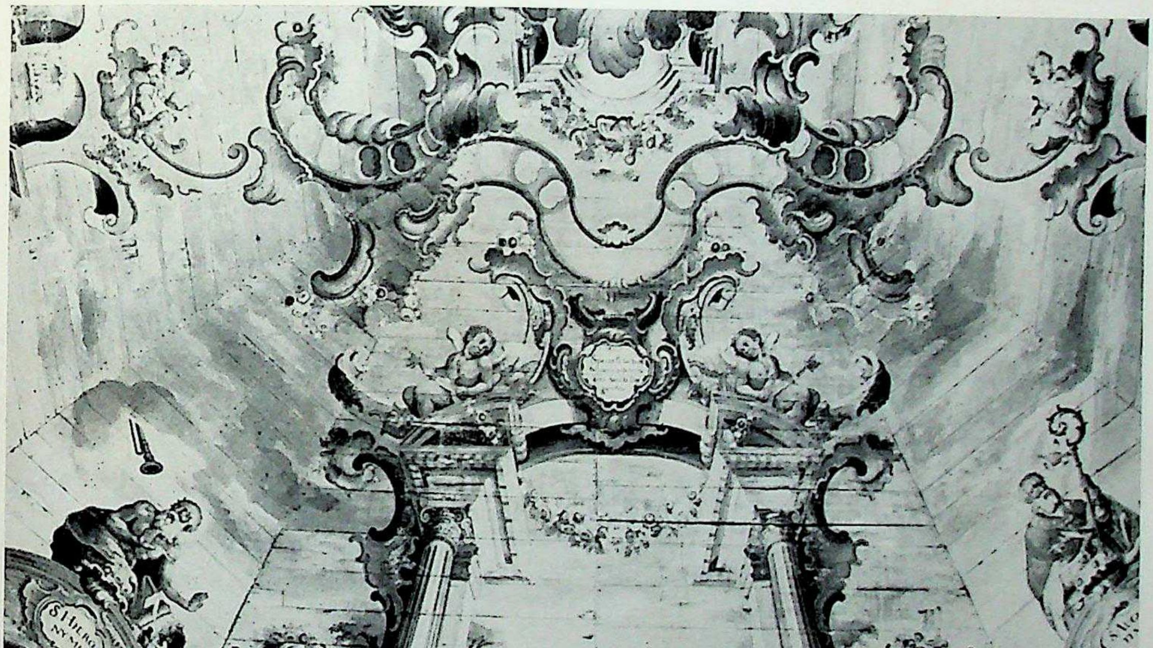


(A) Domingos António de Sequeira: The Last Judgement, 1832–3.
Charcoal and chalk. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*

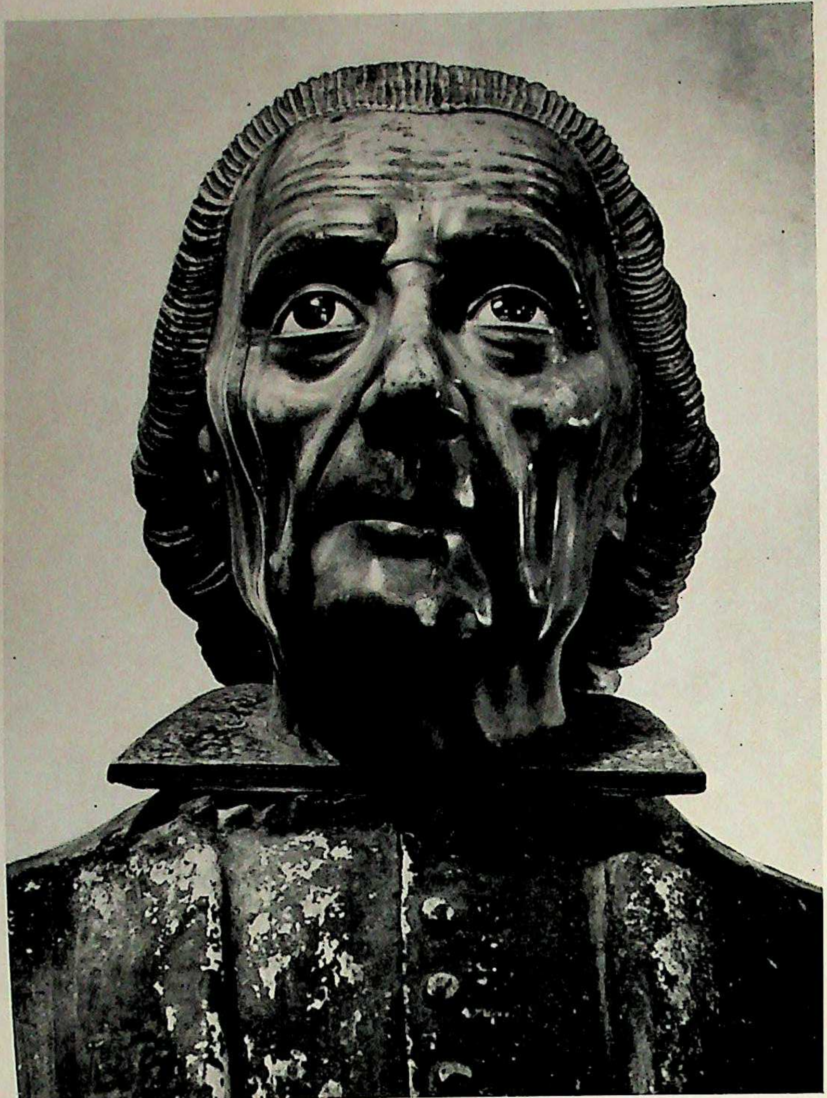
(B) Domingos António de Sequeira: The Viscount of Santarém and Family,
c. 1805–10. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*



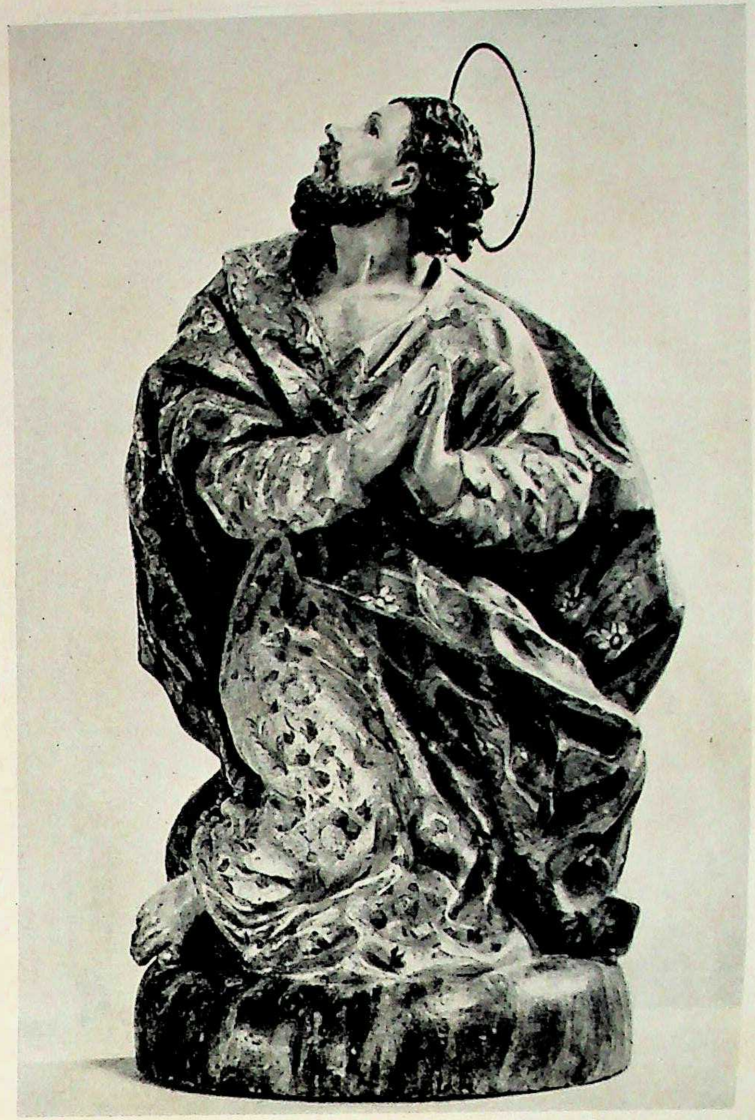
(A) Josefa d'Aiala: The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine, 1672. *Cascais, Matriz*



(B) Manuel da Costa Ataíde: Ceiling, 1803–4. *Ouro Preto, São Francisco*



(A) Peruvian School: Viceroy Count Salvatierra, *c.* 1655. Detail.
Lima, San Francisco



(B) Peruvian School: An Evangelist, eighteenth century.
Lima, Buena Muerte

INDEX

Numbers in *italics* refer to plates. References to the notes are given to the page on which the note occurs, followed by the number of the note. Thus 362^{8} indicates page 362, note 8. The names of artists and places are usually indexed under the final element, particles being ignored. Where names of places or buildings are followed by the name of an artist in brackets, the entry refers to work by that artist in such buildings or places: thus Seville, Santa Ana (Campaña) refers to the painting of *St George* by Campaña in Santa Ana. Names of architects appear in brackets in this way in a few cases, where they added only part of the building.

A

Abrantes, Misericórdia, altar, 337, *186*; São João Baptista, 105; São Vicente, 105
A(c)edo, *see* Calderón
Acero de la Cruz, Antonio (*fl.* 1633–67), 319, 395^{73-4}
Acero y Acebo, Vicente (*fl.* 1714–*c.* 38), 34, 36–7, 68, 80, fig. 18
Acolman, Augustinian church, 71, 72; cloister, 71, 305, *29*; façade, 306; stone cross, 370^{9}
Acoma, San Esteban, 78, *33*
Acora, San Pedro, 97; altar, 176, 322
Acostopa Ynga, Don Sebastián, 179
Actopan, frescoes, 305, 306, *166*
Acuña, Bishop, monument, 129
Adam Brothers, 51–2
Adausto, Felix, 376^{44}
Aertsen, Pieter, 253–4, 305
Afonso, Jorge (*fl.* 1508–40), 328, 329–30, 339, 398^{8}, 399^{23}, *181*, *186*
Afonso Henriques, King of Portugal, monument, 184
Aglomerado, 60
Agreda, Sor María de, 268
Aguascalientes, Guadalupe church, 81
Agüero, B. M. de, 284
Agüero, Juan Miguel de, 66, 76, 359^{30}
Agüero, Melchor Velasco de, 25
Aguiar, João José de (1769–1841), 196
Aguilar, Cristóbal, 327
Aguilar, Juan de, 35
Aiala, Josefa d' (*c.* 1630–84), 343, 401^{58-9}, *191*
Aix-en-Provence (J. Rodríguez Juárez), 393^{46}
Aizpitarte, Martín de, 91
Alava, Juan de (*fl.* 1505–37), 5, *2*
Alba de Tormes, church (Macip), 201
Albacete, San Juan Bautista, frescoes, 306
Albán, Francisco (*fl.* 1747–90), 321
Albán, Vicente, 321
Albert, Archduke, 257
Alberti, Leon Battista, 7, 9, 69, 99, 103
Alcabala, 271
Alcaçovas, Santa Maria, 105
Alcalá de Guadaira (Pacheco), 229
Alcalá de Henares, 17; Archivo (Nardi), 381^{15}; Bernardas church, 17, fig. 10, (Cavarozzi), 384^{10}, (Nardi), 226–7, $381^{16,18}$; Compañía, altar, 353^{1}; Jesuit church, 21, (Pereyra), 147; San Felipe (Camilo), 388^{5}, (Pereda), 388^{2}; University, façade, 9, *4*, *paraninfo*, 5, *1*
Alcañiz, Colegiata, portal, 60
Alcaraz, Toribio de, 359^{29}
Alcobaça, abbey, sculpture, 190
Alconedo, José Luis Antonio Rodríguez de (1761–1815), 316
Aldehuela, José Martín de (1720–1802), 50
Aleijadinho (1738–1814), 118–19, 194–6, 377^{58}, figs. 42, 44, *62*, *101*
Alemán, Melchor, 377^{2}
Alessi, Galeazzo, 13, 14
Alfarje, 89
Alfiz, 89
Alfons, Cardinal Infante, 337
Alfons V, King of Aragon, 124
Alfons V, King of Portugal, 328
Algarotti, Francesco, 51
Algemesí, altar, 227, 381^{21}
Alicante, San Nicolás Bari, 17
Almeida, José de (1700–69), 191, 194
Alonso de Portugal, Bishop, monument, 185
Alonso, Infante, portrait, 380^{12}
Alpiarça, Relvas Museum (Henriques), 330, (Sequeira), 346
Alta Gracia, 99
Altars, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 137, 140–1, 146, 156–61, 167, 168–9, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 178–9, 180, 186, 187, 189, 190, 192–3, 193–6
Álvares, Afonso (*fl.* 1551–75), 104–5, $363^{19,23}$, *53*
Álvares, Baltasar (*fl.* 1570/5–1624), 28, 106, $363^{32,34}$, *56*
Alvarez, Manuel (1727–97), 163
Alzíbar, José de (*c.* 1727–*c.* 1801), 315, 394^{59}
Amarante, Carlos Luis Ferreira da Cruz (b. 1748), 115
Amarillas, Marquesa de las, portrait, 395^{62}
Amat, Viceroy Manuel, 59, 96, 362^{27}, *24*, *46*
Amigoni, Jacopo, 299, 391^{54}

Amphoux, Bartolomé de, 358^{17}

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (Carreño), 286, (Hamen), 235, *122*

Ana Mauricia, Infanta, portraits, 379^{30}, 380^{13}

Anastagi, Vincentio, portrait, 211, *108*

Ança, 374^{8}

Ancheta, Juan de (*c.* 1530–88), 141, 368^{42}, *77*

Andahuaylillas, church, frescoes, 322, side altar, 181

Andrade, Domingo de (*c.* 1639–1712), 27, 28, 161, *10*

André, Manuel, 400^{45}

Angés, Juan de, 136

Angulo, Gaspar de, 392^{29}

Anne, Queen of Spain, portrait, 379^{30}

Antequera, Santa María, 71

Antigua, 82; Calvario, sculpture, 170; Carmen church, 83–4; Cathedral, façade, 83, 360^{63}; Hospital church of San Pedro, 83; Merced, tribunes, 193, 316, cloister, 83, façade, 78, 83, *38*; Museum, sculpture, 170; Santa Clara, 84; Santa Cruz, 83; San Francisco, 83, frescoes, 316; San José el Viejo, 84; Santa Rosa, 84; Santa Teresa, 83; University, 84, *37*

Antolínez, José Claudio (1635–75), 280, 288, 389^{19}, *159*

Antolínez y Sarabia, Francisco (1644–1700), 279, 288

Antonelli, Bautista, 65

Antonio, Infante Don, 52

António Dias, church, 116

Antunes, João (*fl.* 1683–1734), 110, $364^{49,50}$, fig. 37, *58*

Antwerp engravings, 142, 146, 158, 171, 176, 177, 187, 188, 218, 219, 229, 230, 254, 257, 260, 261, 266, 274, 275, 291, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311, 317, 320, 321, 323, 324, 325, 326, 368^{37}, 371^{20}, 384^{36}, 394^{47}, 396^{80}, 397^{4}, *140*, *178*

Aprili family, 126

Aquila, Silvestro dell' 373^{1}

Aquiles, Giulio de, 202

Aragón, Cardinal Don Pascual de, portrait, 285

Aragón, Doña María de, 217

Aragón, Martín de, Duke of Villahermosa, 209–10

Arahal, El, 354^{34}, 360^{66}

Aranda, Diego de, 352^{36}

Aranjuez, royal palace, 13, 14, 45–7, fig. 22, (F. Bayeu), 301, (Meléndez), 299, (Yapeli), 300; Alpages church, 356^{1}; San Antonio, 46, 48, fig. 23, San Pascual, 357^{35}

Araoz, Andrés de, 142

Araujo, José Soares de, 348, 401^{75}

Araujo, Manuel Francisco de, 119, fig. 43

Arce, José de, 151

'Arches, Master of the', 399^{25}

Archimedes, 222

Arciniega, Claudio de, 74, $359^{30,33}$, *30*

Arco de Calheta, São Bras (Lopes), 399^{31}

Arco, Alonso del, 388^{5}

Arcos de la Frontera (Morales), 204

Arcos, Los, church, portal, 60

Ardemáns, Teodoro (1664–1726), 21, 33, 38, 43, 298, 355^{43}, 391^{51}

Arellano, Juan de (1614–76), 287, *163*

Arequipa, Compañía, façade, 96, *49*; Jesuit church, cloister, 97; San Agustín, façade, 97; Santo Domingo, convent, 96; San Francisco, pulpit, 178; Ugarteche House, 97

Arfe, Antonio de, 2

Arfe, Juan de, 294, 317

Arias Fernández, Antonio (*c.* 1614–84), 282, 386^{64}

Arouca, monastery (J. Vieira), 191

Arpino, Cavaliere d', 381^{32}

Arrieta, Pedro de, 76, 77, 359^{40}, 360^{47}, *31*

Arrona, Juan Martínez de (1562–1635), 176–7

Arronches, church, 362^{6}, 375^{22}

Arroyo, Diego de, 202

Arruda, Diogo (*fl.* 1508–31), 102–3, *55*

Arruda, Francisco (*fl.* 1510–47), 103, 359^{26}

Arruda, Miguel de (1500–63), 362^{11}, 363^{19}

Arteaga y Alfaro, Matías (*c.* 1630–1703), 292, 294, 390^{38}

Arteaga, Sebastián de (1610–53), 309, 313

Asillo, church, 94

Assereto, Gioacchino, 381^{32}

Assy (Haute-Savoie), church, 362^{38}

Astalli, Cardinal Camillo, portrait, 265

Astorga Cathedral, altar, 141, *76*, choir stalls, 367^{22}, façade, 58, 60

Astudillo, Antonio, 320

Ataíde, Manuel da Costa (1762–1837), 348, 401^{75}, *191*

Atlixco, Merced, 77

Atzacoalco, stone cross, 370^{9}

Aubeaulx, Pierre des, 187

Aulestia, Pedro de, 66

A.V., 399^{30}

Aveiro, Senhor Jesus das Barrocas, 364^{50}, altar, 191, 193, *99*

Avila, Cathedral, altar, 200, choir stalls, 367^{22}, *trascoro*, 367^{22}, (Vázquez), 142, 367^{47}; San Antonio, chapel, 38; San José, façade, 17; San Segundo (Juni), 137; Santo Tomás (Fancelli), 126, *64*

Ayacucho, Cathedral, façade, 91; Chapels, 89; Merced, 89; San Francisco, 89; Santa Clara, 89, pulpit, 178

Ayaviri, church, 94, 361^{21}

Ayala, Bernabé de, 343

Ayala y Cabrera, Catarina de, 343

Ayalla, *see* Aiala

Aynho, Cartwright Collection (Murillo), 277

Azángaro, altar, 182

Azoia, Santa Iria (Lopes), 399^{22}

Azzolini, Giacomo (d. 1786/7), 114, 115, 363^{36}, 365^{67}

B

Baccarelli, V., 192

Bada, José de (1691–1755), 54, 57, $355^{37,52}$

Badajoz Cathedral (Morales), 204
Bahia, 116; Pilar church, 117
Balbás, Jerónimo (*fl.* 1706–50), 79, 158, 159–60, 168–9
Ballain, G., 219
Balmaseda, Juan de (*c.* 1490–*c.* 1550), 132, 135–6, *73*
Balthasar Carlos, Infante, 264, 282, 284; portraits, 259, 261, 262, 388^{10}
Baltimore, Museum of Art (Pantoja), 379^{30}; Walters Art Gallery (Aiala), 401^{59}
Baluster colonette, 134, 143
Barahona, Francisco de (1669–1709), 157
Barbarroja, portrait, 386^{45}
Barbastro Cathedral (Mois), 379^{40}
Barcelona, Babra Collection (A. Castillo), 390^{32}; Cathedral, choir stalls, 127, 128, *66*, *trascoro*, 127, 366^{10}; Citadel, 58–9, 358^{56}, *26*; Dalmases House, 33; Diputación, 17; Exchange, 59; Harbour, 59; Milicua (Paret), 302; Muñoz Collection (Carreño), 285, (Paret), 302; Museum (J. Antolínez), 288, *159*, (P. Caxés), 233, (Pacheco), 229, (Velázquez), 384^{13}; Private Collections (Castillo), 291, (Cerezo), 287, (Velázquez), 384^{12}; Reig Collection (Sánchez Coello), 378^{25}; Royal College of Surgery, 49, *19*; Virreina Palace, 59, 362^{27}, *24*
Barcelos, Bom Jesus de la Cruz, 110; N. S. da Cruz, 365^{72}
Barco, Canon González de, monument, 136
Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum (Borgoña), 201, (Cabezalero), 389^{17}, (Camilo), 388^{5}, (Carreño), 286, (Cincinnato), 379^{34}, (C. Coello), 389^{20}, (García de Miranda), 390^{50}, (Greco), 216, 246, *112*, (J. Leonardo), 387^{1}, (M. J. Meléndez), 390^{49}, (Mois), 210, 379^{40}, *105*, (Puga), 284, (van de Pere), 388^{5}
Baroque, 144, 148, 188, 375^{31}
Barreda, Ignacio María (*fl.* 1786–94), 315, 395^{63}
Barrera, Francisco (*fl.* 1633–40), 235–6
Barros Laborão, Joaquim José de, 377^{56}
Barroso, Miguel, 208
Bartolozzi, F., 346
Batalha, chapels, 362^{8}
Battel, Jacques de, 202
Bautista, Francisco (1594–1679), 22, 23, 34, 352^{1-2}, *8*
Bauzá, Gregorio, 381^{23}
Bayeu, Francisco (1734–95), 301
Bayeu, Ramón (1746–93), 301
Beauvais, Jean de (*fl.* 1563–92), 142
Becerra, Francisco (d. 1605), 88, 90, fig. 32, *42*
Becerra, Gaspar (*c.* 1520–70), 138, 141, 207, $368^{40,44}$, *76*
Becerril de Campos, altar, 136
Beckford, William, 345
Bedón, Fray Pedro (*c.* 1556–1621), 318–19, 395^{70}
Beer, Sebastian van der, 357^{39}
Beert I, Osias, 235
Belem (Brazil), São Francisco Xavier, altar, 192
Belem (Portugal), Jeronymite church, 101, 362^{4}, fig. 33, *53*, apse, 103, choir stalls, 188, nave, 104, portals, 183–4, 373^{5}, (A. Álvares), 104, (Boytac), 183, (Brias), 188, (Çarça), 188, (Castilho), 183, (Chanterene), 183–4, 373^{5}, (Gomes), 401^{55}, (J. de Ruão), 103, 187, (Torralva), 103; Memoria church, 115; Tower on the Tagus, 103, 359^{26}
Bemfica, Fronteira Palace, 110; Palhavã Palace, 110; São Domingos (Fortini), 191, (Pereyra), 147, *79*, (Rebelo), 343
Beresford, Sir William Carr, portrait, 346
Berlanga, Colegiata, 64
Berlin (Cano), 271, (Velázquez), 253, (Zurbarán), 244, 245, *127*; private collection (Valdés Leal), 244
Bernardino, Agustín, 17
Bernasconi, Antonio, 84
Bernini, Gianlorenzo, 25, 44, 45, 92, 111, 148, 161
Berrío, Gaspar Miguel (*fl.* 1730–58), 327
Berruguete, Alonso (*c.* 1488–1561), 125, 127, 131, 132–4, 135, 171, 202, 367^{21-5}, *64*, *67*, *72–3*
Berruguete, Pedro de, 132
Bibiena, Ferdinando Galli, 59, 96, 115, 192, 358^{59}
Bibiena, Giovanni Carlo, 115
Biguerny, *see* Vigarny
Bilbao, Delclaux Collection (Ribera), 283; Fountains, 302; Museum (Castillo), 271, (Herrera), 231–2, (Iriarte), 388^{8}, (Pereda), 281, (J. Ribalta), 223, 228, (Roelas), 231, *118*, (Tristán), 224, *119*, (Valdés Leal), 293; Valdés Collection (Zurbarán), 244
Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts (Murillo), 276, *145*
Bitti, Bernardo (1548–*c.* 1610), 176, 318, 321–2, *176*
Blanqui, Andrés, 99, 362^{35}, *52*
Blas, Martín, 4
Blas Silvestre, M., 172
Blavio, João, 375^{28}
Blay, Pedro, 17
Blocklandt, Antonie, 218, 266, 380^{52}, *140*
Bloemaert, Abraham, 274, 291, 310
Blondel, C., 23, 49, 78
Boadilla del Monte, palace, 50
Bocanegra, Pedro Atanasio, 387^{7}
Bocelón, 28
Bodegones, 229, 235–6, 252, 282, 287, 299
Bogotá, Cathedral, choir books, 319; painting, 318; Colegio del Rosário, 173; Hospital of St John of God (Acero de la Cruz), 395^{74}; Las Aguas (Acero), 395^{74}; Las Nieves (Acero), 395^{74}; Museo de Arte Colonial (Acero), 395^{74}, (Vázquez Ceballos), 320, *174*, sculpture, 371^{22}, (Montañés school), 172; Sagrario chapel, 88; Santa Bárbara (Acero de las Cruz), 395^{73}, (Laboria), 174; San Diego (Acero), 395^{73}; San Francisco, altar, 172, *89*, apse, 190, (Acero), 395^{73}, (M. de Santiago), 396^{82}; San Ignacio, 88, *41*, (Laboria), 174, (Luisinch), 172–3; Seminary, paintings, 318
Bol, Hans, 323
Bologna, Palazzo Bevilacqua, 351^{5}; Museo Musicale (Amigoni), 391^{54}

Bolswert, Schelte à, 275, 320, *178*
Bonavia, Santiago (d. 1759), 46, 48, figs. 22, 23
Bonifás, Luis (1730–86), 158, 161
Borgianni, Orazio (1578–1616), 221, 380^{2}
Borgoña, Juan de (*c.* 1470–*c.* 1536), 200–1
Borgraf, Diego, 312
Borromini, Francesco, 28, 31, 38, 112
Bort Miliá, Jaime, 58, 80, 358^{54}, *23*
Bos, Cornelis, 188
Boston, Gardner Museum (Titian), 209, (Velázquez), 269; Museum of Fine Arts (Meléndez), 299, *163*, (Velázquez), 255, 259, 384^{18}
Bouças, church (Ruão, T. Velho), 187
Boucher, Jacques, *see* Buxe
Boullée, É.-L., 52
Bourg-Saint-Andéol (Lopes), 399^{28}
Boutelou, E., 43
Bowood House, Lady Nairn (Murillo), 387^{15}
Boytac, Diogo (*fl.* 1490–1525?), 101–2, 183, 184, 362^{7-8}, fig. 33, *53*
Boyvin, René, 317
Brachelieu, Léandre, 46
Braga, Bom Jesus shrine, 115, 365^{78}; Cathedral (Chanterene), 373^{4}; Franciscanos, 109; Hospital of São Marcos, 115; Jesuitas, sculpture, 191; Santa Cruz dos Remédios, 109; São Sebastião, 365^{72}; São Vicente, 109, *57*; São Victor, 109; Town Hall, 115
Bramante, 10, 87, 352^{32}
Bregno, Andrea, 125
Brias, Filipe de, 188
Brito, F. X. de, 376^{48}
Brito, Manuel de, 376^{48}
Briviesca, Santa Clara, altar, 140, *76*
Brizuela, Pedro de, 17
Broek, Crispijn van den, 396^{80}
Brunswick (Gilarte), 296
Bruselas, Arnaldo de, 367^{26}
Brussels, Royal Museum (B. González), 380^{12}, (Hamen), 235, (Ribera), 383^{6}
Bucarest Palace (Greco), 224
Bucelas (Fernandes), 398^{13}
Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (V. Carducho), 234; (B. González), 225, (Murillo), 387^{15}, (Ribera), 383^{9}, (Velázquez), 384^{11}
Bueno, Diego (*fl.* 1588–1632), 156
Bueno, Pedro, 79, *33*
Buenos Aires, 98; Basavilbaso House, 100; Cabildo church, 362^{35}; Cathedral, 99; Díaz Collection (Goríbar), 396^{85}; Ethnographic Museum (M. Gonzales), 394^{55}; Houses, 99; Pilar church, 362^{35}; Santa Catalina, 362^{35}; San Ignacio, 99; Shaw Collection (Sturmio–Morales), 378^{17}
Bugio Tower (Tagus), 107
Burgo de Osma Cathedral, altar, 137, Palafox chapel, 52, sacristy, 52, towers, 60
Burgos, Cartuja de Miraflores, 351^{3}, (Pereyra), 147; Cathedral, altar, 135, 367^{28}, Chapel of the Constable, altar, 129, (of St Anne), 129, (of St Peter), 135, *cimborio*, 351^{17}, Escalera Dorada, 6, 129, monuments, 129, 135, 367^{28}, Puerta de la Pellejería, 352^{26}, (Cerezo), 287, (F. Colonia), 352^{26}, (Ricci), 283, (Siloe), 129, (Vigarny), 129, 135, 367^{28}; Hospital del Rey (B. González), 380^{13}; San Juan (Ricci), 282; Santa María del Campo, 7
Bustamante, Bartolomé de (1499/1501–70), 19, 352^{30}, 353^{61}
Busto, El (Araoz), 142
Bustos, Hermenegildo, 394^{57}
Buxe, Jacques de, 187

C

Caballero, Antonio, 55
Cabezalero, Juan Martín (1633–73), 287–8, 389^{17}, *158*
Cabezas de San Juan, Las, 34–5
Cabral, 328
Cabrera, Miguel (1695–1768), 304, 315, 395^{62}; circle of, 314, *171*
Cáceres, Galarza House, 73; Montenegro Collection (Morales), 204; Santiago, altar, 134
Cachoeira do Campo, Carmo, altar, 193
Cadiz, 35, 66; Capuchins (Meneses), 279, (Murillo), 274; Cathedral, 36–8, 80, 355^{55}, fig. 18; Houses, 56; Museum (Borgianni), 221, (van de Pere), 388^{5}, (Zurbarán), 247, 248
Caima, church, 97
Cajamarca, Belém church, 98; Cathedral, altar, 373^{51}, façade, 98, *51*; San Antonio, façade, 98
Calabazas, Juan de, portrait, 263, 385^{38}, *138*
Calahorra Castle, 2, 4, 366^{4}, fig. 3
Caldas da Rainha, N.S. do Populo (Lourinhã Master), 331, 399^{32}
Calderón, Ignacio de A(c)edo, 291
Calderón de Acedo, Pedro, 291
Calderón de la Barca, Don Pedro, 260, 282
Cali, San Francisco, painting, 321
Calleja, Andrés de la, 391^{53}
Callot, 234, 259, 260, 292, 385^{31}, 387^{21}
Calpan, *posas*, 165
Camagüey, Merced, tower, 67
Camarín, 23
Cambiaso, Luca, 208
Cambiaso, H., 208
Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum (Tristán), 224
Cambridge, Mass., Graham Collection (Carreño), 388^{13}
Camilo, Francisco (*c.* 1614–73), 147, 286, 388^{5}
Caminha, church, 359^{25}
Campana, La, Consolación (Cano), 271
Campaña, Pedro de (1503–*c.* 80), 203, 243, 378^{14}, *103*
Campeche, 66
Campelo, António (*fl.* 1590?), 341, 342, 376^{38}, 401^{56}

Campi, Vicenzo (1536–91), 236, 253
Campo-Maior, São João Baptista, 114, 364^{63}, 365^{72}
Campos, Francisco de, 341, 400^{47}
Camprobín Pasano, Pedro de, 383^{17}
Candia, St Catherine's monastery, 210
Candia, Juan de, 396^{18}
Canestro, Baltasar, 58
Cano, Alonso (1601–67), 25, 92, 148, 150, 152–3, 156, 157, 162, 225, 228, 232, 271–3, 286, 291–2, $354^{12,16}$, 369^{16}, 386^{54}, $386^{1-2,5-6}$, *9*, *83–4*, *141–2*
Cano, Martín, 352^{36}
Cano, Miguel, 271
Canova, Antonio, 196
Canseco, Francisco, 161
Cantanhede, altar, 375^{26}
Caprarola, 88
Caracas, Arocha Collection (Quito school), 173; Cathedral, 66, façade, 358^{16}; Moeller Collection (Santander), 394^{53}; Private Collection (Carreño), 388^{14}; San Francisco, 66, 361^{10}
Caramulo, Lacerda Collection (G. Fernandes), 400^{44}
Caravaggio, 221, 243, 252, 380^{3}
Carbonell, Alonso (*fl.* 1620–60), 22–3, 38, 75
Çarça, Diogo de, 188
Cardenosa, Bartolomé, 98
Cardona, Margarita de, portrait, 378^{24}
Carducho (Carducci), Bartolomé (*c.* 1560–1608), 208, 220–1, 227, 280, 381^{21}, *115*
Carducho, Vincenzio (1576–1638), 221, 225, 226, 233–5, 246, 257, 280, 283, 382^{43}, *121*
Carlier, F., 356^{20}
Carlier, René, 43, 163
Carlone family, 2, 4, 6, fig. 3
Carlos, Archduke, 59
Carlos, Father (*fl.* 1668), 173, 372^{26}
Carlos, Frei (*fl.* 1517–*c.* 53), 328, 331, 334–5, $398^{17,19}$, *182*
Carlos, Infante, portrait, 380^{12}
Carmona, Salvador church, 34; Santa Clara, altar, 292; Santísima Trinidad, 34
Carmona, Luis Salvador (1709–67), 163
Carnicero, Antonio, 300, 391^{63}
Carondelet, Baron de, portrait, 321
Carr, John, 364^{66}
Carracci, Annibale, 289
Carracci, Lodovico, 387^{23}
Carreño de Miranda, Juan (1614–85), 270, 280, 282, 285–6, 289, 387^{21}, 388^{13-14}, 389^{24}, *156*
Carrera, Martín and Manuel, 60
Cartagena de Indias, Cathedral, 66; Defences, 65, 66; Houses, 68
Carvajal, Luis de (1534–1607), 208
Carvajal y Lancaster, José de, portrait, 391^{53}
Carvalho, Pedro Alexandrino de (1729–1810), 344–5
Casas, Gonzalo de las, 392^{24}
Casas y Novoa, Fernando de (*fl.* 1711–94), 27, 60–1, 112, 161, 358^{64}, *25*, *87*
Cascais, Matriz (Aiala), 343, *191*; N.S. dos Navegantes, 365^{72}
Caspicara, 164, 175
Cassel (Cerezo), 287
Castañeda, Gregorio, 381^{23}
Castellanos, Juan de, 317
Castello, Giovanni Battista, 13, 208
Castello, Vicente, 381^{23}
Castelo, Felix, 234
Castilho, João de (*fl.* 1515–52), 101, 102, 104, 183, 363^{17}, fig. 33, *53*
Castilla, Joseph de (*fl.* 1701–39), 181
Castillo, Agustín del, 291
Castillo, Antonio del (1616–68), 290–2, 387^{21}, 389^{27-31}, 390^{32}, *160*
Castillo, José del (1737–93), 300–1, *164*
Castillo, Juan del (1584–1640), 232, 291
Castres, Museum (Velázquez studio), 259
Castro, Felipe de (1711–75), 163
Castro, Joaquim Machado de (1731–1822), 194, 377^{55}, *100*
Castro, José Gil de (*fl.* 1804–28), 327
Catalina Micaela, Infanta, portraits, 378^{21-5}
Cataño, Quirio (d. 1622), 170
Catarina, Queen of Portugal, portrait, 400^{48}
Catherine of Aragon, Queen of England, 199
Cavarozzi, Bartolomeo, 253, 384^{10}
Caxés, Eugenio (before 1577–1634), 233, 247, 257, 382^{40-1}
Caxés, Patricio (*c.* 1544–1611), 88, 208, 233
Cayón family, 36, 37, 355^{55}
Ceán-Bermúdez, A., 38, 354^{28}
Cebreros, church (J. Leonardo), 280
Celas, monastery (Chanterene), 184
Celanova, San Salvador, 25, 60
Celaya, Carmen church, 82
Cerezo, Mateo (*c.* 1626–66), 287–8, 389^{16}
Cermeño, Pedro Martín, 59
Cerquozzi, Michelangelo, 296
Cervera, Monument of Philip V, 358^{58}; University, 59
Cesare da Sesto, 128
Cesari, Giuseppe, *see* Arpino
Céspedes, Pablo de (*c.* 1538–1608), 209, 228, 353^{63}
Cézanne, 215, 252
Champaigne, Philippe de, 287
Chanterene, Nicolas (*fl.* 1517–51), 183–5, 186, $373^{4,6-7}$, $374^{8,11-14,17}$, 376^{35}, *94–5*
Charles V, Emperor, 5, 125, 139, 199, 202, 205; portrait, 282
Charles II, King of Spain, 28, 199, 280, 285, 289, 290; portrait, 388^{13}
Charles III, King of Spain, 52, 299
Charles IV, King of Spain, 52
Charola, 329
Charola of Tomar, Master of the, *see* Jorge Afonso
Chatsworth (Mazo), 264
Chavarito, Domingo, 298

Chávez, Juan de, 170
Chavin, 86
Checacupe, church, altars, 372[36], frescoes, 322–3
Chevening, Earl of Stanhope (Clostermann), 389[21]
Chiapa de Corzo, fountain, 83
Chicago, Art Institute (Camprobín), 383[17], (B. González), 380[13], (Greco), 212, 219, *107*, (Mazo), 262, (Palomino), 389[25], (Velázquez), 255, 384[13], (Zurbarán), 244
Chichicastenango, sculpture, 169–70
Chiclayo, Franciscan cloister, 89
Chihuahua Cathedral, façade, 76
Chihuata, church, 97
Chili, Manuel, *see* Caspicara
Chiluca, 79
Chiquimula, church, 84
Chiquitos tribe, 100
Chivata, church, 395[72]
Choir stalls, 127, 128, 133, 167–8, 176–7, 180, 188
Cholula, 69–70; church, 71
Chucuito, Asunción, 89
Chuquisaca, *see* Sucre
Churriguera, Alberto de (1676–1750), 41, 356[67], *14*
Churriguera, Joaquín de (1674–1724), 32–3, 33–4
Churriguera, José Benito de (1665–1725), 32–3, 158, 354[28], 355[41], *12*
Churriguera, José Simón de, 355[40]
Churriguera, Manuel Lara de, 41
Churubusco, sculpture, 168
Cieza, Miguel Jerónimo de, 387[7]
Cincinnato, Romulo (d. 1598), 208, 233, 379[34]
'Cisneros style', 4
Ciudad Bolívar, Cathedral, 358[17]
Ciudad Rodrigo, Cerralbo chapel, 17
Ciudad Trujillo, *see* Santo Domingo
Ciudad Vieja, 82; San Francisco, 84
Claessens, Antonie, 377[2]
Clenard, Nicolas, 185
Clérisseau, C.-L., 52
Clostermann, J. B., 389[21]
Clovio, Giulio, 211, 213
Cobos y Guzman, José (1666–1746), 297
Coccorante, Leonardo, 296, 390[42]
Cocharcas, altars, 179
Cochin, C.-N., 51
Codazzi, Viviano, 295–6
Coelho de Silveira, Bento (*c.* 1630–1708), 343, 344
Coelho, Gaspar and Domingos, 189, *98*
Coello, Claudio (1642–93), 158, 282, 287, 289, 387[21], 389[20–2, 24], *157*
Cogolludo, Medinaceli Palace, 2, *1*; (Ribera), 383[9]
Coimbra, Carmo, 106–7, 363[34], high altar, 189, (Rodrigues), 401[56]; (Old) Cathedral, altars (main) 183, (Sacrament), 187, 375[27], (St Peter), 374[8], (Chanterene), 374[8], (O. de Gand), 183, (Ruão), 187, (T. Velho), 187, 375[27]; Colegio de São Tomás, 375[26–7]; Episcopal Palace, *see* Museu Machado de Castro; Graça church, 375[27]; Manga cloister, 185, 374[17]; Misericórdia, 106; Museu Machado de Castro, 363[30], (anon.), 190, (Chanterene), 374[8], (Fernandes), 339, (Hodart), 186, *97*, (Laprade), 191, (Loguin), 185, 186, 374[17], (T. Velho), 187, 375[27]; Palace, 363[8]; Santa Clara-a-Nova, 108, 364[42], *59*
Santa Cruz, altar, 337, 338, 399[24], Chapel of San Teotonio, 187, 375[27], choir arch, 187, façade, 184, 373[8], monuments, 184, 373[6–7], pulpit, 184, 185, *94*, (anon.), 399[33], (Boytac), 184, 362[8], 363[12], 373[6–7], (Castilho, Chanterene), 184, 373[8], (V. Fernandes), 332, 333, *184*, (Figueiredo), 337, 338, (Hodart), 186, *97*, (Loguin), 184, 185, *94*, (Lopes), 399[24], (Pires), 184, 373[6–7], (Ruão), 187, (T. Velho), 187, Silêncio cloister, 185, 186, 374[17]
São Domingos, 375[26, 28]; São Pedro dos Terceiros, 363[36], 365[67]; Sé Nova (New Cathedral), altars (high), 192, (nave), 189, (St Ignatius), 189, (transept), 192; Seminário, 115; University, chapel, altar, 189, library, 112, tower, 113
Colis, Guillén, 4
Collantes, Francisco (1599–1656), 234, 283, 284, 388[7], *152*
Colman, D., 386[47]
Cologne (Murillo), 387[14]
Colonia, Francisco, 8, 352[26]
Colonia, Nicolás de, 367[22]
Colonna, Michelangelo, 270, 286
Coluccini, J. B., 88, *41*
Columbus, Bartolomé, 62
Columbus, Christopher, 124
Comayagua Cathedral, altar, 171
Conca, Sebastiano, 194
Concha, Andrés de la (*fl.* 1567–1612), 306, 392[24]
Congonhas do Campo, Bom Jesus de Matozinhos, 117, 365[78], (Aleijadinho), 195, fig. 44, *101*
Contini, Giovanni Battista (1641–1723), 30
Copacabana, altar, 179, 373[19]
Copenhagen (Antolínez), 289, (E. Caxés), 233, (Collantes), 283, 284; Willumsen Collection (Greco), 219
Córdoba (Argentina), 98; Allende House, 99–100; Cathedral, 99, *52*; Compañía, 98, *50*; Houses, 99; Santa Teresa, 100, 362[35]
Cordova (Spain), Carmo, altar (Valdés Leal), 293; Cathedral, altars (Crucifixion), 186, *95*, (Last Supper), 209, (main), 354[11], choir, 20, *7*, choir screen, 20, choir stalls, 160, (Castillo), 291, (Cerezo), 389[16], (Duque Cornejo), 160, (Loguin), 186, *95*, (Matías), 354[11], (Peñalosa), 381[17], (Zambrano), 227; Cemetery chapel (Peñalosa), 381[17]; Jesús Nazareno (Castillo), 291; Mosque, 55; Museum (Castillo), 291, 292, (Cobos y Guzman), 297, (Peñalosa), 381[17], (Ribera), 383[10]; Quemadas House, 20; Salvador church, 19; San Andrés, 55; San Francisco (Valdés Leal), 292; San Hipólito, 35; San Jaime (Valdés Leal), 293; Santa Marina de Aguas Santas (Palomino), 291;

San Pablo (Zurbarán), 291; Victoria church, 356^{21}
Coria Cathedral, altar, 51
Cornelies, Nicolás, 367^{22}
Corot, J.-B., 262
Corral, Jerónimo, 138, 368^{37}
Correa, Juan, 311, 394^{47}
Correa, Nicolás de, 312, 313, *173*
Correa de Vivar, Juan (*fl.* 1539–61), 202
Correggio, 342
Corro, Inquisitor, monument, 142
Corsham Park, Methuen Collection (C. de Villalpando), 326
Cort, Cornelis, 342
Corte, Nicolo de, 366^{6}
Corte Castellanos, Salvador de, 395^{72}
Cortés, Hernán, 63, 124
Coruña, La, Franciscan Nuns (Castillo), 291; Museum (Ribera), 383^{10}
Costa, Cayetano Alberto da (1711–80), 158, 160
Costa, Pedro, 358^{58}
Costa e Silva, José da (1747–1819), 115
Coursière galleries, 361^{17}
Courson Castle (Carreño), 286, *156*
Covadonga, church, 49
Covarrubias, Alonso de (1488–1570), 4, 7–8, 10, 73, 133, 354^{10}, *4*
Crescenzi, Giovanni Battista (1577–1635), 22, 23, 76, 78, 257, 281
Cristo, Canon José de, 185
Cruz, Hernando de la, 396^{87}
Cruz, Manuel de la, 300
Cruz, Ramón de la, 300
Cruz Castillo, Francisco, 371^{21}
Cuauhtinchán, church, altar, 392^{23}
Cuautitlán (Vos), 307
Cubells, church, high altar, 161
Cudillero, Selgas Collection (ex) (Greco), 379^{50}
Cuenca (Ecuador), Carmen church, 88
Cuenca (Spain), Cathedral, transparente, 48, (Mena), 154
Cuernavaca, Cortés Palace, 63
Cuevas, Jerónima de las, 215
Cuevas, Pedro de las, 281, 282
Cuilapan, church, 71
Cuitzeo, church, 72
Culhuacan (Angulo), 392^{29}
Cúpula encamonada, 22
Cuzco, 175; Almudena (anon.), 396^{95}, (Tuyru Tupac), 180; Belén church, 94, *47*; Cathedral, 90, fig. 32, *42*, choir stalls, 177, portal, 92, *43*, pulpits, 178, (anon.), 180, $397^{100, 103}$, *91*, (Quispe Ttito), 323, (Sapaca), 326, (Torres), 178; Compañía, 91, 92–3, *43–4*, altars, 179, 181, $373^{47, 49}$, *93*, gatehouse, 95–6, painting, 323, 325, 326, portal, 361^{15}, pulpit, 178; Jesuit church (former), altar, 322; Merced, altar, 179, cloister, 93, *45*, painting, 323, 324, 397^{107}; Museum (anon.), 324, 326, (Gutiérrez), 323, (J. Rodríguez Juárez), 393^{46}; Recoleta (anon.), 326, 396^{95}, (Pardo), 397^{107}, (Gamarra), 323, 369^{19}, 396^{95}, *176*, (Loaysa), 325; Sagrada Familia, 95; Santa Ana, painting, 324, *172*; San Blas, altar, 179, pulpit, 178, *92*; Santa Catalina, altar, 179, portal, 91; Santa Clara, 91; Santo Domingo, cloister, 89, 372^{36}, painting, 323, tower, 95; San Francisco, cloister, 89, 179, painting, 396^{95}, portal, 94, pulpit, 178, sculpture, 180; San Jerónimo, 89, *42*, altar, 181; San Juan de Dios, façade, 91; San Pedro, 94; San Sebastián, painting, 321, sculpture, 180; Santa Teresa, pulpit, 178; Triunfo, 95; University, 95–6

D

Dalmata, Giovanni, 126
Dance, George, 52
Danti, Vincenzo, 13
Daura, Juan, 355^{55}
Davenport, Iowa, Municipal Art Gallery (J. Correa), 394^{47}, (Echave Orio), 392^{29}, (Echave Rioja), 310, (J. Juárez), 310, (L. Juárez), 308, 393^{42}, (J. Rodríguez Juárez), 393^{46}, (N. Rodríguez Juárez), 393^{45}
Delgado, Gaspar Núñez, 148
Delorme, Philibert, 98
Detroit Institute of Arts (F. Antolínez), 387^{25}, (Murillo), 275, *144*, (Velázquez), 384^{17}
Deubler, Leonhard, 88, *40*
Devreton, Baltasar, 356^{21}
Diamantina, Carmo (Araujo), 348
Dias, Gaspar (*fl.* 1560–90), 341–2
Díaz, Diego Antonio (*c.* 1680–1748), 34, 68, 355^{47}, 362^{3}, fig. 17
Díaz, Pedro, 327
Díaz, Valentín, 145
Díaz Gamones, José, 52
Díaz del Ribero, Francisco (1592–1670), 25, 369^{23}
Díaz del Valle, Lázaro, 290, 291
Díaz de Villanueva, Pedro, 244
Diepenbeeck, Abraham, 321
Dietrichstein, Adam von, portrait, 378^{24}
Dietterlin, Wendel, 27, 28, 84, 93, 106, 107, 158
Diriksen, Felipe (1590–after 1678), 226, 385^{29}
Do, Giovanni, 383^{14}
Donatello, 131, 133
Donzel, Guillén, 367^{22}
Drake, Sir Francis, 65
Dresden, Gallery (Arpino), 381^{32}, (Murillo), 387^{12}, (Pereira), 209, (Velázquez), 259, 265, (Zurbarán), 244
Dueñas family, 138
Dulwich College (Murillo), 275, 276, *147*
Dumandre Brothers, 163
Duns Scotus, portrait, 315
Dupart, J. F., 58
Dupérac, 17
Duprá, Giovanni Domenico, 344

Duque Cornejo, Pedro (1678–1757), 158, 160, 162, *87*
Duquesnoy, François, 151
Durán Berruecos, Diego, 80
Durango, Carlos García de, 77, 359^{35}, 360^{41}
Dürer, Albrecht, 261, 263, 282, 317
Duval, Marc, 317
Dyck, Anthony van, 162
D.Z., 354^{13}

E

Echamorro, José, 68
Echave Ibía, Baltasar de (*c.* 1585–*c.* 1645), 308–9
Echave Orio, Baltasar de (*c.* 1548–1620), 307–8, 313, $392^{27,29,31}$, 393^{41}, *168*
Echave Rioja, Baltasar de (1632–82), 310–11, 393^{43}
Ecija, 55, 84; Merced, 34, 361^{10}; Peñaflor Palace, 55; San Gil, 55; San Juan Bautista, 55; Santa María, 55; Santísima Trinidad, 55; Valverde Palace, 55–6, 93, fig. 26
Eckhout, Albert 348
Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (V. Carducho), 234, *121*, (Velázquez), 255
Ega (São Quintino Master), 400^{46}
Egas, Enrique (d. 1534), 4, fig. 2
Egidiano, Juan Bautista (1596–1675), 91, *43–4*
Elche, Communion chapel, 358^{54}
Elgoibar, church, 60
Elizabeth of Valois, Queen of Spain, portrait, 378^{25}
Elvas, Church of the Dominican nuns, 104; São Salvador (Morales), 204
Encarnado, 124
Encomienda, 69
Epiphany of Évora Cathedral, Master of the, 341, *187*
Erasmus, 7, 69, 70, 139
Ernest, Archduke, portrait, 379^{30}
Escalante, Juan Antonio de Frias y (1633–70), 280, 288, 387^{21}, 389^{18}, *153*
Escobar, Manuel de, 93
Escobar y Llamas, Cristóbal de, 79
Escorial, 12–14, 52, 125, $352^{40,43}$, 357^{33}, fig. 7; Cachicanía, La, 17; Casita de Abajo, 52; Casita de Arriba, 52; Church, 13–14, 352^{47}, *5*, altar, 140, *75*, *camarín*, 23–4; Court of the Evangelists, 12, 13, *5*; Households of the Infantes, 52; Infirmary, 13; Mausoleum, 22, 23; Pantheon, 267; painting, 207–8, (Camilo), 388^{5}, (Carbonell), 23, (B. Carducho), 220, (C. Coello), 289, *157*, (Crescenzi), 22, (J. J. Espinosa), 390^{40}, (Giordano), 290, (Greco), 213, *109*, (P. Leoni), 140, *75*, (Mor), 206, (Mora), 17, (Navarrete), 207–8, *104*, (Sánchez Coello), 378^{25}, (Velázquez), 258, 267, (Villanueva), 52
Escorial Bajo, San Bernabé, 353^{53}
Espadaña, 88
Espeja, church, altar, 232
Espinheiro, monastery (Frei Carlos), 335
Espinosa, Juan Bautista de, 235
Espinosa, Jerónimo Jacinto de (1600–67), 223, 295, 390^{40}
Espinosa, Jerónimo Rodríguez de, 295
Espinosa de los Monteros, Juan, 323
Esquipulas, pilgrimage sanctuary, 84, *39*
Estella, San Juan, altar, 142
Este, Francesco d', portrait, 262
Estepa, Asunción, 57; Carmen, 57, Remedios, 57, Victoria, 357^{12}
Esteve, Agustín, 203
Estilo desornamentado, 140
Estilo monstruoso, 125
Estípites, 34, 80–2, 137, 158, 369^{28}
Estofado, 123
Estoril, private collection (Aiala), 401^{59}
Estrada, José María, 394^{57}
Estremoz, Santa Maria do Castelo, 104
Evangelio, Marcos, 358^{54}
Évora, Basto Palace (Campos), 400^{47}; Bom Jesus de Valverde, 104, 363^{18}; Carmo, 108; Cathedral, altar, 334, apse, 112, choir stalls, 188, (Lopes), 399^{29}, (Master of the Epiphany), 341, *187*; Espírito Santo, 105, fig. 34, altar, 189, (Lopes), 399^{25}; Graça church, 103, 185, 362^{11}; Loios church, 363^{27}; Museum, 374^{14}, (Aiala), 401^{59}, (Frei Carlos), 335, (Chanterene), 185; São Antão, 358^{15}, 363^{19}; São Domingos, portals, 185; São Francisco, 105, altars, 192, 330, 334, (G. Fernandes), 339, 400^{40}; São Paraízo, 374^{14}; São Vicente, 363^{29}
Eyck, Jan van, 328
Ezquerra, J. A. de, 284

F

Fabri, Francesco Manuel, 115
Falconi, Juan, 247
Fancelli, Domenico Alessandro (1469–1518), 125, 126, 128, *64*
Fanzoni, Ferraù, 324
Farinelli, 44
Farnese, *see* Isabella Farnese
Farrobo, Count of, portrait, 346
Feather-painting, 305
Ferdinand, Infante, portraits, 259, 380^{12}
Ferdinand of Aragon, King of Spain, 124, 199; monument, 126
Ferdinand VI, King of Spain, 45, 47, 297; portraits, 298, 391^{53}
Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, 54
Fernandes, Garcia (*fl.* 1514–65), 329, 335, 338–40, 375^{25}, $398^{8,20}$, 399^{32}, 400^{36-45}, *186*
Fernandes, Vasco (*c.* 1475–1542), 329, 331, 332–4, 337, 338, 398^{13-14}, *184–5*
Fernández, Alejo (*c.* 1475–1545), 200
Fernández, Francisco (1605–46), 283
Fernández, Gregorio (1576–1636), 144–6, 368^{2}, *78*, *80*

Fernández, Luis, 382[41]
Fernández de Iglesias, L., 355[47]
Fernández Sarela, Clemente (*c.* 1716–65), 61
Ferreira, António, 377[56]
Ferreirim, altars, 337, 338, 339–40
Ferreirim Masters, 335
Ferrer, Pedro García, 76
Ferrol, El, 59
Ferrol Nuevo, church, 358[66]
Ferrucci, Andrea, 135
Ferrucci, Francesco di Simone, 351[5]
1515, Master of, *see* Jorge Afonso
Figueira, Baltasar Gomes, 343
Figueiredo, Cristóvão de (*fl.* 1515–43), 329, 334, 335, 337–8, 375[25], 398[8, 20], 399[32–4], *185*
Figueroa, Ambrosio de, 32
Figueroa, A. M. de (*c.* 1734–96?), 55, 57, 68, *21*
Figueroa, Baltasar de Vargas (*fl.* 1658–67), 319, 395[75]
Figueroa, Bartolomé de, 319
Figueroa, Gaspar de (*fl.* 1637–58), 319, 395[75–6]
Figueroa, Leonardo de (*c.* 1650–1730), 31–2, 92, *11*
Figueroa, Matías José de (1698–*c.* 1765), 34
Filarete, Antonio, 4, 12, 69
Fischer von Erlach, 44, 99, 115
Fitero, altar, 210
Flamenco, Juan, 377[2]
Flandes, Juan de, 199
Florence, Count Contini-Bonacossi Collection (V. Carducho), 234, (Herrera), 382[36], (Ribera), 241, (Tristán), 224, *117*, (Velázquez), 256, (Zurbarán), 246, *127*; Uffizi (Castillo), 292
Florentino, Francesco, 6
Florentino, Jacopo, 6, 125, 126–7, 129, *65*
Floris, Cornelis, 176, 397[4]
Fonduti, Agostino de', 136
Fontana, Carlo, 30–1, 111, 112, fig. 16
Fontanelli, Cosimo, 60
Forbin, Count de, 345
Forment, Damián (*c.* 1475–1540), 130–1, 135, *70–1*
Fortini, Giovacchino, 191
Fracanzano, Cesare, 383[14]
Franco, Alonso, 307, 392[24]
Frankfort, Staedel Institut (Velázquez), 385[44]
Freixo Palace, 364[60]
Freixo-de-Espada-à-Cinta, church, 362[6], high altar (V. Fernandes), 333
Fremin, 163
Fronteira, church, 105
'Frutet', 243
Funchal, Cathedral (Lourinhã Master), 331; Museum (Lopes), 399[31]

G

Gabriel, Infante Don, 52
Gagini family, 126
Galberi, M. Segundo, 319
Galle, Philip, 218, 394[47]
Galle, Theodor, 229
Gallego, Juan, 351[2]
Gálvez, Francisco Javier de, 171
Gálvez, Viceroy Count, portrait, 313
Gama, Vasco da, 328
Gamarra, Gregorio, 323, 369[19], 396[95], *176*
Gamboa, Francisco de, 307, 392[27]
Gand, Olivier de, 183, 373[2]
Gante, Fray Pedro de, 87, 165
García, Antonio, 89
García, Pablo Antonio, 321
García, Simón, 352[25]
García de Miranda, Juan (1677–1749), 298, 390[50]
Garcilaso de la Vega, *see* Vega el Inca
Gaudí, Antoni, 103, 125, 183
Geertgen tot Sint Jans, 329
Genevilla (Araoz), 142
Genoa, Palazzo Bianco (Murillo), 275; S. Maria di Carignano, 14
Georgetown, *see* Villacarlos
Germán de Llorente, Bernardo (1681–1759), 279
Gerona Cathedral, façade, 358[58]
Getafe, church, 8, altars, 272, 381[15]
Giapelli, *see* Yapeli
Giaquinto, Corrado, 300
Gil, Jerónimo Antonio, portrait, 316
Gil, Juan, 8
Gil de Hontañón, Rodrigo (1500/10–77), 8–9, *4*
Gilabert, Antonio (1716–92), 58
Gilarte, Mateo (*c.* 1620–80), 296, 389[15]
Gilly, Friedrich, 54
Giner, Vincente (*fl.* *c.* 1660–*c.* 80), 295–6, *162*
Giordano, Luca, 257, 268, 290
Giraldo, Lucas, 367[22]
Giralte, Francisco, 367[26]
Giusti, Alessandro (1715–99), 194
Glasgow, Pollok House (V. Carducho), 235, (Murillo), 248, (Pereda), 281
Goa, Cathedral (G. Fernandes), 339, 340, 400[43]; Panguim Palace, portraits, 340
Gobbo, Pietro Paolo, 299
Gois, monument, 184
Golegã, church, 362[8]
Golmes, church, altar, 161
Goltzius, Hendrik, 257
Gomes, Fernão (1553–1602), 341, 342, 401[55]
Gomes da Silva, Juan, monument, 375[26]
Gómez, Sebastián (El Mulato de Murillo), 279
Gómez de Mora, Juan (1586–1646/8), 20–1, 22, 353[70], fig. 12
Gómez Román, Hernán, *see* Gomes, Fernão
Gonçalves, Nuno, 328
Gondoin, Jacques, 51
Góngora, Luis de, portrait, 255
Gonzales, Juan, 313, 394[55]
Gonzales, Miguel, 313, 394[55]
González, Bartolomé (1564–1627), 203, 225–6, 230, 260, 380[11–13]

González Ruiz, Antonio, 391[53]
González Velázquez, Alejandro, 46
González Velázquez, Antonio, 300
González Velázquez, Luis, 300
Goríbar, Nicolás Javier (*fl.* 1688–1736), 320, 396[85, 88], *175*
Gossaert, Jan, 399[27]
Gosseal, Fray Pedro, 318
Goya, Francisco, 203, 239, 264, 289, 300
Goyeneche, Juan de, 33
Granada, 54–5; Alhambra (Aquiles), 202, (Mayner), 202; Angel Custodio, 354[16], (Borgianni), 380[2], (Cano), 153, 272, *83*; Angustias church, 20, 25, 162; Cartuja, sacramental chapel, 32, sacristy, 35–6, 355[38], *13*, (Duque Cornejo), 162, (Hurtado), 32, (Mora), 155
  Cathedral, 5, 6–7, fig. 4, *3*; altars (Santiago), 160, (Virgen de la Antigua), 160; façade, 25, *9*; portals, 57, 130, 162; (Bada), 57, (Cano), 25, 152–3, 154, 272, *9*, (Duque Cornejo), 160, (Hurtado), 160, (Risueño), 162, (Siloe), 130
  Chancillería, 20, *7*; Hospital Real, portal, 20; Infantas Collection (Cano), 153; Jesuit church, 25, altar, 369[23]; Magdalena church, 25–6, 35, 92, 354[16], fig. 14; Museum (Arias), 282, (Cano), 273, (Pacheco), 229; Palace of Charles V, 10–11, 352[34, 36], 366[6], fig. 6, (Cano), 153, *83*, (Florentino), 126–7, *65*, (Machuca), 10–11, 202, Royal Chapel, altar, 135, *67*, monuments, 126, 128, *66*; Sagrario, 355[37]; Santa Ana (Mora), 155; San Antón (Cano), 273, (Mena), 153–4, *83*; San Cecilio (Mena), 154; Santa Cruz la Real (Santa Escolástica), Rosary chapel, 57, *21*; San Jerónimo, 6, 129, *69*; San José (Mora), 155; San Juan de Dios, 54; Santa María de la Alhambra, 21, 353[66], (Peral), 162; Town Hall, 57; University (Arias), 282, (Collantes), 283
Granados, José, 354[28]
Granello, N., 208
Granja, La, *see* San Ildefonso
Greco, El (1541–1614), 96, 134, 143, 210–19, 221, 222, 224, 246, 353[55], *75*, *107–15*
Grenoble, Museum (Zurbarán), 248, *129*
Griego, Jácome, 396[98]
Griego, Juan, 396[98]
Grijó, cloister, 363[23]
Guadalajara (Mexico), Cathedral, 66, 73–4, 358[15], 359[31–2], fig. 31, *30*, painting, 393[35]; Museum (L. Juárez), 308; (P. Ramírez), 393[35]; Santa Mónica, 76
Guadalajara (Spain), Infantado Palace, 1
Guadalupe (Spain), monastery, altar, 382[40], *camarín*, 32, 57, (Vergara), 354[8], sacristy (Zurbarán), 247
Guadalupe (Mexico), basilica, 77, *31*; Pocito chapel, 81, *35*
Guadalupe (Peru), Augustinian church, 91
Guadix Cathedral, ambulatory, 7, choir stalls, 162, façade, 36, sacristy, 7
Guadix, Cristóbal de (1650–1709), 157
Guanabacoa, church, 67
Guanajuato, Compañía, 81; Colegio (N. Rodríguez Juárez), 393[45]; University (L. Juárez), 308; Valenciana, façade, 81, *34*, tower, 80
Guápulo, church, portal, 88, pulpit, 174, (Goríbar), 396[85], (M. de Santiago), 396[82–3]
Guaraní tribe, 100
Guarda Cathedral, altar, 187, façade, 101–2
Guarini, Guarino, 29–30, 48, 112, 354[26]
Guas, Juan (d. 1496), 1, fig. 1
Guatemala City, 84; Cathedral, 84–5, sculpture, 169, (Chávez), 170, (P. Ramírez), 311; Merced, 85, sculpture, 170, transept altars, 171; Santo Domingo, sculpture, 170, (Zurbarán), 316
Güemes, Viceroy Francisco de, 315
Guerrero, José, 316, *171*
Guerrero y Torres, Francisco Antonio (d. 1792), 81, *35*, *37*
Guevara, Felipe de, 367[25]
Guevara, Juan Niño de, 387[7]
Guimarães, Santos Passos church, 118
Gumiel, Pedro de (*fl.* 1516), 4–5, *1*
Gutiérrez, Fray Agustín, 89
Gutiérrez, Francisco (1727–82), 163
Gutiérrez, Gerónimo, 323
Gutiérrez, Juan Simón, 279

H

Hague, The, Bredius Museum (Sánchez Coello), 378[25]; Mauritshuis (Cerezo), 287, (Iriarte), 388[8]
Hamburg (Castillo), 292
Hamen y León, Juan van der (1596–1631), 225, 228, 235, 282, *122*
Hamen the elder, Juan van der, 235
Hampton Court (Mazo), 262, (Pantoja), 379[30], (Sánchez Coello), 378[28]
Harls, Antonio, 99
Haro, Gaspar de, Marquis of Carpio and Heliche, 266
Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum (Santander), 312, (Valdés Leal), 293, (Villalpando), 311, *167*, (Zurbarán), 245
Havana, 65, 66; Casa de Correos (Supreme Court), 68; Casa de Gobierno, 68, *28*; Cathedral, 68, *28*; Cintas Foundation (Greco), 219, (Velázquez), 384[11]
Havre, Le, Baudet Collection (Murillo), 387[12]
Henrique, Count, monument, 373[4]
Henriques, Francisco (*fl.* 1509–18), 330–1, 398[9], *182*
Henry VII, King of England, monument, 127
Henry VIII, King of England, 199
Henry, King of Portugal, 341
Hermosilla, José de, 52, 357[32]
Hernández, Alejandro, 67
Hernández, Andrés (*fl.* 1583–92), 176
Hernández, Jerónimo (*c.* 1540–86), 148, 176
Hernández de Galván, Gómez (*fl.* 1572–1602), 176

Herrera the elder, Francisco (*c.* 1590–1656), 231–2, 243, 252, 287, 355^{40}, 382^{36,38}, *143*

Herrera the younger, Francisco (1622–85), 28–9, 158, 286, 387^{21}, fig. 15, *158*

Herrera, Juan de (*c.* 1530–97), 13–15, 21, 22, 33, 45, 49, 74, 75, 105, 221, 353^{66,69}, figs. 7, 8, 22, *5*

Herrera, Fray Miguel, 314

Herrera Barnuevo, Sebastián de (1619–71), 155, 285, 355^{50}

Hidalgo, Cristóbal, 176

Hodart, Filipe (*fl.* 1522–34), 186, 374^{14}, *97*

Holguín, Melchor Perez, 325–6, 327, 397$^{104-5}$, *180*

Hol(l)anda, Francisco de (1517–84), 11, 127, 328, 341, 363^{14}, 400^{50,52}

Holanda, Guillén de, 367^{28}

Hondius, H., 281

Houasse, Michel-Ange (in Spain 1715–30), 298, *164*

Houston, Texas (Hamen), 235, (Pantoja), 207, *117*

Huaro, altar, 372^{36}

Huejotzingo, Franciscan convent, 70, 71, 72, altar, 166, frescoes, 305, 306, (Pereyns), 306

Huesca, Cathedral, altar, 130–1, *71*; Museo Provincial (Pareja), *154*

Hugo, Brother, 260

Hurtado, Francisco (1660–1725), 32, 34, 35–6, 38, 95, 158, 160, 355^{37,52}, *12*

I

Ibarra, José de (1688–1756), 314–15, 394$^{60-1}$

Ignatius Loyola, St, 139, 216

Illescas, Hospital of Charity, church (Greco), 217, 379^{50}

Illora, 359^{24}

Indaco, Jacopo l', *see* Florentino, Jacopo

Innocent X, pope, 386^{50}; portrait, 265, *138*

Iriarte, Ignacio de (1621–85), 283–4, 388^{8}

Iruya, sculpture, 182

Isabella Clara Eugenia, Infanta, portraits, 257, 378$^{24-5}$, 379^{30}

Isabella, Queen of Portugal, 328

Isabella of Bourbon, Queen of Spain, portraits, 226, 259, 260, 262, *137*

Isabella of Castile, Queen of Spain, 124, 199; monument, 126

Isabella Farnese of Parma, Queen of Spain, 43, 44, 46, 47, 298, 299; portrait, 390^{49}

Iturbide, Emperor, portrait, 316

Ixmiquilpan, frescoes, 305

J

Jaca Cathedral, altar (Ancheta), 141, *77*

Jacome da Trezzo, 363^{24}

Jácome, Manuel Ferreira, 117, fig. 40

Jaén, Bernardas (Nardi), 381^{15}; Cathedral, 10, fig. 5, façade, 25, sacristy, 10, sagrario, 50

Jarama, Cristóbal Rodríguez de, 356^{1}

Jaramillo, Leonardo, 323

Jáuregui, Juan de, 168

Javier, Vicente (*fl.* 1748–80), 171

Jerez de la Frontera, Bertemati Palace, 57; Cartuja, altar, 151, 156, façade, 25, 354^{12}, gateway, 353^{62}, (Zurbarán), 247, 248, *129*; Colegiata, 31, (Arce), 151, 369^{13}, (Moreno Meléndez), 355^{44}; Domecq Palace, 57; Houses, 56, 57; Pérez de Asensio Collection (Collantes), 283, (Zambrano), 381^{17}; San Miguel, altar, 150, 156

Jersey, Cook Collection (Velázquez), 256

Jimeno y Planes, Rafael (1761–1825), 316, 395^{64}

Joan the Mad, Queen of Spain, 199; monument, 128

Jode, Geerard de, 260, 396^{80}

Johan Maurits of Nassau, Count, 348

John II, King of Portugal, 328, 373^{1}

John III, King of Portugal, 206, 328, 335, 340, 341; portrait, 400^{48}

John IV, King of Portugal, 342, 343

John V, King of Portugal, 110, 344

John VI, King of Portugal, 196, 345; portrait, 347

Joli, Antonio, 391^{55}

Jordán, Esteban (*c.* 1529–98), 141–2

José de la Cruz, Fray, 81

Joseph I, King of Portugal, 195; statue, 194, *100*

Juan, Prince, tomb, 126

Juan of Austria, Don, portrait, 388^{13}

'Juan of Austria, Don', portrait, 385^{38}

Juana, Infanta, 132, 206; monument, 140; portrait, 378$^{24-5}$

Juanes, Juan de (*c.* 1523–79), 201, 227, *103*

Juárez, José (*c.* 1615–*c.* 67), 309–10, 393$^{40-1}$, *170*

Juárez, Luis (*c.* 1585–*c.* 1645), 307, 308, 392$^{30-1}$

Jujuy, pulpit, 182, *93*

Juli, 100; Asunción, altars, 176, 322, 372^{36}; Santa Cruz, 97; San Juan, 97, 362^{30}

Juni, Juan de (*c.* 1506–77), 131, 136–8, 144, 189, 368^{37,44}, *65*, *74*

Juvara, Filippo, 43, 44–5, *17*; portrait, 298

K

Kaminaljuyu, 84

Kansas City (Mazo), 267, (Palomino), 290

Keir, Stirling Collection (Murillo), 277

Kempeneer, Pieter, *see* Campaña

Key, Willem, 305

Kingston, Jamaica, church, portal, 165

Kingston Lacy, Bankes Collection (Velázquez), 265

Klauber, Joseph and Johann, 171, 169, 321

Kraus, Johann (d. 1714), 99

Kulmbach, Hans von, 305

L

Laboria, Pedro (*fl.* 1739–49), 174

Lagarto, Andrés, 312

Lagarto, Luis (*fl.* 1586–1616), 312

Lagarto, Luis de la Vega, 312
Laguna, mission, 78
Lamego, Cathedral, altars, 332, 333, 337, 375^{31}, (Nasoni), 364^{60}; Remedios church, 113, 365^{78}
Lampa, church, 94, 361^{21}, *48*
Lancaster, City Museum (Pantoja), 206
Lanchares, Antonio, 382^{41}
Laocoon, 131, 132, 136, 137, 186, 368^{34}
Lapoblación (Araoz), 142
Laprade, Claude de (*fl.* 1699–1730), 112, 191
Laugier, Abbé, 51
Lebrija, Santa María, altar (Cano), 152, 156, 271, *84*, (Legote), 232
Ledesma, Blas de, 379^{38}
Ledoux, C.-N., 54
Leganés, San Salvador, altar, 33, 158
Legarda, Bernardo de (*fl.* 1731–73), 175
Legeay, 51
Legote, Pablo (1598–1671), 152, 232
Leiria Cathedral, 104, *53*
Lemaur, Charles (d. 1785), 61
Lemer, Philippe, 98, 362^{34}, *50*
Lemos, Duarte de, 374^{14}
Leningrad, Hermitage (V. Carducho), 234, (Murillo), 277, 387^{21}, (Pereda), 282, (Puga), 388^{9}, (Ribalta), 227, (Velázquez), 262
Leon, San Marcos, choir stalls, 367^{22}, façade, 136, 355^{44}, (Balmaseda), 135–6, *73*, (Donzel), 367^{22}, (Juni), 136, (Suinaga), 355^{44}; Museo de San Marcos (Juni), 136, *74*
Leonardo, Jusepe (1600?–56), 234, 247, 281–2, 382^{41}, 385^{37}, *151*
Leonardo da Vinci, 128, 199, 201, 204
Leoni, Leone (1509–90), 139
Leoni, Pompeo (*c.* 1533–1608), 139–40, 145, *75*
Leonor, Queen of Portugal, 332
Lepanto, Battle of, 213
Lérida, Cathedral, choir stalls, 161; Seminário (Pereda), 281
Lerma, 16
Lerma, Canon, monument, 135
Leval, Antonio de, 366^{6}
Lezcano, Francisco de, 263, 385^{28}; portrait, $385^{28, 38}$
Liendo, Pedro de, 316
Liendo, Rodrigo Gil (Rosillo) de, 64–5
Lima, 83, 175; Buena Muerte, sculpture, 180, *192*, (Zurbarán), 323; Cathedral, 15, 90, choir stalls, 177, 372^{39}, *90*, portals, 95, sacristy, 176–7; Concepción, altar, 178–9, 181; Desamparados church, 91; Huérfanos church, 96; Jesuit church (former), altar, 321–2; Jesús María, altars, 181; Merced, aisles, 361^{14}, choir stalls, 177, façade, 95, 98, stair, 361^{18}, (Montañés), 180, (Pérez de Alessio), 322; Nazarenas church, 96, *46*; N.S. de Copacabana, painting, 325, *177*; Osma Collection (sculpture), 176; Quinta Presa, 96; Recoleta (Jaramilla), 323; Sagrados Corazones, 178; San Agustín, cloister, 93, 361^{20}, façade, 95, (B. Pacheco), 326; San Carlos, 96, altar, 180, 181; Santo Domingo, choir stalls, 177, rib-vault, 89, tower, 96, (Bedón), 395^{20}; San Francisco, 91, 93, *44*, *46*, aisles, 361^{14}, choir stalls, 177, portal, 361^{24}, sacristy doorway, 95, sculpture, 180, *192*, (Bedón), 395^{20}, (Zurbarán), 323; San Pedro, altars, 372^{44}, façade, 91, 361^{14}, (Montañés), 180; Santa Rosa de las Monjas, 95; Torre Tagle Palace, 95, *49*; San Sebastián, altar, 181; Santo Tomás, cloister, 96
Lima Cerqueira, F. de, 365^{83}, *62*
Linares, Viceroy Duke of, 314
Lippi, Filippino, 202
Liria, church, 24
Lisboa, António Francisco, *see* Aleijadinho
Lisboa, Manuel Francisco (*fl.* 1728–67), 116, 194
Lisbon, 59, 110, 115; Academy of the Nude, 344; Ajuda Palace, 115, (Barros Laborão), 377^{56}; Almada House, 110; Bensaúde Collection (G. Fernandes), 400^{36}; Castelo Branco (G. Fernandes), 400^{43}, (V. Fernandes), 398^{13}; Cathedral, presepe, 194; Chapel of Santo Amaro, 104; Comendadoras de Avis, 376^{48}; Desterro church, 363^{32}; Estrêla church, 115; Falcão Collection (Afonso), 329, (G. Fernandes), 400^{43}; Fountains, 114; Galveias House, 110; Jesuit church, altar, 189; Madre de Deus (Afonso), 329–30, 397^{4}, *181*, (B. Coelho), 344, (G. Fernandes), 339, (Gossaert), 399^{27}, (Lopes), 397^{6}, (Massys), 331; Mártires church, 115; Menino Deus church, 110, *58*; Museum (Aiala), 343, (Almeida), 194, (Barros Laborão), 377^{56}, (Bartolozzi), 346, (B. Carducho), 220, *115*, (Frei Carlos), 334–5, $398^{17, 19}$, *182*, (Castro), 194, 377^{56}, (G. Fernandes), 339, 340, $400^{36-7, 39, 43}$, *186*, (V. Fernandes), 333–4, 398^{13}, (Figueiredo), 338, 399^{33-4}, *185*, (Gomes), 342, (Gossaert), 399^{27}, (Henriques), 330–1, *182*, (Holanda), 400^{50}, (C. Lopes), 400^{48}, (G. Lopes), 335–7, $399^{24, 26}$, *183*, (Morais), 341, (Morales), 204, (Orrente), 380^{5}, (Palmela altar), 399^{24}, (Pereda), 282, *153*, (Portuguese school), 341, *188*, (Reinoso), 342, (Rodrigues), 401^{56}, (São Quintino Master), 340, (Sansovino), 373^{1}, (Santiago altar), 399^{24}, (Sardoal Master), 332, (Sequeira), 346, 347, $401^{67-8, 70}$, *189–90*, (Ströberle), 344, (Venegas), 342, 401^{53}, (Vieira), 343, (Vieira Portuense), 345, 346, (Zurbarán), 245; Museu dos Coches, 192, 365^{67}; N.S. da Luz, altar, 189, 342; N.S. da Pena, 376^{48}; Palmela Collection (Sequeira), 401^{68}; Paraízo convent (Fernandes), 339; Patrício Collection (Aiala), 343; Paulistas, altar, 376^{48}; Praça do Comercio, statue, 194, *100*; Private Collection (Sequeira), 346, *189*; Relação (G. Fernandes), 338, (Figueiredo), 337, (Henriques), 330; Remédios (G. Fernandes), 400^{37}; Rilvas Collection (São Quintino Master), 340, *187*; Royal Academy of Design, 344; Sacavém Collection (B. Coelho), 344; Santos-o-Novo, 336; São Antão, sacristy, 112; São Bento, altar, 339; São Carlos Theatre,

115; São Cristóvão (B. Coelho), 344; São Domingos de Benfica, chapel of São Gonçalo, 191, (Pereyra), 147, *79*; Santa Engracia, Tinoco's projects, 109–10, 364^{49}, fig. 37; Santo Estevão (Almeida), 194; São Francisco de Paula, 363^{36}, 365^{67}; Santa Maria Divina Providência, 29, 48, 112; São Miguel de Alfama, sculpture, 376^{44,48}; São Roque, church, chapel of St Francis Xavier, 189, project by Álvares, 363^{19}, (G. Dias), 342, (Rebelo), 343, (Reinoso), 342, (Rodrigues), 342, museum (G. Fernandes), 340; Santo Tirso, 364^{41}; São Vicente de Fora, 105–6, 363^{26}, fig. 35, *56*, design for altar by Venegas, 189, 376^{37}; Vilhena Collection (Frei Carlos), 335, (sculpture), 190, 191, *96*

Llaguno, E., 38, 354^{28}

Llano Valdés, Sebastián de (*c.* 1600–*c.* 76), 271, 386^{3}

Llanos, Fernando de los, 199

Llerena, Santa Clara (Montañés), 127, 149

Llorente, *see* Germán de Llorente

Loarte, Alejandro de (d. 1626), 235

Loaysa, Martín de (*fl.* 1648–63), 325

Locin, *see* Loguin

Lodoli, Carlo, 51

Logroño, Colegiata, choir stalls, 367^{26}; Santa María la Redonda, portal, 60, *24*

Loguin, Jacques (d. 1559), 184, 185–6, 374$^{14-15,17}$, 375^{18,20,22}, 376^{35}, *94–5*

Loja, San Gabriel, 7

Lomazzo, 212, 217

London, Agnew (Pereda), 388^{2}; Apsley House (F. Antolínez), 387^{25}, (Mazo), 285, (Velázquez), 253, 384^{13}, 385^{38}, *132*, silver service, 345; Beit Collection (Murillo), 387^{21}; Buckingham Palace (Mazo), 388^{10}, (M. J. Meléndez), 390^{49}, (Sánchez Coello), 206, 378^{24}; Clarendon Collection (ex) (B. González), 380^{12}; Courtauld Institute of Art (Castillo), 291, 390^{32,35}; Drey Collection (Ribera), 241, *123*; Grosvenor House (Mazo), 388^{10}; Huth Collection (ex) (Velázquez), 259, *137*; Larsen Collection (Cerezo), 287; National Gallery (Greco), 213, (Mazo), 388^{10}, (Morales), 205, *106*, (Murillo), 276, 277, *146*, *149*, (Ribalta), 223, (Ribera), 242, (Valdés Leal), 292, (Velázquez), 251, 254, 259, 263–4, 266, 267, 268, 385^{25}, *130–1*, *133*, *135–6*, (Zurbarán), 248, *129*; Northbrooke Collection (Sánchez Coello), 206, *105*; Private Collections (J. B. Espinosa), 235, (Pantoja), 379^{30}, (Velázquez), 384^{18}; Reder (Collantes), 283; Rothermere Collection (Castillo), 292; Sabin Galleries (ex) (Murillo), 277, *146*; Salas Collection (V. Carducho), 234; Wallace Collection (Cano), 271, *141*, (Mazo), 388^{10}, (Velázquez), 264, 385^{28}; Wantage Collection (Murillo), 387^{14}; Westminster Collection (ex) (Murillo), 277

Longford Castle (Velázquez), 265

Longuin, *see* Loguin

Loo, Louis Michel van, 298, 299

Loon, Theodor van, 325

Lopes, Cristóvão, 400^{48}

Lopes, Gregório (*c.* 1490?–1550), 329, 335–7, 397^{6}, 398^{8,20}, 399$^{22-9,31-3}$, *183*, *186*

López, Gregorio, 247

López de Gámiz, Pedro, 140–1, *76*

López de Herrera, Alonso (1579–*c.* 1648), 309, 313, *169*

López de Rojas, Eufrasio, 25, 354^{31}

Loquin, *see* Loguin

Lora del Río, Jesus Nazareno, *camarín*, 357^{47}

Lorca, San Patricio, 95, 355^{44}

Lorvão, Cistercian nunnery, 376^{53}

Los Angeles, County Museum (Cano), 272, *142*, (J. Leonardo), 281; Private Collection (E. Caxés), 382^{40}

Louis XIV, King of France, 270, 297

Louis Philippe, King of France, 242

Lourenço, Martim, 105

Lourinhã, Misericórdia (Lourinhã Master), 331, *184*

Lourinhã Master, 331, 399^{32}, *184*

Loyola, Collegium Regium, 30–1, fig. 16

Loyola, Martín de, 325

Lozano, Cristóbal, 327

Lucas, Eugenio, 346

Lucena, San Mateo, 57

Luchin, *see* Loguin

Ludovice (Ludwig), João Frederico (1670–1752), 110–12, fig. 38, *59*

Lugano, Thyssen Collection (Greco), 379^{50}, (Mazo), 388^{10}, (Murillo), 274, (Velázquez), 386^{47}

Lugo Cathedral, cloister, 60, façade, 61, Lady Chapel, 358^{64}

Lugo, Pedro de (*fl.* 1629–56), 172

Luis, Infante Don, 50

Luis, Prince of Asturias, portrait, 396^{85}

Luis I, portrait, 298

Luisa Isabella of Orleans, Queen of Spain, 298

Luisinch, Mateo, 172

Luquin, *see* Loguin

Lutma, Jan, 390^{36}

Lyon, Museum (Pereda), 388^{2}

M

Macário de São João, Frei, 364^{45}

Machado, C. Volkmar, 344

Machuca, Pedro (*fl.* 1517–50†), 6, 10–11, 125, 126, 127, 202, 352^{36}, 366^{6}, 378^{13}, fig. 6

Machuca y Vargas, 355^{55}

Macip, Vicente Juan (*c.* 1475–*c.* 1545), 201, *102*

Madeira (Gomes), 401^{55}

Maderna, Carlo, 49, 111

Madre de Deus, Master of the main altar of the, 329

Madrid, Academy of History, 54; Academia de San Fernando, 33, 54, 163, (Ardemáns), 298, (Arpino), 381^{33}, (Bayeu), 301, (Borgianni), 221, (Cabezalero), 389^{17}, (Cano), 273, (V. Carducho),

Madrid (*contd.*)
234, 382[43], (Castillo), 389[27], (Castro), 163, (Cavarozzi), 384[10], (Cerezo), 287, (Escalante), 389[18], (González Ruiz), 391[53], (Herrera the elder), 382[36], (Juanes), 201, (J. de Miranda), 391[53], (Murillo), 275, 387[12], (Paret), 302, (Pereda), 282, 388[4], (Pereyra), 147, *79*, (Ribera), 240, (Ricci), 283, *151*, (Velázquez), 385[44], (Zambrano), 381[17], (Zurbarán), 246, *128*

Acebo Collection (M. and J. Gonzales), 394[55]; Adanero Collection (Castillo), 291, (P. Caxés), 233, (Escalante), 389[18]; Aduana, *see* Ministry of Hacienda; Alba Collection (Murillo), 277; Alcázar, 75, 267, 353[68, 70]; Almazán Collection (Villandrando), 381[14]; Altamira Palace, 357[26]; Andes Collection (Arteaga), 294, (M. J. Meléndez), 298; Apollo Fountain, 163; Araoz Collection (C. Coello), 289; Archbishop's Palace (Herrera), 232; Bárcenas Collection (M. J. Meléndez), 390[48]; Benavides Collection (Cerezo), 389[16]; Bernstein Collection (Valdés Leal), 294; Beruete Collection (Velázquez studio), 384[12]; Biblioteca Nacional (Castillo), 291, 389[27]; Bishop's Palace (Ardemáns), 391[51], (F. Fernández), 283; Boix Collection (Castillo), 291, (C. Coello), 389[22], (Ricci), 283; Borbón Collection (Cabezalero), 389[17], (Ribera), 241; Buen Retiro, 22–3, 267, Hall of Realms, 246–7, 259, 280, 281, hermitages, 38, (Cano), 272, (V. Carducho), 246, (E. Caxés), 247, (J. Leonardo), 247, 280, (Mayno), 246, (Pereda), 246, 280, 281, (Velázquez), 246, 259, 272, 386[54], (Vieira O Escuro), 343; Bustos Collection (Pereda), 388[2]; Capilla del Obispo (E. Caxés), 382[40]; Carderera Collection (M. J. Meléndez), 390[49]; Cartuja, hospice (Pereyra), 147, *79*; Casa de Ministerios, 357[35]; Casa Torres Collection (Mazo), 285, (M. J. Meléndez), 390[49], (Velázquez), 384[13]; Castromonte Collection (Rizi), 286; Cathedral, design by Rodríguez, 49, *see also* San Isidro; Chiloeches Collection (Carreño), 388[13]; Colegio de Doña María de Aragón, 96, church, 353[55], (Greco), 217, 379[50]; Colegio de Santa Marca (B. Carducho), 220; Collegium Imperiale, *see* San Isidro; Comendadoras de Santiago, 353[2]; Conde-Duque barracks, 39; Consejo de Estado (Pereda), 388[3]; Cuerva Collection (Villandrando), 226; Cybele fountain, 163; Descalzas Reales (Becerra), 368[40], (B. González), 380[12], (Leoni), 140, (Mena), 154, (Morais), 341, *188*, (Pantoja), 379[30], (Villanueva), 51; Encarnación church, 21, 48, 353[65], (B. González), 380[12], (A. González Velázquez), 300, (Rodríguez), 48, (Villandrando), 226, 381[14]; Estudios Reales, library, design by Rodríguez, 357[23]; Flemish Hospital (Rubens), 288; Fluxá Collection (Diriksen), 226; González Conde Collection (Giner), 295, *162*; Heredia Collection (Castillo), 390[32]; Hernani Collection (Cabezalero), 288; Hospice of San Fernando, chapel, 38, portal, 39, 40, *14*; Hospital of the Third Order of St Francis, chapel, 353[2], (Cabezalero), 389[17], (Carreño), 285; Infantado Collection (Cavarozzi), 384[10], (M. J. Meléndez), 390[49]; Instituto Valencia de Don Juan (Sánchez Coello), 378[25], (Tristán), 380[9], (Villandrando), 381[14]; Latina (Cabezalero), 389[17]; Liria Palace, façade, 58, design by Rodríguez, 357[26]; MacCrohon Collection (Cerezo), 287; Martorell Collection (Cerezo), 389[16]; Mercedarian Nuns of Don Juan de Alarcón (Rojas), 287; Ministry of Education (Castillo), 301, *164*; Ministry of Hacienda, 52; Moctezuma Collection (J. Gonzales), 394[55]; Montellano Collection (Villandrando), 381[14]; Montserrat church, 39, altar, 158; Museo de América (Holguín), 326, (Sánchez Galque), 319; Museum, Archaeological, (M. and J. Gonzales), 394[55]; Museo de Arte Moderno (Coccorante), 390[12]; Museo Cerralbo (Carreño), 388[14], (E. Caxés), 382[40], (Cerezo), 287, (González), 225, (M. J. Meléndez), 390[48–9], (Pereda), 388[4], (Tristán), 380[9]; Museo Lázaro (Ardemáns), 391[51], (M. Arteaga), 390[38], (Carreño), 286, (Castillo), 301, (Cerezo), 389[16], (Herrera), 232, (Mazo), 285, (M. J. Meléndez), 390[49], (Paret), 301, *165*, (Rizi), 286, (Velázquez), 384[12]; Museum, Municipal (B. González), 225; Museo de la Trinidad (V. Carducho), 234; Museum, Naval (Ranc), 298; Nieto Linker Collection (Escalante), 389[18]; Observatory, 54; Oliva de Gaytán Collection (B. González), 380[13]; Oratory of the Caballero de Gracia, 54, 357[37]; Panadería, 21, 28, 353[68], 354[24]; Payá Collection (Carreño), 285, (Mazo), 388[8]; Perinat Collection (C. Coello), 389[20]; Plaza Mayor, 21, 54, 353[68]; Plaza de Oriente, 356[8], statue of Philip IV, 150; Portoalegre Collection (Machuca), 202

Prado Museum, 53–4, fig. 25, *19*, (Agüero), 284, (F. Antolínez), 387[25], (J. Antolínez), 288, (Arias), 282, (M. Arteaga), 390[38], (Assereto), 381[32], (Borgianni), 221, (Cabezalero), 287, 288, *158*, (Cano), 272, (B. Carducho), 220, 381[21], (V. Carducho), 233, 234, (Castillo), 291, 292, *160*, (Cavarozzi), 384[10], (E. Caxés), 233, (Cerezo), 287, 389[16], (C. Coello), 289, 389[21], (Collantes), 283, (J. Correa de Vivar), 202, (J. B. Espinosa), 235, (García de Miranda), 298, (B. González), 380[12–13], (Goya), 239, 382[5], (Greco), 218, 224, 379[49], *114*, (Hamen), 235, (Herrera), 286, 287, *158*, (Houasse), 298, (Iriarte), 388[8], (Juanes), 201, *103*, (J. Leonardo), 280, 281, *151*, (Leoni), 139–40, (Machuca), 202, (Mayno), 225, 380[10], *119*, (Mazo), 264, 285, 386[46], (L. E. Meléndez), 299, (M. J. Meléndez), 390[48–9], (Mor), 206, (Murillo), 274, 277, 278, 387[13, 15], *150*, (Navarrete), 207, (Pantoja), 207, (Paret), 301, (Pereda), 281, 388[4], *152*, (Pourbus), 380[13], (Prado), 209, (Ranc), 298, (F. Ribalta), 227, 381[22], *120*, (Ribera), 240, 241, 383[7, 9–10, 13], *124–5*, (Rigaud), 297, (Rincón), 199, (Rodríguez de

Miranda), 391^{55}, (Ruiz González), 389^{24}, (Sánchez Coello), 206, 208, 378$^{21-5,28}$, 379^{29}, (G. D. Tiepolo), 300, (Tintoretto), 265, (Titian), 202, 203, (Valdés Leal), 293, 294, (Velázquez), 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 384$^{19-20}$, 385$^{28-9,38}$, 386$^{15,47-8}$, *133–4*, *138–9*, (Veronese), 265, (Villandrando), 226, (Villavicencio), 279, (Yáñez), 377^{6}, (Zurbarán), 246, 247, 248

Prison, Court, 21, fig. 12; Private Collections (Castillo), 390^{32}, (Hamen), 235, (A. Vázquez), 228, *116*; Puerta de Alcalá, 357^{35}; Royal Palace, 44–5, fig. 21, *17*, chapel, 45, 48, 356$^{16-17}$, staircase, 45, 356^{9}, (anon.), 199, (Bayeu), 301, (Bonavia), 48, 356$^{16-17}$, (Giordano), 290, (B. González), 226, 380^{11}, (J. Leonardo), 387^{1}, (M. J. Meléndez), 390^{49}, (Paret), 302, (Ribera), 355^{56}, (L. Tiepolo), 300; Sacramento church, 353^{2}, (B. González), 380^{11}; Salvador church, 353^{2}; San Andrés, chapel of San Isidro, 23, 355^{50}, 359^{38}, *8*, (Pereyra), 147; San Antonio (Cabezalero), 389^{17}; San Basilio, 33, 158; San Cayetano, 39; Santo Domingo el Real (E. Caxés), 382^{40}; San Francisco el Grande, project by Rodríguez, 49, (Pacheco), 275; San Ginés (Camilo), 388^{5}, (Rizi), 286, 289; San Isidro, 22, 353^{2}, *8*; San Jerónimo (E. Caxés), 382^{40}, (Palomino), 389^{15,25}, (Pereda), 388^{2}; San José, 40, (Ricci), 283, (Rodríguez de Miranda), 391^{55}; SS. Justo y Pastor, *see* San Miguel; San Luis, 28, (Ruiz González), 389^{24}; San Marcos, 48, fig. 24, *camarín*, 357^{47}; San Martín (Ricci), 283; Santo Mauro Collection (Castillo), 292, (Valdés Leal), 390^{37}; San Miguel, 48; San Norberto, 48; San Plácido (C. Coello), 289, (Pereyra), 147; Santo Tomás, 42, cloister, 28; Toledo Bridge, 38; Town Hall, 21, 33, 54, (Palomino), 389^{25}; Valderas Collection (B. González), 225–6; Valencia Collection (J. B. Espinosa), 235; Valls Collection (Mois), 379^{40}; Veterinary School (Camilo), 388^{5}; Viana Collection (B. González), 380^{12}; Villahermosa Collection (Mois), 210; Virgen del Puerto, 32, 38, fig. 19, *camarín*, 357^{47}

Maeda, Asensio de, 20
Maella, Mariano Salvador (1739–1819), 301
Mafra, palace-monastery, 110–12, fig. 38, *59*, sculpture, 191, 194
Maia, Manuel de, 115
Maini, G. B., 191
Mainz (Escalante), 389^{18}
Malaga, Cathedral, 4, 74, choir stalls, 154, façade, 57; Episcopal Palace, 57; Mausoleum, Victoria *camarín*, 32; Museum (Castillo), 291; Rein Collection (Loarte), 235; Sagrario, altar, 136; Santo Domingo (Mena), 154, *85*; Victoria church, *camarín*, 57
Maldonado, Pedro, 167
Mallery, Karel de, 261
Mallorca, 59
Malta, Palace (Pérez de Alessio), 209
Mampara, 175
Mañara, Don Miguel, 294
Manifestador, 157; *see also Viril*
Manique, Pina, 344
Mannerism, 131, 135, 138–9, 182, 366^{17,19}
Manrique, Miguel, 387^{7}
Manuel, Father, 311
Manuel I, King of Portugal, 101, 183, 328, 329, 334, 335
Manueline style, 101, 183
March, Esteban (*c.* 1610–*c.* 68), 223, 295
Marchand, Étienne (d. 1733), 46, 47
Marchena, Santa Isabel, altar, 228; San Juan, choir stalls, 159, (A. Fernández), 200
Mardel, Carlos (d. 1763), 113–14, 115, 364^{61}
Margão, Jesuit church, 352^{31}
Margarita, Infanta, 267, 268; portrait, 380^{12}
Margarita, Queen of Spain, 207; portraits, 226, 260, 380$^{12-13}$, *117*
María, Infanta, portrait, 259
María Luisa Gabriela of Savoy, Queen of Spain, 43, 297; portraits, 298, 390^{49}
María Teresa, Infanta, 267, 270, 386^{47}; portrait, 388^{10}
Mariana, Queen of Spain, 265, 267, 271, 285, 289; portraits, 388^{10}, 389^{21}
Mariana, São Pedro dos Clérigos, 117, 119, 365^{82}
Mariano de las Casas, Gudiño and Ignacio, 82
Mariz, António de, 375^{28}
Marques, Diogo, 106
Marquet, Jayme, 46
Márquez de Velasco, Esteban (*c.* 1655–1720), 279
Marseilles (Pereda), 388^{4}
Martínez, Domingo (*c.* 1689–*c.* 1750), 297
Martínez, Francisco (*fl.* 1718–60), 314, 394^{59}
Mary Tudor, Queen of England, portrait, 205–6
Mary I, Queen of Portugal, 196, 344
Masella, Antonio, 99
Massimi, Monsignor Camillo, portrait, 265
Massys, Quentin, 201, 304, 331
Mateos, Juan, portrait, 259
Matham, Jacob, 254
Matías, Alonso, 354^{11}
Mayner, Alessandro, 202
Mayno, Juan Bautista (1578–1649), 224, 225, 246, 257, *119*, *121*
Mazo, Juan Bautista Martínez del (*c.* 1614–67), 252, 262, 264, 267, 270, 284–5, 386^{16}, 388^{10,48}, *155*
Medellín, Museo Zea (Albán), 321
Medici, Lorenzo de', 373^{1}
Medina del Campo, Benedictines (Ricci), 282; Casa Blanca, 138; Hospital, 17, fig. 9
Medina de Ríoseco, Benavente Chapel (Corral), 138, *74*, (Juni), 137, *74*; San Francisco (Corral), 138, (Juni), 136; Santa María, altar, 368^{44}
Medina Sidonia, Santa María, altar, 142
Medina, Pedro de, 68
Medoro, Angelino (*c.* 1567–*c.* 1631), 318, 322

Meléndez, Francisco Antonio, 390^{49}
Meléndez, Lucas, 95
Meléndez, Luis Egidio (1716–80), 299, *163*
Meléndez, Miguel Jacinto (1679–*c.* 1736), 298, 390$^{48-9}$
Mellan, Claude, 261, 324
Melo, Francisco de, monument, 186
Melo, Bishop Jorge de, monument, 374^{12}
Mena, Alonso de (1587–1646), 153, 154, 161
Mena, Pedro de (1628–88), 153–4, 166, 168, *83*, *85*
Menacho, Juan Bautista, 174
Menchaca, Fray Miguel de los Angeles, 95
Méndez de Haro, Luis, 266
Mendoza, Cardinal Diego Hurtado de, tomb, 126
Mendoza, Cardinal Pedro González de, tomb, 125
Mendoza, Rodrigo de, 366^{4}
Mendoza (Argentina), 182
Menéndez, L. E., *see* Meléndez, L. E.
Meneses, Andrés de, 358^{16}
Meneses Osorio, Francisco, 279
Mengs, Anton Rafael (1728–79), 299–300, 301
Menorca, 59
Mercado, Bishop, monument, 129
Merguete, José González, 90, 99, *52*
Mérida (Yucatan), Cathedral, 66, 73, 76, fig. 29; Montejo House, 65, *27*
Merion, Penn., Barnes Foundation (Greco), 387^{23}
Merliano da Nola, 128
Merlo, Tomás de, 316
Mermejo, Antonio, 323
Mesa, Juan de (1583–1627), 151–2, *81*
Mesa, Martín Alonso de (1573–1626), 177
Mesquida, Lucas, 59
Messina, Orion fountain, 138; (Caravaggio), 253
'Mestizo' style, 91, 359^{27}, 361^{2}
Metl, Francisco Juan, 72
Mexía, Mateo (*fl.* 1615), 320, 395^{79}
Mexican Church Council, First, 168
Mexico City, 69; Academy, 391^{6}, (Arteaga), 309, 310, (Campaña), 203, (Cerezo), 287, (Echave Ibía), 308, (Echave Orio), 307, 392^{29}, *168*, (Echave Rioja), 310, (González Ruiz), 391^{53}, (Ibarra), 394^{60}, (Jimeno), 316, 395^{64}, (J. Juárez), 310, *170*, (L. Juárez), 308, (Father Manuel), 311, (Pereyns), 306, (J. Rodríguez Juárez), 314, (St Cecilia Master), 306–7, (A. Vázquez), 307, *167*, (Zurbarán), 309; Aduana, 79, 81; Aranda Collection (Barreda), 395^{63}, (Santander), 312; Arena Collection (N. de Correa), 313; Behrens Collection (anon.), 180; British Embassy (Mexican school), 394^{55}; Casa de los Azulejos, 360^{55}; Casa de Mascarones, 360^{54}
  Cathedral, first, 70, stalls, 167; early design, 73, 359^{30}; present, 15, 74–5, fig. 31; Capilla de los Reyes, altar, 79, 168–9; choir stalls, 168; sagrario, 80, *36*; towers, 82; (anon.), 393^{35}, (Balbás), 79, 168–9, (J. Correa), 394^{47}, (Echave Orio), 308, (J. Juárez), 393^{40}, (Montañés circle), 166, (Ortiz de Castro), 82, (Pereyns), 306, (Ramírez), 311, (L. Rodríguez), 80, *36*, (Roxas), 168, (A. Vázquez), 307, (Vos), 307, (Villalpando), 311
  Colegio de San Ildefonso, 79; Concepción, door, 359^{38}; Dominican church, 71, altars, 309; Enseñanza church, 82; Escuela de la Minería, 82, (Jimeno), 395^{64}; Eychenne Collection (Castillo), 291, (J. Juárez), 393^{41}; Galería la Granja (Echave Rioja), 393^{43}, (Ibarra), 315, (J. Juárez), 393^{40}, (Lagarto), 312, (J. Tinoco), 394^{50}; González de la Fuente Collection (van Loo), 299; Hale Collection (J. M. Vázquez), 316; Hospital de la Concepción y de Jesús, 63, 76; Inquisición Palace, façade, 360^{47}; Martínez del Rio Collection (Barreda), 315, (circle of Cabrera), 314, 394^{59}, *171*; Mayer Collection (Castillo), 232, (Echave Rioja), 393^{43}, (Salvador y Gómez), 296, *162*, (J. Tinoco), 394^{50}; Méndez Collection (Santander), 312, (J. Tinoco), 312; Merced, 75, *29*; Monte de Piedad, chapel (Jimeno), 395^{64}; National Library, 167; National Museum of History (Alzíbar), 315, (Barreda), 315, 395^{63}, (Cabrera), 315, (M. Gonzales), 394^{55}, (Ibarra), 314, (A. Lagarto), 312, (F. Martínez), 314, (Fray Pablo), 313, (screens), 394^{55}; Palace of Fine Arts (Echave Rioja), 310, (J. Juárez), 310, *170*, (López de Herrera), 309, *169*; Pérez Salazar Collection (Santander), 394^{53}; Private Collections (Cabrera), 395^{62}, (Jimeno), 316; Profesa, façade, 76, (Mena), 166, (Villalpando), 311; Rincón Gallardo Collection (J. González), 394^{55}; San Agustín, stalls, 167, 168; Santa Brígida, 82; Santo Domingo, stalls, 167; San Francisco, Balvanera chapel, 81, 360^{53}, cloister, 75, stalls, 168; Santiago de Tlaltelolco, 166; San Juan de Dios, 81; San Miguel, towers, 359^{40}, (P. Ramírez), 393^{44}; Santísima Trinidad, 360^{53}; Town Hall, 79; Valparaíso House, 81, *37*; Vera Cruz church, 360^{53}; Villaseñor Collection (Barreda), 395^{63}; Vizcaínas, 79, 360^{48}, *33*; Xala House, 81
Michelangelo, 11, 17, 88, 127, 131, 132, 138, 140, 141, 202, 207, 208, 211, 212, 217, 258, 269, 341, 342, 359^{38}, 366^{10}
Milagres, votive church, 114, 364^{62}, *60*
Milan, S. Fedele, 14
Milwaukee, Wis., Milwaukee Art Center (Zurbarán), 248
Minguet, 51
Minjares, Juan de, 353^{49}
Minneapolis, Institute of Arts (Greco), 211; Walker Art Center (Murillo), 275
Mino da Fiesole, 126
Miranda do Douro, former cathedral, altar, 188–9
Miranda, Juan de, 391^{53}
Miranda, Don Juan Antonio de, portrait, 277
Mitelli, Agostino, 270, 286
Mitelli, G. M., 289
Modena Gallery (Greco), 211, (Velázquez), 262
Mohedano, Antonio, 381^{28}
Mois, Roland de (*c.* 1520–*c.*1600), 210, 379^{40}, *105*

Molinos, Miguel de, 247
Mollinedo, Manuel de, Bishop of Cuzco, 91, 93–4; portrait, 397[100]
Monaldi, Carlo, 191
Monasterio, Simón de (d. 1624), 17, 106
Mondéjar, San Antonio, 2
Mondragón (Bolivia), Guerra Vera Collection (Holguín), 325, *180*
Mondragón (Spain), Town Hall, 60
Mone, Jehan, 127, 128, 366[9]
Monegro, Juan Bautista, 212
Monfero, monastery, 60
Monforte de Lemos, 31; Colegio del Cardenal, 17; convent, 353[51]
Monroe, Mich., Bergmann Collection (Murillo), 275–6, *145*, *148*
Monsaraz, church, 363[19]
Montañés, Juan Martínez (1568–1649), 20, 127, 147–50, 156, 167, 178, 228, 354[11], 368[8–9], 369[11], *81–2*, *84*, *86*
Montecassino (Ricci), 283
Montederramo, Hospital, 17
Montefrío, church, 359[24]
Montemor-o-Velho, N. S. dos Anjos, 362[8], altar, 186, 375[19]
Monterrey, San Carlos, door, 82
Montesión, altar, 232
Montevideo, Osborne Collection (Peruvian School), 327, *179*
Montorsoli, 138
Montpellier, Museum (J. Antolínez), 289, (Campaña), 203
Montreal, Van Horne Collection (Murillo), 277
Montúfar, Antonio de (1627–65), 316
Montúfar, Francisco de (*fl.* 1611–50), 316
Montúfar, 323, 396[97]
Monuments, 125–6, 127, 134, 135, 142, 165, 168, 184–5, 186, 191
Moore, Henry, 142, 347
Mor van Dashorst, Antonis (*c.* 1519–76), 203, 205–6, 341
Mora, Francisco de (*c.* 1546–1610), 16–17, 353[53]
Mora, José de (1642–1724), 155–6, 168
Mora, Juan Gómez de, 75, 76
Moradillo, F., 356[20]
Morais, Cristóvão de (*fl.* 1557–71), 341, *188*
Morales, Cristóbal de, 204
Morales, Luis de (*c.* 1520/5–86), 204–5, 218, *106*
Morales, Luisa de, 294
Morató family, 59
More, Sir Thomas, 70
Morelia, Museum (Barreda), 395[63]
Moreno, Custodio, 357[37]
Moreno, Juan, 364[37]
Moreno Meléndez, Diego, 31, 355[44]
Moreto, 366[16]
Morlanes family, 2, 366[16]
Morlete Ruiz, Juan Patricio (1715–71), 315
Morra, Sebastián de, portrait, 263
Moscow, Pushkin Museum (Pereda), 282
Motolinia, Toribio de Benavente, 69, 392[11]
Moura, Bishop, monument, 191
Moura, Isabel de, portrait, 343
Moxos tribe, 100
Moya, Luis de, 65, 358[11]
Mudéjar, 4, 124–5
Mués, church, portal, 60
Mula, Santo Domingos (Gilarte), 296
Muniátegui, Juan de (d. 1612), 189
Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (Castillo), 291, (C. Coello), 389[21], (Murillo), 274, 275, (Velázquez), 384[19]; Justi Collection (Greco), 212
Muñoz, Vicente, 99, 362[36]
Murcia, Cathedral, façade, 58, *23*, Puerta de las Cadenas, 6, tower, 6, Bort's design for tower, 80, (Gilarte), 389[15]; Episcopal Palace, façade, 58; d'Estoup Collection (Giner), 295, Merced, doorway, 58; Museum (J. Antolínez), 389[19], (Camilo), 388[5]; Santa Ana, 58; Santo Domingo (Gilarte), 296; San Juan de Dios, *camarín*, 357[47]; San Lorenzo, 58; San Nicolás (Cano), 153; Veronicas, 58
Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban (1617–82), 232, 244, 248, 273–9, 280, 286, 311, 387[21], 388[8], 393[35], *144–50*; portrait, 277, *149*
Mutis, José Celestino, 321
Muziano, Girolamo, 209

N

Nájera, Andrés de, 367[28]
Nájera, Duke of, 265
Nájera y Bezares, Miguel, portrait, 316
Naples, Cathedral, Tocco chapel, 129; Museum (Greco), 211, (Ribera), 239–40; Museo Filangieri (Ribera), 383[6]; S. Giovanni a Carbonara (Ordóñez), 127, 128, 366[10], *63*, (Siloe), 128–9, *63*; S. Martino (Ribera), 242; SS. Severino e Sosia (Ordóñez), 127, 366[10]
Narbonne (V. Carducho), 234
Nardi, Angelo (1584–1664), 224, 225, 226–7, 257, 381[15, 18]
Narváez, Alonso de, 318
Nasoni, Niccolò, 112–13, 364[60], fig. 39, *60*
Nates, Juan de, 17, *6*
Navarrete, Juan Fernández de (1526–79), 207–8, 227, *104*
Navarro, Luis Diez, 81–2, 84
Nazca pottery, 96, 362[29]
Nazzoni, *see* Nasoni
Neo-Mannerism, 158, 160, 181, 193, 303, 376[51]
New York, Berliz Collection (Castillo), 292; Brooklyn Museum (Ribera), 240–1, *124*; Chrysler Collection (Escalante), 288, *153*; Clark Collection (Greco), 217, *113*; Cooper Union (Carnicero),

New York (*contd.*) 391[63]; French & Co. (B. González), 380[12]; Frick Collection (Greco), 211, 216–17, *108*, *109*, *115*, (Velázquez), 261, 263; Hearst Collection (ex) (M. J. Meléndez), 390[49]; Hispanic Society (B. González), 380[12], (Pantoja), 379[30], (Ribera), 383[6], (Valdés Leal), 293, (Velázquez), 256, 265, 384[20], 386[47–8]; New-York Historical Society (Castillo), 291, (García de Miranda), 298, (Villalpando), 311; Isles Collection (Velázquez), 386[47]; Kleinberger & Co. (Valdés Leal), 390[37], (J. J. Espinosa), 390[40]; Knoedler & Co. (Velázquez), 385[25]; Kress Foundation (Valdés Leal), 294, *160*; Lehman Collection (Greco), 216; Metropolitan Museum (Greco), 218, *111*, (Mazo), 388[10], (Murillo), 277, *148*, (Ribera), 242, *126*, (Tristán), 224, (Valdés Leal), 293, *161*, (Velázquez), 255, 267, 385[37], (Velázquez workshop), 256, (Zurbarán), 244; Newhouse Galleries (Pereda), 281; Príncipe del Drago (Morales), 204; Seligmann & Co. (Champaigne), 287; Strauss Collection (copy after Velázquez), 256; Weitzner Galleries (Herrera the elder), 382[36], (Puga), 388[9]; Wildenstein Galleries (Velázquez), 265; Wiseman Collection (Arellano), *163*; Wolf Collection (Ribera), 241, 383[12]

Noguera, Pedro de (1592–1655), 177, *90*

Ñora, La (Salzillo), 163

Noronha, João de, monument, 184, *94*

Nuevo Baztán, 33, *12*

Nürnberg, Germanisches Museum (B. González), 380[12]

O

Oaxaca, Dominican church, 71; Merced, 75; San Agustín, 77, 167; Santo Domingo, 70, 78, 167, *32*; San Felipe Neri, 77; Soledad, 77, façade, 360[42]

Oaxtepec, church, 71

Óbidos, N. S. da Pedra, 365[78]; Santa María, 105, monument, 184, 374[10], *94*, (Aiala), 343

Óbidos, Josefa d', *see* Aiala

Oca, 61

Ocampo, Francisco de, 172

Ocampo, Salvador de, 168

Ocón, Alonso, Bishop of Cuzco, 91

Oeiras, Pombal Palace, 114

Ohrmuschelstil, 390[36]

Ojeda, Cristóbal de, 175

Olinda, Jesuit College, altars, 189; São Bento, altar, 193

Olinda, Martín de, 24, 354[10], *9*

Olivares, Count-Duke, 23, 255, 266, 385[37]; portraits, 255, 256, 261, 262, 384[20]

Olivenza (Olivença), Madalena, 362[8], 363[19], portal, 375[22]

Oñate, San Miguel, monument, 129, 366[14–15]; Town Hall, 60; University, façade, 142

Ondátegui, Domingo, 60

Oporto, Carmo church, 107, *55*, façades, 115; Cathedral, altars, 191, 192; Congregados, façade, 108–9; Episcopal Palace, 364[60]; Factory House, 365[66]; Grilos church, 106, *56*; Hospital of San António, 364[60]; Misericórdia, façade, 364[60]; Museum (Aiala), 343, (Frei Carlos), 398[17], (G. Fernandes), 400[44], (Figueiredo), 399[33], (Sequeira), 345; San Ildefonso, 364[59], 365[72]; São Bento da Vitória, 106–7, altars, 190–1, *98*; Santa Clara, altar, 192; São Francisco, altar, 192; São João Novo, 363[33]; São Pedro dos Clérigos, 112, fig. 39, *60*; Serra do Pilar, cloister, 361[26]

Ordóñez, Bartolomé (*c.* 1490–1520), 125, 127–8, 130, 366[10], *63*, *66*

Orea, Juan de, 366[6]

Orellana, Blas de, 91

Orgaz, church, 41

Orihuela, Museum (Velázquez), 261

Orleans, Museum (Velázquez), 384[13]

Orrente, Pedro (*c.* 1570–1645), 222–3, 224

Ortega, Juan Luis (*c.* 1628–77), 25, 35, 354[16], fig. 14

Ortiz de Castro, José Damián, 82

Ortiz de Vargas, Luis, 177

Osera, monastery, 60

Osuna, Merced, tower, 357[42]

Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (J. Leonardo), 281, (Murillo), 387[12]

Ouro Preto, Pilar, 117; São Francisco, Third Order, 117–19, fig. 42, *capela mór*, 195–6, ceiling, 348, *191*, furnishings, 194–5, 377[60], Rosário chapel, 117, 119, fig. 43; Santa Ifigenia, 116–17; San José, altar, 194

Oval plans, 11, 353[55]

Ovando, 62

Oviedo, hospital church, 50

Oviedo, Diego Martínez de (*fl.* 1661–79), 178, 179, 361[15]

Oviedo, Juan de, 20, 156

Oxford, Ashmolean (Mayno), 225, *121*, (Sequeira), 346

P

Pablo de Jesús, Fray, 313

Pacheco, Basilio (*fl.* 1738–52), 326

Pacheco, Francisco (1564–1654), 124, 148, 149, 205, 222, 228–30, 252, 254, 255, 266, 275, 369[11], 381[25], 384[14]

Pacheco, Juana de Miranda, 252; portraits, 385[28], 386[48]

Paciotti, Francesco (1521–91), 13, 14, 352[46]

Paez Carmona, José, 55

Palacios, Francisco de (*fl.* 1633–76), 236

Palafox y Mendoza, Bishop, 75; portrait, 314

Palencia, Cathedral (Balmaseda), 135, (Vigarny), 367[28]; Colegiata, 353[54]

Palladio, Andrea, 13, 17, 33, 54

Palma del Condado, La, towers, 55, *21*
Palma de Mallorca, Santa María del Camino, 59; Sollerich Palace, 59
Palmer, Gaspar, 59
Palomino, Antonio (1655–1726), 11, 28, 203, 224, 272, 277, 289–90, 291, 311, 389[15, 21–5], 400[48]
Pamplona, Cathedral, façade, 50, 51, *18*; Fountains, 302
Panajachel, San Francisco, 371[18]
Panama City, Cathedral, 66; Defences, 65, 66; Santa Ana, 66
Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan (1553–1608), 203, 206–7, 255, 379[30], *117*
Páramo, Francisco de, 319
Pardo Palace, 47, (F. Bayeu), 301, (Becerra), 207, (E. Caxés), 233, (B. González), 225, (Pantoja), 207; Barracks, 355[56]; Capuchins (G. Fernández), 146; Casita del Príncipe, 52
Pardo de Lagos, Lázaro (*fl.* 1628–69), 323, 397[107]
Pareja, Juan de (*c.* 1610–*c.* 70), 284, 387[21], *154*; portrait, 265
Paret y Alcázar, Luis (1746–99), 301–2, *165*
Parigius, S. G., 289
Paris, Aguado Collection (ex) (Iriarte), 388[8]; de Clèves Collection (March), 295; Fleurville Collection (Sánchez Coello), 378[25]; Louvre (Spanish Gallery), 242, (Berruguete), 202, (Carreño), 388[13], (Germán Llorente), 387[26], (Herrera), 232, *143*, (Lippi), 202, (Mazo), 267, (L. E. Meléndez), 299, (Morales–Sturmio), 378[17], Murillo, 275, 387[12–13], (Ribera), 242, (Tristán), 253, *120*, (Valdés Leal), 292, (Zurbarán), 244; Lucas Moreno Collection (Puga), 388[9]; Pozzo di Borgo Collection (Murillo), 387[12]; Weigel Collection (Zurbarán), 248
Parra, Vicente de la, 171
Parral, El, 71, 351[2]
Paso, 368[36]
Passante, Bartolommeo, 383[14]
Passe, Crispijn de, 385[36]
Pastorello, Giuseppe, 178, 372[45]
Pastrana, Duke of, portrait, 285, 388[13]
Patinir, Joachim, 261
Pátzcuaro Cathedral, 359[29]
Pau (Cerezo), 287
Paucarcolla, church, 89
Paucarpata, church, 97
Paul IV, pope, 139
Paular, El, 38; Cartuja, 32, 355[39], *12*, (V. Carducho), 234
Paz, La, 182; Banco Central (Holguín), 325, 326; Compañía, altar, 322; Ministry of Education (anon.), 325, *180*; Private Collection (anon.), 324, *178*
Paz y Toledo, Alonso de la (*fl.* 1665–86), 170
Pedraxas, F. X. A., 57, *22*
Pédrola, Villahermosa Collection (Mois), 379[40]
Pellegrini, Domenico, 346
Peña de Toro, José, 27, *10*
Peñaflor, San Pedro, 68
Peñalosa, Juan de, 381[17]
Peral, Torcuato Ruiz del (1708–73), 162
Pere, Antonio van de, 388[5]
Pereda, Antonio (1608–78), 246, 280, 281–2, *152–3*
Pereira, Vasco (d. 1609), 209, 228, 341
Pereyns, Simon (d. *c.* 1590), 306
Pereyra, Manuel (1588–1683), 146–7, 188, *79*
Pérez, Bartolomé (1634–93), 287
Pérez, José Minguez, 27
Pérez, Juan Bautista, 27, 88, 354[20]
Pérez Castiel, J. B., 27
Pérez de Alessio, Mateo (1547–after 1628), 209, 318, 322
Peroli, Giovanni Battista and Francesco, 209
Perret, Pedro, 352[47]
Pesaro, Villa Imperiale, 363[14]
Peter of Candia, 396[98]
Philadelphia, Museum of Art (Cabrera), 395[82], (Rubens), 255
Philibert of Savoy, portrait, 379[30]
Philip I, the Handsome, King of Spain, 199; monument, 128
Philip II, King of Spain, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 105, 125, 139, 144, 199, 205, 207, 208, 209, 213, 220, 342, 352[46]; catafalque, 228; portraits, 206, 212, 282
Philip III, King of Spain, 144, 146, 199, 207, 220, 225, 226; portraits, 226, 256, 259, 260, 380[12]
Philip IV, King of Spain, 147, 199, 225, 226, 242, 255, 263, 267, 268, 269, 270, 280, 303, 343, 388[5]; portraits, 256, 257, 259, 260, 262, 263, 267, 268, 380[12], 384[20], *136*; statue, 150
Philip V, King of Spain, 23, 34, 44, 46, 290, 297; portraits, 297, 298, 390[49]
Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 328
Philip of Bourbon, Duke of Parma, portrait, 299
Philip Prosper, Infante, portrait, 267, 268
Picart, Pierre (*c.* 1512–75), 142
Pimentel, Antonio de, 173
Pineda, Bernardo Simón de (*fl.* 1641–89), 20, 26, 157, *11*, *86*
Pinheiro, Bishop, monument, 184
Pinjantes, 31, 355[50]
Piranesi, G. B., 51
Pires, Diogo, the younger (*fl.* 1511–35), 183, 373[7]
Pires, Manuel, 104–5, 362[11], 363[19], fig. 34
Pires, Marcos, 184, 187
Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute (Ruiz González), 389[24]; Miller Collection (Ribera), 240
Pitué, 163
Placas recortadas, 25
Plasencia Cathedral, altar, 146
Plateresque style, 2, 125
Plaza, Sebastián de la, 17, fig. 10
Pollaiuolo, A., 126
Pomata, Santiago, 97, *50*, altar, 181

Pombal, A. F. (*fl.* 1721–45), 117, 344
Pomey, Francisco, 163
Pompei, 163
Ponce de Urrana, Diego Martínez, 23–4, fig. 13
Ponta Delgada, São Pedro dos Clérigos, 365^{72}
Pontormo, 213
Ponz, Antonio, 51, 52
Popayán, San Francisco, façade, 89, pulpit, 174, *92*; San José, façade, 89
Porres, José de, 83
Porta, G. della, 25
Porta, Pablo, 381^{23}
Portalegre, Cathedral, 363^{19}, altar, 189, *98*; Convento da Conceição, 374$^{10, 12}$
Portobelo, defences, 65, 66
Post, Frans, 348
Potosí, 89, 97; Casa de Moneda (anon.), 397^{103}, (Holguín), 326, (Quispe Ttito), 396^{96}; Cathedral, 96; Compañía, altar, 322; Jerusalén church, painting, 397^{100}; Merced, 97; San Agustín, façade, 91; San Francisco, 97; San Lorenzo, 97, 181, 325, *48*; Santa Mónica (Berrío), 327; Santa Teresa, painting, 397$^{100, 103}$, (Holguín), 325
Poussin, Nicolas, 201, 240
Pozzo, Andrea, 175, 192
Prado, Blas del (*c.* 1545–*c.* 1600), 209
Prado, Mateo de, 160–1
Praves, Francisco de, 17
Presepe, 194
Priego, church, sacramental chapel, 57, *22*
Primo, El, portrait, 263
Primoli, G. B. (1673–1747), 99, 100, *52*
Procaccini, Andrea (1671–1734), 43
Providence, R. I., Rhode Island School of Design (C. Coello), 389^{20}, (Collantes), 283, *152*
Puebla, 69; Academy (Alconedo), 316, (González Ruiz), 391^{53}, (Guerrero), 316, *171*, (J. Juárez), 310, 393^{40}, (Tinoco), 312, 394^{49}, (Yanhuitlán Codex), 305, *166*; Bishop's Palace (former), frescoes, 306; Capuchinas, 77; Carmen church, 360^{42}; Cathedral, 15, 73, 74, 75, fig. 31, *30*, Chapel of the Kings, 167, choir books, 312, crossing, 76, dome, 311, towers, 359^{35}, 360^{41}, transept façade, 77, (Durango), 77, 359^{35}, (Echave Rioja), 311, (Ferrer), 76, (Lagarto), 312, (Montañés), 167, (Tinoco), 312, (Vallejo), 359^{35}, (Villalpando), 311; Colegio de San Pantaleón, 360^{47}; Gómez Daza Collection (L. Juárez), 392^{31}; Museo Bello (Lagarto), 312; San Agustín (J. Tinoco), 394^{49}; Santo Domingo, façade, 360^{43}, Rosary chapel, 77, 78, 167, 371^{12}, *32*; San Miguelito (Borgraf), 312, (Santander), 394^{53}; Santa Mónica, sculpture, 168, (J. B. Vázquez), 370^{9}
Puga, Antonio (*c.* 1610–48), 284, 382^{41}, 388^{9}
Pulido Pareja, Admiral, portrait, 388^{10}
Pulpits, 173–4, 177–8, 180, 185, 194
Puno Cathedral, façade, 98
Purism, 139

Q

Quartelões, 192
Queirós, Gregório Francisco de, portrait, 346, *189*
Queluz Palace, 114, 364$^{64-5}$, *61*, (Aguiar), 196
Querétaro, Congregación, doorway, 359^{38}; González House, 82; Santa Clara, 82, 360^{57}; Santa Rosa, 82, 360^{57}
Quesada, Jiménez de, 318
Quietism, 247
Quillard, Pierre Antoine (1701–33), 344
Quincha, 83
Quinche, El, pulpit, 173
Quiñones, Andrés García de (*fl.* 1750–5), 42, *16*
Quispe Ttito, Diego, 323, 396^{96}
Quito, Cantuña, sculpture, 173; Carmen Moderno, 175; Cathedral (Father Carlos), 372^{26}; Colegio de San Fernando, portal, 88; Compañía, 88, *40*, altar, 175, pulpit, 173, (Goríbar), 320, *175*; Concepción, pulpit, 173, (Cruz Castillo), 371^{21}, (Medoro), 322; Jijón y Caamaño Collection (anon.), 321, (Mexía), 395^{79}, (Montúfar), 396^{97}; Merced, pulpit, 173, (Astudillo), 320; Museum (Goríbar), 396^{88}, (M. de Santiago), 320; Sagrario, door, 175; San Agustín, cloister, 93, 320, portal, 88, (M. de Santiago), 320, 396^{82}; Santa Clara, sculpture, 173, *89*; San Diego, altar, 175, cloister, 320, pulpit, 174; Santo Domingo, painting, 396^{88}, (Bedón), 318–19, (Medoro), 322, (Mexía), 395^{79}, sculpture, 171; San Francisco, 87, 361^{4}, *40*, altars, 173, 371^{21}, 372^{36}, *90*, chapels (Santísimo), 174–5, (Villasis), 88, choir, 396^{80}, cloister, 171, 173, façade, 83, pulpit, 173, 372^{28}, sacristy, 396^{80}, (Father Carlos), 372^{26}, (Cuzco School), 326, (Legarda), 175, (Mexía), 395^{79}, (I. de Santiago), 396^{84}, (M. de Santiago), 320, *175*; San Sebastián (D. Rodríguez), 171; Tejar (Albán), 321, (Astudillo), 320

R

Rabinal, church, façade, 83
Rainaldi, Carlo, 25, 31
Raisser, Claude, 282
Raleigh, N. Carolina, State Museum (Murillo), 387^{12}
Ramírez, José Manuel (b. 1703), 84, *37*
Ramírez, Pedro (*fl.* 1650–78), 311, 393^{44}
Ramos, Antonio (d. 1782), 57
Ramponi, P. F., 376^{52}
Ranc, Jean, 298–9
Raphael, 10, 11, 142, 201, 203, 211, 258, 285, 342, 352^{32}
Rasines, Juan de (*fl.* 1522–42), 8, 9, 64
Ratés, José, 355^{40}
Ravaglio, Virgilio, 47, 356^{17}
Real, Corte, 328
Rebelo, José de Avelar (*fl.* 1635–57), 343

Recife (Brazil), São Francisco, Capela Dourada, 190; São Pedro dos Clérigos, 117, 365[75], fig. 40, (Sepúlveda), 348
Reguera González, Manuel (1731–98), 50
Reinoso, André (*fl.* 1623–41), 342
Reinoso, Antonio García, 390[33]
Rembrandt, 239, 347
Rennes, Museum (Palomino), 389[25]
Retables, 156
Rey, Guillén del, 17
Rez, Alexandre de, 358[56], *26*
Riaño, Diego de (d. 1534), 5, 14, 353[55], *3*
Ribalta, Francisco (1565–1628), 220, 223, 227, 381[22], *120*
Ribalta, Juan (d. 1628), 223, 227–8
Ribas, Felipe de (1609–48), 156–7, *86*
Ribeiro Neves, Dr. A., portrait, 346
Ribera, Juan de, Archbishop of Valencia, 227
Ribera, Jusepe de (1591–1652), 223, 237–42, 244, 262, 283, 383[6–7, 9–10, 12–13], *123–6*
Ribera, Pedro de (*c.* 1683–1742), 32, 38–40, 49, 354[28], 355[56], fig. 19, *14*
Ribera, Pedro Enríquez de, monument, 126
Ribero Rada, Juan de, 15
Ricci, Antonio, 282
Ricci, Francisco, *see* Rizi
Ricci, Juan (1600–81), 31, 84, 282–3, *151*
Richmond, Cook Collection (Cabezalero), 389[17]
Ricke, Fray Jodoco, 87, 318
Rigaud, Hyacinthe, 297
Rincón, F. del, 144
Rincón de Figueroa, Hernándo, 199
Rio de Janeiro, 116; Carmelite Third Order church, 117, 376[48]; Museum, 325, 326, *179*; Museo Histórico Nacional, sculpture, 376[46]; N.S. da Glória do Outeiro, 116, 117, 365[73], fig. 41; São Bento, 108, 190, 364[45]; São Francisco de Paula, 365[77]; São Pedro dos Clérigos, 365[81]
Río, Juan de, 158
Riofrío Palace, 47, (Houasse), 298, *164*
Ripa, Cesare, 289
Risueño, José (1665–1732), 162, 387[7]
Rivera, Luis de (*fl.* 1580–1619), 171
Rivera, Marcos de (*fl.* 1660–94), 323
Rizi, Francisco (1608–85), 270, 280, 282, 286, 289, 387[21], 388[5]
Rizo, Salvador, 321
Robillion, Jean Baptiste (d. 1768), 114, *61*
Robles, Diego de (*c.* 1550–*c.* 94), 171
Rochester, N.Y., Museum (Greco), 387[23]
Rodrigues, Simão (*fl.* 1562–1612), 342, 401[56]
Rodríguez, Antonio (*fl.* 1650–86), 311
Rodríguez, Bernardo (*fl.* 1783–97), 321
Rodríguez, Diego (*fl.* 1571), 171
Rodríguez, Francisco, 32
Rodríguez, Juan, 367[22]
Rodríguez, Lorenzo (c. 1704–74), 80, 81, 360[48, 53], *36*
Rodríguez, Simón (*fl.* 1703–51), 60, 61, *26*
Rodríguez, Ventura, (1717–85), 28, 47–50, 53, 82, 356[16, 21], 357[23, 26–7], 358[54], figs. 15, 24, *18–19*
Rodríguez Juárez, Juan (1675–1728), 311, 313, 314, 393[46]
Rodríguez Juárez, Nicolás (1667–1734), 311, 313, 393[45]
Rodríguez de Miranda, Pedro (1696–1766), 391[55]
Rodríguez Samanés, Juan (*fl.* 1626–56), 323
Roela, Jacques de la, 230
Roelas, Juan de (1588/60–1625), 149, 220, 230–1, 368[3], 381[32], *118*
Rojas, Juan Montero de (1613–88), 287
Rojas, Pablo de, 148, 168
Roldán, Luisa, 162
Roldán, Pedro (1624–99), 157, 161–2, 370[38], *86*
Román, Bartolomé, 234
Romay, Miguel de, 161
Rome, Accademia di S. Luca, 49, 51; Capitoline Museum (Velázquez), 385[25]; Doria Palace (Velázquez), 265, *138*; Farnesina (Becerra), 207; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (Borgianni), 224; Galleria Pallavicini (Velázquez), 259; Palazzo Barberini (Greco), 379[50]; Palazzo Marescotti, 25; Palazzo Pamfili, 25; Portuguese Academy, 344; S. Ivo, 38; S. Maria del Popolo, 25; Sistine Chapel (Pérez de Alessio), 209; Trinità dei Monti (Becerra), 207, (Céspedes), 209; Vatican (Mino, Dalmata), 126
Romero, Diego, 34
Rosales, J. J., 316
Rosario, Museum (Valdés Leal), 293
Roudnice, portraits, 206
Rouen, Museum (Herrera), 231, 282[35]; (Rojas), 287, (Velázquez), 256
Rouen, Jean de, 186
Rovira Brocandel, Hipólito (1693–1765), *58*, *22*
Roxas, Juan de, 168
Roxas, Pedro Joseph de, 169
Ruão, Jerónimo de, 103, 187, 189
Ruão, João de (*fl.* 1530–80), 186–7, 374[17], 376[35], *96*
Rubens, Peter Paul, 148, 217, 255, 257, 261, 262, 268, 309, 310, 323, 324, 384[23], 385[43], 394[61], *178*
Ruberto, Maestre, 352[36]
Rudolf, Conrad (d. 1732), 36, 58, *13*
Rueda, Assumption church, portal, 41, *15*
Rueda, Teodosio Sánchez de, 158, 355[39]
Ruiz II, Hernán, 19–20, 55, fig. 11
Ruiz Florindo, Alonso, 357[42]
Ruiz González, Pedro, 389[24]
Runa, church (Lopes), 399[25]
Rusconi, Camillo, 191
Rustici, Francesco, 136, 142

S

Sabará, N. S. do O, altar, 193, (Aleijadinho), 194
Sabatini, Francisco (1722–97), 45, 47, 52, 357[35]
Sacchetti, G. B., 43, 45, 50, fig. 21, *17*
Sadeler, Jan, 387[23], 396[80]

Sadeler, Raphael, 323
Saenredam, Jan, 257, 291
Sagarvinaga, Juan de, 60
Sagreda, Diego de, 367^{25}
Sahuaraura, Manuel de, 94
St Augustine, Fla., 66
St Auta altar, Master of the, 339
St Cecilia, Master of, 306
Sala, Ignacio de (1686–1754), 55, 357^{41}, *20*
Salamanca (Gto.), Cathedral, 75; San Agustín, altar, 169, *88*
Salamanca (Spain), Cathedral, choir closing, 356^{67}, crossing dome, 33, east end, 15, monument, 136, nave, 8–9, tower, 40, vaults, 351^{14}, (A. de Churriguera), 356^{67}, (J. de Churriguera), 33, (Juni), 136, (Ribera), 40–1, (Ribero Rada), 15; Old Cathedral (Tristán), 380^{9}; Clarissan convent, 41; Clerecía, 21, 42, *16*; Colegio de Anaya, 33; Colegio de Calatrava, 33; Colegio de San Bartolomé, 357^{32}; Irish College, altars, 133, 202; Medical School, 41; Monterrey Palace, 9; Museum (Morales), 205; Plaza Mayor, 41, *14*; San Esteban, 5, *2*, altars, 33, 158; San Sebastián, 41; Town Hall, 42; University, Rector's doorway, 41
Salcedo y Aguirre, Francisco Antonio, *see* Vadillo, Marqués del
Saldanha, Manuel Cardoso de, 117
Salomon, Bernard, 219, 258, 292
Salta, San Francisco, 362^{36}
Salvador y Gómez, Vicente (1637–80), 296, *162*
Salvaterra de Magos, palace chapel, 363^{18}
Salvatierra, Viceroy Count, portrait, 180, *192*
Salzburg, Liebfrauenkirche, 44
Salzillo, Francisco (1707–83), 162–3
Samaniego, Manuel (*c.* 1765–1824), 321
Saña, church, 91
Sanahuja, Fray Manuel de, 96
Sánchez, Clemente, 245
Sánchez, Felipe, 28
Sánchez, Pedro, 22, 353^{2}
Sánchez Bort, Julián (1725–84), 61, 358^{66}
Sánchez Coello, Alonso (1531/2–88), 203, 205–6, 208, 341, 378^{24-6}, *105*
Sánchez Cotán, Juan (1561–1627), 221–2, 384^{14}, *116*
Sánchez Galque, A., 319
Sánchez de Medina, Lorenzo, 323
Sancho I, King of Portugal, monument, 184
San Diego, Cal., Fine Arts Gallery (Sánchez Cotán), 221–2, *116*, (Zurbarán), 248
Sandoval, Alonso Gómez de, 170
Sandoval, Cardinal-Archbishop, 226
Sandoval y Rojas, Francisco de, 16
San Francisco, Cal., Legion of Honour (Carreño), 388^{13}; Magnin Collection (J. del Castillo), 301
Sangallo, Antonio da, 4, 12
San Ildefonso, La Granja, 43–4, fig. 20, *17*, gardens, 163, glass factory, 357^{23}, households of the Infantes, 52, stable, 355^{56}
San Javier, church, 96
San José, church, 96
San José de Aguayo, 81
San Juan del Obispo, sculpture, 170, 371^{18}
Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Merced, 20; Santa María de la O, altar, 204
San Luis Potosí, Carmen, altar, 169
San Martín Texmelucan, San Francisco (J. Tinoco), 394^{50}
San Miguel, Fray Andrés de, 361^{10}
San Millán de la Cogolla (Ricci), 283
San Nicolás, Fray Lorenzo de, 22, 23, 108, 353^{65}
San Sebastián, Santa María, 6, 94; Town Hall (Cerezo), 389^{16}
Sansovino, Andrea, 125, 373^{1}
Santa Barbara, Sachs Collection (Ribera), 383^{10}
Santa Catalina, 99
Santacroce, Girolamo, 128
Santa Cruz, Juan Basilio (*fl.* 1661–7), 323
Santa Cruz de Tenerife, *see* Tenerife
Santa Fé (Argentina), 98; Compañía, 182; San Francisco, 98–9
Santa María Tonantzintla, façade, 78
Santa Marta, Cathedral, 66
Santander, Antonio de (*fl.* 1657–1701), 312–13, 394^{53}
Santangelo, Pietro de, 175
Santarém, Hospital, 107; N.S. Assunção, 105; Santa Cruz, pulpit, 374^{17}; Seminary church, 109, *57*
Santarém, Viscount of, portrait, 346, *190*
Santiago (Chile), Capuchinas (M. Sapaca), 326; Compañía, 98; Conquista House, 98; Santo Domingo, façade, 98; San Francisco, 98, (J. Sapaca), 326
Santiago de Compostela, 27, 60; Casa del Cabildo, 61; Cathedral, altars, 161, *cimborio*, 27, *custodia*, 2, façade, 27, *25*, Obradoiro, 60–1, *25*, portal, Quintana, 27, *10*, Reliquary chapel, altar, 189, 369^{23}, towers (Campanas), 27–8, (north), 27, (Reloj), 27, 28, *10*, (Andrade), 27, (Arfe), 2, (Casas), 27, 60–1, 161, *25*, (Peña), 27, (Vega), 161; Hospital Real, 4; Rajoy Palace, 61; Santa Clara, gatehouse, 61, *26*; San Francisco, 61; San Martín Pinario, altar, 161, *87*, choir stalls, 161, cloister, 358^{64}; San Pelayo de Antealtares, altar, 161
Santiago de Pupuja, church, 97–8, altar, 181, 182
Santiago, Isabel de, 396^{84}
Santiago, Fray Martín de, 9
Santiago, Miguel de (*c.* 1625–1706), 164, 320, 396^{82-4}, *175*
Santiponce, San Isidro, altars, 127, 149–50, 156, 354^{11}, *82*
Santo Domingo, 62, 65; Cathedral, 63–5, 358^{8}, fig. 28, *27*, altar, 373^{51}, choir stalls, 177, episcopal chair, 165, portal, 165; Hospital of San Nicolás, 63; Merced, 64; Palace of Diego Columbus, 62–3, fig. 27; San Francisco, 64
Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 60, altar, 131, choir stalls, 186, 367^{28}

Santos, Reynaldo Manuel dos, 115
Santos de Carvalho, Eugenio dos, 115
Santos-o-Novo altar, Master of the, 336
San Vicente de la Barquera, monument, 142
San Vicente de la Sonsierra, 131
São João d'El Rei, São Francisco, 119, 365^{83}, *62*
São Julião, defences, 107
São Marcos, 373^{7}, 374$^{11, 17}$, 375^{26}
São Martinho do Mouros (G. Fernandes), 400^{41}
São Paulo, 365^{71}; (Carreño), 388^{13}, (Velázquez), 255
São Quintino, church (São Quintino Master), 340
São Quintino Master (*fl. c.* 1535–55), 340, 398^{21}, 400^{46}, *187*
São Salvador, 116; Cathedral, 108, 189, 190, 364^{44}, fig. 36; Conceição da Praia, 117; São Bento, 108, 364^{45}; São Francisco, altar, 192, 193; Santa Tereza, 108
São Silvestre, Vilhena mansion, sculpture, 374^{17}
Sapaca, Marcos (*fl.* 1748–73), 326
Sapaca Inca, Juan, 326
Saragossa, Aljafería, throne-room, 5; Cathedral, altar, Nativity, 379^{40}, monstrance, 131; Morlanes House, 354^{24}; Museum (Mois, from Santo Domingo), 210; Pilar, 15, 28–9, 48, fig. 15, altar, 130, *70*, (F. Bayeu), 301, (Cavarozzi), 384^{10}, (A. González Velázquez), 300; San Cayetano, 364^{46}; Santa Engracia, façade, 2; San Miguel, altar, 130, 135; San Pablo, altar, 130; Seo, *cimborio*, 4, Contini tower, 30, 359^{38}, façade, 50
Sarasota, Fla., Museum (N. Rodríguez Juárez), 393^{45}
Sardoal Master (*fl.* 1495–1525), 332
Sardoura (school of Fernandes), 400^{41}
Sarracin, Saldañuela Palace, 63
Savoldo, Girolamo, 203
Scarlatti, Alessandro, 44
Schenherr, Simon, 89
Scheppers, Paul, 210
Schleissheim (J. Antolínez), 288, *159*
Sebastian, King of Portugal, 105, 341; portrait, 341, *188*
Segorbe Cathedral, altar, 201, *102*
Segovia, Cathedral, 4, 8, 63, sagrario, 33; Fuencisla Sanctuary, 353^{53}; Parral Monastery, 1; Santa Cruz, 1; San Frutos, doorway, 17
Seixas, José Figueiredo, 115
Sepúlveda, João de Deus, 348
Sequeira, Domingos António de (1768–1837), 345–8, 401$^{68, 70}$, *189–90*
Serlio, Sebastiano, 8, 20, 31, 81, 84, 87, 99, 106, 138, 352^{30}, 353^{69}, 368^{37}
Serra do Pilar, Augustinian church, 106
Servandoni, J.-N., 51
Sesquialter proportion, 13
Setúbal, Jesus church, 101, (Afonso), 330, 398^{8}, (Figueiredo), 338, (G. Lopes), 336; Misericórdia (G. Lopes), 335–6; São Julião, 362^{8}, (Lopes), 399^{22}
Sevilla Romero, Juan de, 387^{7}
Seville, Academy of Painting, 274, 286, 293; Alcázar, Hall of Charles V, 357^{39}, (Tristán), 224; Archbishop's Palace, 355^{47}, (Velázquez), 255; Buensuceso church, 32; Capuchins (Murillo), 274; Caridad, altars, 26, 157, 162, *86*, façade, 20, (Murillo), 274, 276, (Pineda), 20, 157, *86*, (Roldán), 157, 162, *86*, (Valdés Leal), 157, 294, *86*, *161*; Cartuja, public chapel, 354^{34}, (Montañés), 150
  Cathedral, Riaño's designs, 5, altars (Ascension), 392^{26}, (Evangelists), 204, (high), 200, 369^{23}, (Nativity), 205, *104*, (St Peter), 247; *camarín*, 23; chapter room, 353^{55}; *cimborio*, 4; monuments, 26–7, 126, *11*, (F. Antolínez), 387^{25}, (M. Arteaga), 294, (Campaña), 203, *103*, (Egas), 4, (Fancelli), 126, (A. Fernández), 200, (Herrera), 286, (Legote), 232, (Montañés), 148–9, 150, *81*, *84*, (Murillo), 275, 387^{14}, (Pérez de Alessio), 209, (Pineda), 26–7, (Riaño), 353^{55}, (Roelas), 231, (Sturmio), 204, (Tristán), 224, (Valdés Leal), 26–7, 294, (Vargas), 205, *104*, (A. Vázquez), 381^{24}, 392^{26}, (Zambrano), 381^{17}, (Zurbarán), 247
  Colegio de Maese Rodrigo, altar, 200; Colegio de San Telmo, façades, 14, 31–2, *11*; Corral de la Montería, 353^{55}; Exchange, 14, 353^{49}, *5*; Franciscan monastery (Murillo), 274, 275; García de Blanes Collection (Hamen), 235; Giralda, 353^{62}, tower, 55; Hospital de la Sangre, church, 19–20, fig. 11, portal, 20, (A. Vázquez), 142, 228; Hospital de Venerables Sacerdotes, 31, (Murillo), 274; Hotel Madrid (Barrera), 235; Ibarra Collection (Pacheco), 229; Infantado Collection (Sánchez Coello), 378^{25}; Lupiáñez Collection (Tristán), 224; Madre de Dios, altar, 157; Magdalena church, 31; Merced, court, 32, (Pacheco), 229, (Zurbarán), 244; Montserrat chapel (Mesa), 151; Motilla Collection (Valdés Leal), 293
  Museum (Arpino), 381^{32}, (M. Arteaga), 294, (Cano), 271, (Castillo), 232, (Herrera), 231, (D. Martínez), 297, (Montañés), 149, 150, (Murillo), 274, 387^{14}, (Murillo followers), 387^{24}, (Roelas), 231, 381^{32}, *118*, (Torrigiani), 127, *63*, (Tristán), 224, (Valdés Leal), 293, 294, (A. Vázquez), 228, (Zurbarán), 245, 247, *128*
  Osuna Collection (M. and J. Gonzales), 394^{55}; Private Collection (Medoro), 322; Profesa, *see* University Chapel; Sagrario church, 20, *6*, altar, 79, 159; Santa Ana (Campaña), 203; San Bernardo (Herrera), 231; San Buenaventura (Zurbarán), 244; Santa Catalina, sagrario (A. de Figueroa), 354, tower, 31; Santa Clara, 20, altars, 150; San Clemente, altar, 157; Santo Domingo de Portaceli (Montañés), 149, (Zurbarán), 247; San Hermenegildo, 353^{55}, (Velázquez), 384^{14}; Santiago church (Pérez de Alessio), 209; Santa Inés (Herrera), 382^{36}; Santa Isabel (Mesa), 151; San Isidro, altar, 381^{31}; San Jacinto, 34; San José (Zurbarán), 247; San Julián, altar, 157; San

Seville (*contd.*)
  Leandro, altars, 156, (Murillo), 275; San Lorenzo (Mesa), 152; San Luis, 31, altar, 160, *87*; Santa María la Blanca, 354[13], (Murillo), 274, 275; San Pablo, *see* Magdalena church; Santa Paula (Cano), 157, 271, (Montañés), 150, *86*, (Ribas), 157, *86*; San Pedro, façade, 20, (Roelas), 231; Santa Rosalia, 34, altar, 160; San Salvador, 31, sacramental chapel, 160, (Mesa), 151, (Montañés), 149, 150; San Vicente, altar (Guadix), 157; Shod Carmelites, chapter house (Velázquez), 254; Terceros, stairs, 93; Tobacco Factory, 14, 55, 357[39], *20*; Town Hall, 5, *3*, reliefs, 366[6]; University chapel, 19, monuments, 126, (Matías), 354, (Mesa), 151–2, *81*, (Mohedano), 381[28], (Montañés), 149, *82*, (Roelas), 230
Sezimbra, Misericórdia church (Lopes), 336
Sierra, José de, 357[28]
Sigüenza, Cathedral, sacristy, 10; San Roque district, 84–5
Siloe, Diego de (*c.* 1495–1563), 5–7, 8, 25, 65, 71, 127, 128–30, 133, 366[14], fig. 4, *3*, *68–9*
Siloe, Gil de, 128
Silos, Benedictines (Ricci), 282
Silva, José and Joaquim da, 114, *60*
Silva, Juan Rodríguez de, 252
Silva, Pedro de (*fl.* 1756–81), 34–5
Sintra Palace, Chapel, altar, 184–5, *95*, chimney, 374[12]
Sithium, Michel (1469–1525), 199, 202
Soares, Sebastian, 364[63]
Soares da Silva, A. Ribeiro, 115, 118
Sobrado, monastery church, 60
Socuéllamos, church (Escalante), 389[18]
Soler Faneca, Juan, 59
Solomonic (spiral) columns, 156, 368[23], 373[48]
Sopetrán, Benedictines (Ricci), 282
Soria, Antonio Rodríguez de, 81
Sorlada, Santa Cecilia, portal, 60
Soufflot, François, 82
Sousa, Bishop Diogo de, monument, 373[4]
Sousa, F. A. de, 364[64]
Sousa, Manuel Caetano de, 115
Sousa Calheiros, António de, 365[82], fig. 43
Spalato, Diocletian's Palace, 12
Spinola, Ambrogio, 257, 260; portrait, 260
Stanhope, Hon. Alexander, portrait, 389[21]
Stockholm, National Museum (Murillo), 274
Stradano, Giovanni, 229, 230, 260, 261, 317, 385[36]
Ströberle, João Glama (1708–92), 344
Stucco, 77–8, 124, 138, 143, 166–7, 171, 186
Sturmio (Sturm), Hernando (*fl.* 1537–57), 203–4
Subisati, Sempronio (*c.* 1680–1758), 43
Sucre, 89; Cathedral, 90, altar, 178, choir stalls, 176, side door, 94, painting, 397[106], (Montúfar), 396[97], (Pastorello), 178, 372[45]; Merced, altar, 176, (Holguín), 326; Museum (Berrío), 327, (Montúfar), 396[97]; San Agustín, 90; San Francisco, 90, crossing, 87; San Lázaro, 89; San Miguel, altar, 322, façade, 91, pulpit, 373[51]; Santa Teresa (Mermejo), 323; Seminario (Bitti), 322, *176*
Suinaga, Martin de, 355[44]
Suster, Adrian (*fl.* 1573–1600), 167–8

T

Tableau altar, 157, 169, 174, 181
Tacca, Ferdinando, 150
Tacuba, church (Father Manuel), 311
Tafalla, altar, 210
Tamossi, 115
Tarbes, Museum (Rojas), 287
Tarouca, São João (Vaz), 334
Tavarone, Lázaro, 208
Tavera, Cardinal, 10; monument, 367[24]
Tax exemption, 271
Taxco, Casa Humboldt (L. Juárez), 392[31]; SS. Sebastian and Prisca, 80, 360[50], *34*, altar, 169
Tecali, church, 71
Tecali, 167
Tegucigalpa, Cathedral, altar, 171; Dolores church, 84; San Francisco, altar, 171
Teixeira, Diogo, 342
Tempesta, Antonio, 261, 394[55]
Tenerife, Santa Cruz de, Museum (Ribera), 383[10]
Tenochtitlan, 69
Tepeaca, Franciscan church, 70, 71, fig. 30
Tepotzotlán, San Martín, 360[53], altar, 169, (J. Correa), 394[47]
Tequitqui, 166, 370[9]
Teresa of Avila, St, 139, 216
Terzi, Filippo (1520–97), 103, 105–6, 110, 112, fig. 35, *56*
Tezontle, 79
Theotocopulos, Domenicos, *see* Greco
Theotocopulos, Jorge Manuel, 215, 222
Thierry, 163
Thiry, Leonard, 317
Tiahuanaco, 86
Tibães, Benedictine monastery, 107, altar, 193, *99*
Tibaldi, Pellegrino, 13, 14, 208
Tiepolo, Gian Domenico, 300
Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, 299, 300
Tiepolo, Lorenzo, 300
Tinoco, João Nunes (1631–90), 109–10, 363[26], fig. 37, *57*
Tinoco, Juan (*fl.* 1685–8), 312, 394[49–50]
Tinoco, Pedro Nunes (*fl.* 1604–40), 107
Tintoretto, Jacopo, 387[21]
Titian, 202–3, 206, 209, 257, 269, 277, 285, 387[21]
Tlalmanalco, open chapel, 70, 72, sculpture, 166, 168, 359[26], 370[8], *88*
Tlaxcala, open chapel, 70–1, frescoes, 305; San Francisco, 70, 72, (Borgraf), 312; Santuario de Ocotlan, 80, 360[51]
Tocuyo, San Francisco, 66

Toledo, 212, 221; Academy of Mathematics, 221; Alcázar, 7, 8, 11, 73, *4*; Cathedral, 9, chapels (Ochavo), 23, (San Eugenio), 373[2], chapter hall, 200–1, choir stalls, 133, 135, *67*, *73*, monument, 125–6, sacristy, 143, 212, transparente, 40, 159, 356[66], *14*, (designs by Rodríguez), 357[27], (Bautista), 23, (F. Bayeu), 301, (Berruguete), 133, *67*, *73*, (Borgoña), 200–1, (Bregno), 125–6, (Carreño), 286, (Cavarozzi), 384[10], (E. Caxés), 382[40], (Fancelli), 125–6, (O. de Gand), 373[2], (Giordano), 290, (Greco), 143, 212, (Hodart), 186, (Mena), 154, (Orrente), 223, (Pantoja), 207, (Rizi), 286, (Rodríguez), 357[27], (Sansovino), 125–6, (Tomé), 40, 356[66], *14*, (Torre), 23, (Tristán), 380[9], (Vergara), 23, (Vigarny), 133, 135, 367[28], *67*, *73*; Chapel of San José (Greco), 217; Greco Museum (J. J. Espinosa), 295, (Herrera), 231; Hospital of St John Baptist (Hospital de Afuera), 10, 352[30], (Berruguete), 367[24], (Greco), 217, 219; Hospital de Santa Cruz, 4, 351[10], fig. 2; Jesuit church, 22; Lerma Collection (Greco), 143, *75*, (B. González), 380[13]; Museum de Santa Cruz (Mayno), 380[10], (Tristán), 380[9]; Museum de San Vicente (Gilarte), 296, (Greco), 370[50]; Puerta Bisagra, 8; Santo Domingo el Antiguo (Greco), 312, 379[44]; San Ginés (Greco), 379[50]; San Ildefonso, 353[1]; San Juan de los Reyes, 1, fig. 1, cloister, 4, 351[11], mouldings, 9; Santa Leocadia (E. Caxés), 382[40]; San Pedro Mártir (Mayno), 380[10]; San Salvador (Correa), 202; Santo Tomé (Greco), 215; San Vicente (Greco), 379[50]; Seminario (Tristán), 223; Town Hall, 21

Toledo, Ohio, Art Museum (Greco), 213–15, *110*, (Mazo), 264, 284, (Ribera), 241

Toledo, Juan de (1611–65), 287

Toledo, Juan Bautista de (d. 1567), 11–13, 14, fig. 7, *5*

Toledo, Viceroy Francisco de, 89

Tolosa, Juan de (1548–*c.* 1600), 17, 353[54], fig. 9

Tolsá, Manuel (1757–1816), 82, 163; portrait, 316

Tomar, Convento do Cristo, chapter room, 102–3, *55*, charola, 336, cloister, 103, *54*, dormitory corridors, 104, (Afonso), 329, *181*, (Arruda), 102–3, *55*, (Castillo), 104, (Lopes), 336, 397[6], (Terzi), 103, (Torralva), 103, *54*; Conceição church, 104; Misericórdia (Lopes), 337; Santa Iria, Miguel do Vale chapel, altar, 186, 375[20]; São João Baptista (Lopes), 337, 399[29]; Santa Maria do Olival, monument, 184, 374[9]

Tomé, Antonio, 40

Tomé, Narciso (*fl.* 1715–42), 40, 159, 354[28], 356[64], *14*

Topo, El, altar, 174

Torquemada, Fray Juan de, 166

Torralva, Diogo de (1500–66), 103–4, 362[7], 363[17], *54*

Torre de la Parada, 385[43], (Velázquez), 262

Torre, Pedro de la, 23, *8*

Torrente, church (J. Ribalta), 228

Torres, Archbishop Cristóbal de, 319

Torres, Diego de, 100

Torres, Martín de (*fl.* 1631–64), 178

Torrigiani, Pietro (1472–1528), 127, 148, 172, *63*

Tosca, T. V. (1651–1723), 58, 358[52]

Totocuitlapilco, San Miguel, sculpture, 168

Toulouse, Museum (Murillo), 386[12]

Tovar, Alonso Miguel de (1678–1758), 279, 387[27]

Transepts, double, 351[19]

Trasaltar, 135

Traverse, Charles de la, 301

Trent, Council of, 139

Tresguerras, Francisco Eduardo (1759–1833), 82

Trevejos, Fernández, 68

Triana, Nuestra Señora de la O, 31

Trinidad Mission (Paraguay), 100, *52*

Tristán, Luis (*c.* 1586–1624), 223–4, 253, 380[7], *117*, *119–20*

Trofa de Vouga, church, 374[14]

Tula, church, 71, 73

Tunja, 172; Cathedral, choir stalls, 176, paintings, 318, sculpture, 372[30], (Medoro), 322, (J. B. Vázquez), 171, 172; House of Vargas, 317–18, *174*; Las Nieves, painting, 395[72]; Santa Clara, 88, sculpture, 371[22], (Medoro), 322; Santo Domingo, altar, 172, Rosario chapel, 89, 174, *41*, sculpture, 395[72]; San Francisco, portal, 87, sculpture, 395[72]; San Ignacio, painting, 395[72]; San Laureano, painting, 319, (Corte Castellanos), 395[72]; San Lázaro, sculpture, 371[22]

Tupac Amaru II, 327

Turriano, João (1610–79), 107–8, 364[41], *59*

Turriano, Leonardo (*fl.* 1598–1631), 107

Tuyru Tupac, Juan Tomás (*fl.* 1679–*c.* 1719), 94, 179, 180, *47*

U

Ubeda, Guadiana Palace, 354[24]; Salvador church, 7, 10, 64; Santiago Hospital, church, 10, 353[62]

Uceda Castroverde, Juan de, 228

Uclés, Santiago church, façade, 17

Umbrete, church, 34, fig. 17, altar, 160

Unzu, altar (Beauvais), 142

Upton House (Greco), 213, 379[47], (Paret), 302, *165*

Urbina, Diego de, 208

Urbino, F. de, 208

Urcos, church, 89

Ureña, Felipe de, 81

V

Vadillo, Marqués del, 38

Valdés, Lucas (1661–1725), 294

Valdés Leal, Juan (1622–90), 26, 157, 276, 280, 282, 292–4, 387[21], 390[37], *11*, *86*, *160–1*

Valencia, 27, 58; Academy of Art, 296; Carmen, façade, 24; Cathedral, altar, 199, *102*, façade, 36, *13*, presbytery, 27, (Berruguete), 132, *64*, (Cerezo), 287, (Gilabert), 58, (Llanos), 199,

Valencia (*contd.*)
  (Macip), 201, (Orrente), 223, (Rudolf), 36, *13*, (Yáñez), 199, *102*; Colegio del Patriarca, 17, reliquary room, 317; Colegio de la Presentación (F. Ribalta), 227; Desamparados church, 23–4, fig. 13; Diputación (Zariñena), 381[19]; dos Aguas Palace, 58, 162, *22*; Escuelas Pías, 354[20]; Museum (Cavarozzi), 384[10], (J. J. Espinosa), 390[40], (March), 295, (F. Ribalta), 227, 381[22], (J. Ribalta), 228; Santa Catalina, tower, 27; Santo Domingo (Salvador y Gómez), 296; San Miguel de los Reyes, façade, 24, 354[10], *9*; Santo Tomás, façade, 58; Vich Palace, 2
Valladolid, Agustinos Filipinos, 49; Angustias church, 17, *6*, (Juni), 137; Cathedral, 14–15, 359[34], fig. 8, altar, 137, choir, 21, façade, 41; Colegiata, 5; Colegio de Santa Cruz, 1–2; Concepcionistas, altar, 287; House of Berruguete, 132; Las Huelgas, altar, 146; Magdalen church, altar, 141–2; Museum (Berruguete), 132, 133, *72*, (Carvajal), 208, (G. Fernández), 145, 146, *78*, *80*, (B. González), 226, (Juni), 136–7, *65*, (Palomino), 389[25], (Pereda), 388[3], (Siloe), 129, *68*; National Sculpture Museum, 123; Pasión, façade, 364[46]; Porta Coeli church (Borgianni), 221; Salesas Reales, 356[20]; Santa Ana, 357[35]; San Benito, altar, 133, 202, choir stalls, 129, 367[28]; Santa Cruz (G. Fernández), 145; San Francisco (Juni), 136; San Gregorio, 1; Santiago, altars, 133, 134; San Martín (G. Fernández), 145; San Miguel, 353[54], (G. Fernández), 368[2]; University, façade, 40
Valladolid, Pablo de, portrait, 256
Valle, Filippo della, 191
Vallejo, Miguel, 359[35]
Vallés, José, 95, 355[44]
Valls, altars by Bonifás, 161; San Juan Bautista, Dolorosa altar, 161
Valverde de Hamusco, Juan, 319
Vandelvira, Andrés (1509–75), 10, 368[37], fig. 5
Vanni, Francesco, 307
Vanvitelli, Luigi, 82
Vargas, Luis de (1506–68), 205, *104*
Vargas, Pedro, 321
Vargueño, 372[41]
Varziela, sculpture, 375[18]
Vasari, Giorgio, 126, 132, 141, 373[1]
Vasconcelos, Constantino de, 93, *44*, *46*
Vaz, Gaspar (*c.* 1490–1568?), 329, 334, 398[14]
Vázquez, Alonso (*c.* 1565–1608), 168, 228, 303, 307, 381[24–5], 392[26], *116*, *167*
Vázquez, José María (*fl.* 1785–1822), 316
Vázquez, Juan Bautista (d. 1589), 142–3, 148, 171, 172, 178
Vázquez, Lorenzo, 1–2, *1*
Vázquez Ceballos, Gregorio (1638–1711), 319–20, 395[76], *174*
Vega el Inca, Garcilaso de la, 324–5
Vega, Gaspar de, 7, 11
Vega y Verdugo, José de, 27, 161
Vega, Lope de, 209, 238, 260
Vega, Luis de, 7, 47
Vejer de la Frontera (J. Correa), 394[47]
Velasco, Lázaro de, 353[66]
Velázquez, Diego Rodríguez de Silva y (1599–1660), 127, 148, 149, 203, 207, 211, 218, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230, 234, 244, 246, 249, 250–70, 271, 282, 284, 285, 286, 289, 383–6 *passim*, *130–9*
Velázquez del Mazo, Francisca, 252; portrait, 264
Velázquez, Francisco, 176
Velázquez, Gerónima de, 252
Velázquez, Ignacia, 252
Velázquez family (sculptors), 146
Velho, Tomé (*fl.* 1561–1621), 187, 375[27]
Venegas, Francisco (*fl.* 1578–90), 189, 341, 342, 401[52–3]
Ventosa, 132
Vera Cruz, defences, 65, 66
Verdi, Giuseppe, 234
Vergara, San Pedro (Mesa), 151
Vergara, Diego de, 74
Vergara, Ignacio (1715–76), 162, 355[53]
Vergara, Nicolás de, 23, 354[8]
Vermeyen, Jan Cornelis, 202
Vermiglio, Giuseppe, 309
Veronese, Paolo, 231, 387[21]
Viana, Santa María, façade, 58, 60
Viana do Alentejo, N.S. dos Ares, 365[78]
Viana do Castelo, 100
Vicente de Oliveira, Mateus (1710–86), 114, 115
Vich, Santa Teresa, *camarín*, 59, 358[59]
Vich, Gerónimo, 2
Vieira, Jacinto, 191
Vieira O Escuro, Domingos (*c.* 1600–78), 343
Vieira Lusitano (Francisco Vieira de Matos; 1699–1783), 344
Vieira Portuense (Francisco Vieira; 1765–1805), 345, 346
Vieiros, Salvador church, 104
Vienna, Esterhazy Collection (Escalante), 389[18]; Harrach Collection (Palacios), 236; Kunsthistorisches Museum (Flandes), 199, (Mazo), 386[48], *155*, (Pantoja), 379[30], (Pereda), 281, (Ribera), 240, (Sánchez Coello), 378[28], (Velázquez), 262, 267
Vigarny, Felipe (*c.* 1470–1543), 6, 8, 125, 129, 132, 133, 134–5, 351[17], 367[28], *67*
Vignola, Giacomo da, 13, 14, 54, 88, 105
Vila Real, Clérigos church, 113; Mateus Palace, chapel, 113
Vila Viçosa (Duprá), 344, (G. Fernandes), 340, 399[32], 400[42], (Quillard), 344
Viladomat, Antonio (1678–1755), 297, 300
Villaamil, Genaro, 346
Villacarlos, 59
Villacarriedo, Arce Palace, 60
Villalón, monument, 136
Villalón, Cristóbal de, 2, 367[25]

Villalpando, Cristóbal de (*c.* 1652–1714), 168, 311, 312, 326, *167*

Villalpando, Francisco de (d. 1561), 7, 8, 11, 12, 99, 138, 351^{22}

Villalpando, G. B., 106

Villamanrique, Marquis of, 277

Villandrando, Rodrigo de (d. before 1628), 226, 381^{14}

Villandry, Carvallo Collection (ex) (Zambrano), 381^{17}

Villanueva, Diego de (1715–74), 50, 51

Villanueva, Juan de (1739–1811), 50, 51–4, fig. 25, *19*

Villanueva, Juan de (sculptor), 51

Villanueva y Geltrú, Museo Balaguer (Camilo), 388^{5}, (E. Caxés), 382^{10}, (Greco), 379^{49}, (Mayno), 380^{10}, (P. Rodríguez de Miranda), 391^{55}

Villaseñor, Eduardo, 394^{57}

Villavicencio, Pedro Núñez de (1644–1700), 279

Villegas, Ana Mencia de, portrait, 293

Villoldo, Isidro de, 367^{26}

Vilque, San Martín, 98

Vimercati, Millan, 145

Viña, F. de la, 23

Viñés, Juan Bautista, 27

Viril, 23

Viseu, Cathedral, altar, 332, façade, 364^{37}, painting, 331–2; Museum, painting, 331–2, (V. Fernandes), 333, 400^{44}, *185*

Viso del Marqués, Bazán Palace (Peroli), 209

Vista Alegre, monument, 191

Vitolado, 31

Vitoria, San Miguel, altar, 146

Vitruvius, 54

Voltaire, 298

Vos, Marten de, 231, 260, 261, 275, 291, 306, 307, 311, 323, 326, 396^{97}, *140*

Vredeman de Vries, Jan, 28, 107, 158, 171, 176, 177, 187, 317, 368^{37}, 371^{20}, 372^{28}

W

Washington, Berckemeyer Collection (Chavarito), 298, (Rizi), 286; Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Greco), 218–19, *111*; National Gallery (Greco), 211, 217, (Hamen), 235, *122*, (Mazo), 388^{10}, (Murillo), 387^{22}, (Valdés Leal), 294, (Velázquez), 264, (Zurbarán), 244; Smithsonian Institution (J. Gonzales), 313

Wellington, Duke of, 345

Westminster Abbey (Torrigiani), 127

Whitehead, John, 365^{66}

Wierix, Jerome, 320, 323, 325

William III, King, portrait, 313

Williamstown, Mass., Lawrence Art Museum (Hamen), 235, (Pacheco), 230, (Ribera), 241

Windsor Castle (Sithium), 199

Worcester, Mass., Art Museum (Cano), 271

X

Xabregas, Episcopal Palace, 110

Ximénez, Cardinal, 4

Ximénez Donoso, José (1628–90), 28, 42

Xochimilco, convent, altar, 166, choir stalls, 168, sculpture, 370^{9}, (Echave Orio), 308; Franciscan church, 359^{36}

Y

Yaguarón, church, 100, *52*

Yanahuara, church, 97

Yáñez de la Almedina, Fernando (*fl.* 1506–*c.* 31), 127, 199–200, *102*

Yanhuitlán, altars, 166, 306, 370^{10}

Yanhuitlán Codex, 305, *166*

Yapeli, Luis, 300

Yarza Ceballos, Juan (1712–85), 50

Yecapixtla, church, 72

Yepes, church (Tristán), 253

Yoli, Gabriel, 366^{16}

Yuririapúndaro, church, 71, 72, altar, 166, façade 306

Z

Zacatecas Cathedral, façade, 76, *31*

Zambrano, Juan Luis (d. 1639), 227, 381^{17}

Zapata, *see* Sapaca

Zaragoza, *see* Saragossa

Zaragoza y Ebri, Agustín Bruno, 58

Zariñena, Juan (*fl. c.* 1580–1610), 381^{19}

Zarza, Diego de la, *see* Çarça

Zarza, Vasco de la (*fl.* 1499–1524), 9, 366^{5}

Zarzuelas, Las, Palace, 21

Zepita, San Pedro, 97–8

Zia, church, 78

Zimapan, church, 360^{66}

Zimmermann, Dominikus, 365^{76}

Zuccaro, F., 208, 220, 258

Zumárraga, Bishop, 70

Zumárraga, Miguel de, 20, *6*

Zumaya, San Pedro, altar, 141

Zumaya, Francisco de, 307

Zúñiga, Diego Ortiz de, 2

Zurbarán, Francisco de (1598–1664), 127, 148, 149, 150, 200, 203, 222, 228, 242–9, 250, 272, 278, 309, 310, 316, 323, 382^{41}, *127–9*

Zurbarán, Juan de, 228

VOLUMES OF THE PELICAN HISTORY OF ART ALREADY PUBLISHED

★

HENRI FRANKFORT
The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient

W. STEVENSON SMITH
The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt

BENJAMIN ROWLAND
The Art and Architecture of India

ROBERT TREAT PAINE and ALEXANDER SOPER
The Art and Architecture of Japan

LAURENCE SICKMAN and ALEXANDER SOPER
The Art and Architecture of China

A. W. LAWRENCE
Greek Architecture

KENNETH JOHN CONANT
Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture: 800 to 1200

RUDOLF WITTKOWER
Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600 to 1750

ANTHONY BLUNT
Art and Architecture in France: 1500 to 1700

MARGARET RICKERT
Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages

LAWRENCE STONE
Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages

GEOFFREY WEBB
Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages

ELLIS K. WATERHOUSE
Painting in Britain: 1530 to 1790

JOHN SUMMERSON
Architecture in Britain: 1530 to 1830

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK
Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

GEORGE HEARD HAMILTON
The Art and Architecture of Russia

★

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय हरिद्वार
709.4
K95A
57,700
पुस्तक-वितरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है। इस तिथि सहित १५ वें दिन तक यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में वापिस आ जानी चाहिए। अन्यथा ५ नये पैसे प्रतिदिन के हिसाब से विलम्ब दण्ड लगेगा।

Compiled
1999-2000

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
विषय संख्या 709.4 K 95A
आगत पंजिका संख्या 57,700

तिथि	संख्या	तिथि	संख्या

पुस्तकालय, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय,
हरिद्वार ।

19 . 1